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The Index.

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VOLUME VII.

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VOLUME 7.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, JANUARY 6, 1876.

WHOLE No. 315.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fairs shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

Therefore, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

- ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF ———.
- ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in ———, and thereby to effect the total separation of Church and State in fact as well as in theory.
Also to send delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League, when organized, and to cooperate heartily with all the liberals of the country in furtherance of the above-named object.
- ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.
- ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.
- ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.
- ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League.
- ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

"If we are to have another contest in the near future of our national existence, I predict that the dividing line will not be Mason and Dixon's, but between patriotism and intelligence on the one side, and superstition, ambition, and ignorance on the other. Now, the centennial year of our national existence, I believe, is a good time to begin the work of strengthening the foundations of the structure commenced by our patriotic forefathers one hundred years ago at Lexington. Let us all labor to add all needful guarantees for the security of free thought, free speech, a free press, pure morals, unfettered religious sentiments, and of equal rights and privileges to all men, irrespective of nationality, color, or religion. Encourage free schools, and resolve that not one dollar appropriated for their support shall be appropriated to the support of any sectarian schools. Resolve that neither State nor Nation, nor both combined, shall support institutions of learning other than those sufficient to afford to every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common school education, unmixed with sectarian, pagan, or atheistical dogmas. Leave the matter of religion to the family altar, the Church, and the private school supported entirely by private contributions. Keep the Church and the State forever separate."—PRESIDENT GRANT, *at Des Moines, Sept. 29, 1876.*

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT: PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies, or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever in any State be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid of, any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious practices shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid of, any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

HAPPY NEW YEAR to all our friends, and a happy new century to the Great Republic!

THE RADICAL CLUB of Philadelphia has published a collective and vigorous protest, in the *New York Tribune* of December 30, against closing the doors of the Centennial Exposition on Sundays.

A SIOUX CHIEF, called "Running Antelope," said that, when he first heard of it, he was much surprised that the white men had killed their Savior, but, now he knew them better, he had changed his mind.

FATHER HENNESSEY, of Jersey City, has devised another plan for smoothing over the difficulties to a recognition and support of Catholic schools by the State. See an account of it copied in another column of this issue.

MISS KATE FIELD says that a tanner remarked lately: "If I had not read Carlyle, I should never have made my leather so good." That is a nobler tribute than the great public ovation of Carlyle's eightieth birthday.

MR. BROTHINGHAM opened last Sunday the Horticultural Hall lecture course of this winter with a very instructive paper on "The Soul of Transcendentalism." A full hall, as usual, attested his popularity with thinking Bostonians.

IT IS STATED that an effort to abolish the religious test in New Hampshire, which at present excludes all but "Protestants" from the offices of governor, senator, and representative, will be made at the next session of the Legislature.

THE CATHOLIC *Freeman's Journal*, of New York city, was greatly displeased at Senator Kernan's opposition to the priesthood on the school question, and regrets that it gave him support three years ago for Governor, and later for Senator.

THE POPE has expressed his "good-will" towards the Centennial Exposition through Cardinal Antonelli, by promising to contribute articles to the exhibition. He would show it much more effectually by calling off his dogs from the school system they are so savagely worrying.

MR. CONWAY's lecture on the religions of India, with sketches of eminent Orientalists in London, and their influence on England, at the Parker Memorial Hall, on Monday evening next, is one that will doubtless have a large hearing. Mr. Conway makes his themes very interesting.

REV. DR. CURRY, editor of the *New York Methodist Christian Advocate*, says that the greatest objection in his mind to the "Gray Nuns Act" is the pub-

lic or State recognition of any church-school of any kind. Exactly so; but why, then, does he want the State to keep the public schools Protestant church-schools—which they are to-day?

THE CHRISTMAS issue of the *New York Tribune* said: "The unprecedentedly large number of letters on the school question which have been received by the *Tribune* since the President's Message was submitted to Congress is a striking proof of the extraordinary interest which is taken by the public in this great issue." Yet some wilfully fatuous journals persist in treating the issue as invented for political capital.

IT IS well-known that the people of New Jersey recently adopted a Constitutional Amendment taxing church property. Now the Methodist clergy of Jersey City propose to dispute this provision. The *New York Herald* says that they have "adopted a resolution not to pay taxes on church property, but to carry the question into the courts. The members of the Methodist church were unanimous in support of the amendments, and now they find that one amendment is most detrimental to the interests of their church."

CONGRESSMAN SEELYE has just told a reporter of the *Springfield, Massachusetts, Republican* that he is equally opposed to the Romish and secular theory of public school education; that what he wants is to keep the Bible in the schools as now. This is the position of the overwhelming majority of Evangelical Protestants; but Professor Seelye, who is a warm advocate of the Christian Amendment, sees clearly that without this Amendment the Bible cannot be kept in the schools permanently. Why is so little intelligence displayed on this subject? The Bible must come out of the schools, or the Christian Amendment, with all its tyrannical consequences, must go into the Constitution.

THE LAWS of New York provide that police courts shall send vagrant children to institutions of the same religious denomination as the parents of those children. In consequence of this provision, the Roman Catholic Protectory in Westchester receives a very much larger number of such children than are sent to the House of Refuge. This arrangement well illustrates the cunning devices by which Romanism is steadily undermining our republicanism to the full extent of its power. If anything is absurdly and monstrously unjust, it is the principle on which the above law is founded. When parents are either so criminal, so neglectful, or so unfortunate as to turn their children loose upon the streets, and thereby compel the State to assume the responsibility and the expense of bringing them up, the parents' rightful control over the children absolutely ceases; and the State should provide for the little ones according to the method proved by experience to be most effective in making them good citizens. By what right is it called upon to compel such children to inherit the same ignorance and superstition which have cursed the parents and made the children mere paupers and public burdens? The Catholics, in this as in other matters, have entrapped the State into conceding a mischievous and vicious principle; namely, the right of criminal or pauper parents to entail their own superstitions on their children, to the equal hurt both of the children and of the community. All this nonsense should be brushed aside without hesitation. Vagrant children should be reared on the principles of sound educational science, applied by wise, kind, and experienced superintendents in well-endowed State institutions; and with these institutions no sect, Catholic or Protestant, should be permitted to interfere in the slightest degree. The public have got to learn a lesson not only of wisdom, but of courage also, in dealing with all such questions, or they will hatch out a brood of social mischiefs worse than a nest of rattlesnakes.

LIST OF LIBERAL LEAGUES.

ST. LOUIS, MO.—M. A. McCord, President; P. A. Lofgreen, L. La Grille, Secretaries.
 BOSTON, MASS.—F. E. Abbot, President; J. P. Titcomb, G. A. Bacon, Secretaries.
 JEFFERSON, OHIO.—W. H. Crowell, President; A. Giddings, Secretary.
 SAN JOSE, CAL.—A. J. Spencer, President; J. L. Hatch, Secretary.
 TOLEDO, IOWA.—J. Reedy, President; E. S. Beckley, Secretary.
 VINELAND, N. J.—John Gage, President; Sue M. Clute, Secretary.
 JUNCTIONVILLE, NEB.—J. W. Eastman, President; B. L. Easley, Secretary.
 OLATHE, KAN.—S. B. S. Wilson, President; H. A. Griffin, Secretary.
 DETROIT, MICH.—W. R. Hill, President; A. T. Garretson, Secretary.
 BREEDSVILLE, MICH.—A. G. Eastman, President; F. R. Knowles, Secretary.
 OSCEOLA, MO.—R. F. Thompson, President; M. Roderick, Secretary.
 BATH, ME.—F. G. Barker, President; O. Rhodes, Secretary.
 BERLIN, WIS.—President, J. D. Walter; Secretary, J. D. Kruschke.
 WASHINGTON, D.C.—George M. Wood, President; J. E. Crawford, Secretary.
 AUBURN, OHIO.—John Fish, President; G. W. Barnes, Treasurer.
 MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—S. C. Gale, President; S. G. Rollins, Secretary.
 NEW YORK, N.Y.—J. B. Brown, President; D. M. Bennett, Secretary.
 ST. JOSEPH, MO.—P. V. Wise, President; T. H. Kennedy, Secretary.
 EAU CLAIRE, WIS.—President, S. J. Dickson; Secretary, W. Kennedy.
 BALBO, IND.—President, T. Gray; Secretary, W. Allen.
 NEW ORLEANS, LA.—President, E. Vorster; Secretary, J. E. Wallace.
 BAY CITY, MICH.—President, S. M. Green; Secretary, S. M. Johnson.
 CLEARFIELD, PA.—S. Widemire, President; H. Hoover, Secretary.
 SAUK CITY, WIS.—Chr. Spiehr, President; Robert Cunradi, Secretary.
 AUGUSTA, WIS.—Davis Jackson, President; George P. Vaux, Secretary.
 WATERTOWN, N.Y.—L. D. Olney, President; W. A. Howland, L. M. Delano, Secretaries.
 PHILADELPHIA, PA.—Carrie S. Burnham, President; John S. Dye, Secretary.
 MILWAUKEE.—Theodore Fritz, President; D. C. Zünig, Secretary.
 MILWAUKEE (Second League).—R. C. Spencer, President; R. Boyd, Secretary.
 NORTHUMBERLAND, PA.—M. B. Priestley, President; Chas. Collins, Secretary.
 NORTHAMPTON, MASS.—E. E. Denniston, President; M. A. Dewey, Secretary.
 MEDINA, MINN.—Allen Grave, President; Taylor Archibald, Secretary.

[For THE INDEX.]

Atomism in Science and Religion.

TENTH LECTURE IN THE SEVENTH COURSE OF SUNDAY AFTERNOON LECTURES, GIVEN UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION, AT HORTICULTURAL HALL, BOSTON, MARCH 21, 1875.

BY FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

The baby new to earth and sky
 What time his tender palm is prest
 Against the circle of the breast,
 Has never thought that "this is I."

But, as he grows, he gathers much,
 And learns the use of "I" and "me,"
 And finds "I am not what I see,"
 And other than the things I touch."

So rounds he to a separate mind
 From whence clear memory may begin,
 As through the frame that binds him in
 His isolation grows defined.

—Tennyson.

The Atomic Theory of the constitution of matter, in some form or other, is accepted to-day by the great majority of scientific men.

"The general doctrine of the atomic theory," says Whewell, in his *History of the Inductive Sciences* [vol. II., p. 289], "is now firmly established over the whole of the chemical world. There still remain several controverted points. . . . Such controverted points do not belong to our history, which treats only of the progress of scientific truths already recognized by all competent judges."

Comte says, in his *Positive Philosophy* [vol. I., p. 325; Martineau, Eng. Ed.], referring to the modern revival of this theory by Dalton: "The principle is in such harmony with scientific conceptions in all departments, that it appeared like a happy generalization of the most familiar ideas of scientific men in every province of natural philosophy; and its universal and immediate admission took place as a matter of course."

Mr. J. Norman Lockyer, editor of *Nature*, says in that recognized organ of science in England [under date of Nov. 11, 1869]: "There can be no doubt that the atomic theory has been accepted by the majority of chemists, as may be seen on even a cursory inspection of the current literature of their science."

Professor Tyndall says, in his *Fragments of Science* [p. 38]: "Long thinking and experimenting on the materials which compose our world have led philosophers to conclude that matter is composed of atoms from which, whether separate or in combination, the whole material world is built up."

The *North British Review*, in its number for March, 1868, says: "In other words, all men of science believe, consciously or not, in atoms indivisible and imperishable. . . . It is singular to find modern science returning to the never ending motion of the old Greek atom."

Professor Alexander W. Williamson, in his inaugural address as President of the British Association at Bradford, in the year 1873, bore the following testimony to the same general fact: "Since the father of modern chemistry, the great Dalton, gave to chemists a firm hold of the idea of atoms, their labors have been continually guided by that funda-

mental idea, and have confirmed it by a knowledge of more and more facts, while at the same time steadily adding to our knowledge of the properties of atoms. Every chemist who is investigating a new compound takes for granted that it must consist of a great number of atom-clusters (called by him molecules), all of them alike, and each molecule consisting of a certain number of atoms of at least two kinds. One of his first endeavors is to ascertain how many atoms of each kind there are in each molecule of the compound. . . . Every good analysis of a pure compound leads to results which approximate to those required by the Atomic Theory; and chemists trust so thoroughly to the truth of that guide that they correct the results of such analysis by the aid of it. . . . We have the testimony of the great Berzelius to the flood of light which the idea of atoms threw on the facts respecting combining proportions which had been accumulated before it was made known; and from that time forward its value has rapidly increased as each succeeding year augmented the number of facts which it explained. . . . I cannot quit this part of my subject without alluding to the fact that some few chemists, of such eminence as to be entitled to the most respectful attention, have of late years expressed an opinion that the idea of atoms is not necessary for the explanation of the changes in the chemical constitution of matter, and have sought as far as possible to exclude from their language any allusion to atoms. It would be out of place on this occasion to enter into any discussion of the questions thus raised; but I think it right to point out:—

"I. That these objections have not shown us any inconsistency in the atomic theory, nor in the conclusions to which it leads.

"II. That neither these nor any other philosophers have been able to explain the facts of chemistry on the assumption that there are no atoms, but that matter is infinitely divisible.

"III. That, when they interpret their analysis, these chemists allow themselves neither more nor less latitude than the atomic theory allows; in fact, they are unconsciously guided by it.

"These facts need no comment from me. . . . The answer to our question respecting the meaning of the earnest work which is going on in our science must, I think, now be plain to you. Chemists are examining the combining power of atoms, and getting clear ideas of the constitution of matter."

THE ANCIENT ATOMIC THEORY.

Now I need not detain you with any long account of the history of this great theory. The atomistic philosophy of Greece had its rise in the fourth and third centuries before the Christian era. Anaxagoras taught the doctrine of the "seeds of things," or *homoiomeriai*, as they were styled by later writers; namely, that the ultimate elements of things are like the things themselves, being "particles which are homogeneous in each kind of body, but various in different kinds." For instance, bone is made of ultimate bone-atoms, which have precisely the same qualities as bone itself; and, since it is food that makes the bones, flesh, and blood, food contains bone-atoms, flesh-atoms, blood-atoms, and so forth. Both Whewell and Professor Maxwell consider this doctrine of Anaxagoras opposed to the atomistic philosophy of Leucippus and Democritus, who came after him; but Lewis [History of Philosophy, vol. I., p. 101] takes the profounder view that "Atomism is homomerianism stripped of qualities. It is therefore the system of Anaxagoras greatly improved." Ueberweg also discerns that his doctrine is "a sort of qualitative Atomism." [History of Philosophy, vol. I., p. 69.] Regarding Anaxagoras, therefore, as the logical precursor of Empedocles, Democritus, Epicurus, and Lucretius, the latter of whom has given us the best exposition of the ancient atomic theory in his great poem "On the Nature of Things," I have thought it only just to mention his services to science in this first crude yet fruitful speculation, because Professor Tyndall wholly forgot Anaxagoras in his famous Belfast address of last year.

In the revival and elaboration of the ancient atomic theory of Greece, which, as I have shown, is the germ of the recognized basis of modern chemistry, a great many students of Nature have shared. I will briefly sketch the essential features of this theory as Lucretius left it, and then describe the condition to which it has been brought by the discoveries and calculations of modern science.

Lucretius did not use the word *atoms*; his favorite expressions are *primordia* or *ordia prima*, "first beginnings," and *semina serm*, "seeds of things." According to him, nothing exists but atoms in everlasting and rapid motion, on the one hand, and void space, on the other; "all else is opinion." The atoms are solid, hard, indestructible, minute, yet not infinitely so, having parts, yet "strong in everlasting singleness," unalterable, indivisible. All that exists is the result of their combined masses and motions. To account for their motion, he supposes an eternal "fall" or rain of atoms from infinite space above to infinite space below, pursuing straight and parallel paths sheer downwards forever, with immense velocity. But in this way nothing could ever have been produced; and, in order to explain the origin of the system of things as it is, he is obliged to make the extraordinary assumption that, at "quite uncertain times and uncertain points of space," they "swerve" just a little from their paths, come thus into collision, and by mutual entanglement and ever-continuous motion, bounding and rebounding from each other without end, build up the existing universe. This "swerving" from parallel paths is the famous doctrine of the "declination of atoms"; and it involved the admission of a certain sort of free-will. Lucretius believed in free-will; but, instead of attributing it to man, he attributed it to the atoms themselves. This, in brief, is the atomic theory of

Lucretius, which differed from that of Democritus in at least one important respect: Lucretius held that the atoms moved at first only in one and the same direction, and consequently had to account for their indispensable "swerving" by a species of free volition; while Democritus held that they moved equally in all directions, and could postulate the necessary collisions without the aid of any such dubious hypothesis.

Now two principles are contained in this Lucretian doctrine which are common to it with all modern forms of the atomic theory; namely, atoms can neither be created nor destroyed, and their motions can neither be created nor destroyed. Each atom, he held, preserves its velocity unaltered, whether it continues on forever in a solitary path or enters into collision and combination with other atoms. Even in solid bodies, according to him, each atom is still moving with all its original velocity; and he explains the deceptive appearance of rest by likening the solid body to a distant flock of sheep, in which the lambs are skipping about with great activity, yet which looks to the beholder merely like a white patch on the green hill-side. This is a remarkable case of what Professor Tyndall calls the "scientific imagination," and fairly illustrates the poetic genius of Lucretius.

THREE PHASES OF THE MODERN THEORY.

To trace step by step the development of the atomic theory in the hands of modern investigators would equally transcend the limits of the occasion and the limits of my power. Wenzel, Higgins, J. B. Richter, Dalton, Thomson, Berzelius, Wollaston, Gay-Lussac, Berthollet, Davy, Humboldt, Daniel Bernoulli, Lesage, Herapath, Joule, Krönig, Stokes, Stoney, Loschmidt, Helmholtz, Clausius, Faraday, Playfair, Maxwell, Sir W. Thomson, Boltzmann,—all these, and a host of others, have had more or less to do with establishing the atomic theory on its present firm foundation; and immense labors still remain to perfect it. On this subject, as on all others, thinkers seem to divide themselves into schools. There is the occult agency school, and there is also the displacement school, which again is subdivided into two minor parties. Thus we have three chief forms or phases under which the atomic theory is held to-day by our contemporaries; and so great is the importance of this theory in its bearings upon the formation of a true philosophy of the universe, that you will pardon me, I trust, if I now proceed to state briefly these three differing views of the atomic constitution of matter.

1. The occult agency school believe that force can be exerted by one atom upon another without being transmitted by any material medium. They believe both in solid atoms and in void space, somewhat after the manner of Lucretius; but, while he admitted the existence of no force except that of physical collision, this school believe that each atom is the seat of attractive and repelling, perhaps oblique and tangential, forces; that it exerts energy which acts across void space upon other atoms in a manner quite incomprehensible to us. They refer to the law of gravitation, by the terms of which every particle of matter in the universe attracts every other particle, with a force directly proportional to its mass and inversely proportional to the square of the distances; and they urge with cogency that, if this law is true, and if void space anywhere exists, then the gravitative energy must act across this void. Every atom, on this view, is enshrouded in the midst of occult forces reaching out mysteriously to the outermost bounds of the universe, but decreasing in intensity as the distance increases; and the atom itself may be likened to the solid nucleus of a comet, with an immaterial envelope extending in all directions without limit. There is a tendency in this theory to abolish the solid nucleus altogether, or metamorphose it into the mystic point of Boscovich, a mere position or centre of force without extension, a mathematical point endowed with dynamical properties; but I can only sketch in outline now.

2. The first division of the displacement school believe in hard atoms of two orders, one ponderable and the other imponderable (at least in comparison with the first); and they admit the existence of void space. "Sir John Herschel asks why the atoms of a solid may not be imagined to be as thinly distributed through the space it occupies as the stars that compose a nebula; and compares a ray of light penetrating glass to a bird threading the mazes of a forest." [Youmans' *New Chemistry*, p. 37.] By undulations among the imponderable atoms, which are supposed to be infinitely smaller than the ponderable, and to interpenetrate all bodies perceptible by the senses, such phenomena as those of light, gravitation, *et cetera*, are explained, or supposed to be explained. But this theory admits the existence of no occult forces; every effect is the result of impacts of atom on atom and of communicated motion. All phenomena are thus the consequence of the mechanical displacement of atoms, either of one order or of the other.

3. The second division of the displacement school believe in a single omnipresent fluid, a universal ether filling all space and leaving no void or vacuum anywhere. They believe that the elementary atoms assumed by the chemical laws of definite and multiple proportions, with their universal properties of cohesion, hardness, elasticity, mass, weight, and so forth, are simply various minute portions of this omnipresent fluid which have received some kind of eddying motion; that these innumerable tiny whirls in a limitless ocean of ether, by various combinations of form and motion, produce all the phenomena of gross matter, while the circumambient ether, by other motions, transmits the undulations known as light, radiant heat, magnetism, and so forth; that the ether may act upon the atomic whirls, and recip-

locally be acted upon by them, but the nature of this action differs greatly from that of the atoms on each other; that the creation or destruction of these whirl-atoms is impossible to us, and not due to any forces known to us. According to this view, all motion is by displacement, either of the fluid whirl-atoms or of the fluid which eternally encompasses them and undulates in response to their least change of position.

These three chief phases of the atomic theory in its modern form differ in many respects, I need not point out how, from the Lucretian or Democritean form of it. But they all agree in this: that matter as known to our senses consists of an illimitable number of infinitesimal parts or atoms; that these atoms are neither destructible nor creatable; that the sum of the atoms is constant, and the sum of their motions is constant too, however variously distributed it may be; and that all phenomenal forms and masses are merely combinations in endless variety of these ultimate elements. As to which of these three phases of the theory is true, or whether any one of them is true, it is not for me to decide; that the essential theory in some form is true, I cannot doubt. The notion of the infinite divisibility of matter is both a physical and a metaphysical absurdity, and the only alternative is its ultimate indivisibility; which is only another name for the atomic theory. (If I may be permitted to quote words of my own, I would cite this passage from the *North American Review* for July, 1864: "That a cubic foot of iron consists of two halves, that each half consists of two-fourths, each fourth of two-eighths, and so forth, is a necessary truth; and of such division there can be no arbitrary termination. But the partition in this case is merely nominal, not real; and it extends so far only as the mind follows out the process in imagination. . . . Matter, therefore, is not infinitely divisible in thought. Neither can an infinite division of matter be possible in fact. For, inasmuch as mere division cannot annihilate anything, it could never reduce extended matter to nonentity, and concrete units must still subsist as the condition of all discrete quantity. In other words, matter, while existent at all, must exist as an aggregate of extended parts. . . . Extended units of matter actually indivisible by existent forces must be concluded to exist. That greater forces might continue the division is not to be rashly denied; but to suppose that any force whatever could continue it far enough to destroy all units of extension, is to fall into a metaphysical absurdity. Nothing short of the annihilation of matter would abolish the necessity of the existence of infinitesimal extended atoms; their inconceivability by imagination has no bearing on the question." Yet Mr. John Fiske, borrowing gratuitous difficulties from Herbert Spencer, is unable to decide, in the first chapter of his *Cosmic Philosophy*, whether matter is ultimately divisible or indivisible. The almost universal acceptance of the essence of the atomic theory by the modern scientific world is certainly a conclusive reply to Herbert Spencer and his very able disciple.)

THE KINETIC THEORY OF GASES.

Unnumbered questions still remain to be answered, no matter what theory is held respecting the ultimate constitution of matter; and the answering of these questions is a part of the unfinished work of science. But results have already been attained which seem to establish it as a certain truth that atoms of inconceivable minuteness are the ultimate constituents of matter as we know it, whether the existence of vacua is admitted or denied, and whether all known forces can be reduced ultimately to mere modes of motion or not. Permit me to describe briefly the actual state of positive knowledge on the subject, on the authority of those whose names are a sufficient guarantee of their own competency to speak.

Professor Clerk-Maxwell, one of the most distinguished promoters of molecular science, in a paper read before the British Association in 1873, at Bradford,—using the word *molecule* as "the more general term" including both atoms and primary combinations of atoms,—says:—

"We may divide the ultimate results into three ranks, according to the completeness of our knowledge of them:—

"To the first rank belong the *relative masses* of the molecules of different gases, and their *velocities* in metres per second. These data are obtained from experiments on the pressure and density of gases, and are known to a high degree of precision.

"In the second rank we must place the *relative size* of the molecules of different gases, the *length of their mean paths*, and the *number of collisions* in a second. These quantities are deduced from experiments on the three kinds of diffusion. Their received values must be regarded as rough approximations till the methods of experimenting are greatly improved.

"There is another set of quantities which we must place in the third rank, because our knowledge of them is neither precise, as in the first rank, nor approximate, as in the second, but is only as yet of the nature of a probable conjecture. These are the *absolute mass* of a molecule, its *absolute diameter*, and the *number of molecules* in a cubic centimetre. We know the relative masses of different molecules with great accuracy, and we know their relative diameters approximately. From these we can deduce the relative densities of the molecules themselves. So far we are on firm ground."

In his inaugural address as President of the British Association, in 1871, at Edinburgh, Sir William Thomson, another eminent worker in the same field of molecular science, thus alludes to recent discoveries:—

"The greatest achievement yet made in molecular theory of the properties of matter is the Kinetic

Theory of Gases, shadowed forth by Lucretius, definitely stated by Daniel Bernoulli, largely developed by Herapath, made a reality by Joule, and worked out to its present advanced state by Clausius and Maxwell. Joule, from his dynamical equivalent of heat, and his experiments upon the heat produced by the condensation of gas, was able to estimate the average velocity of the ultimate molecules or atoms composing it. His estimate for hydrogen was 6,225 feet per second at temperature 60° Fahrenheit, and 8,055 feet per second at the freezing-point. Clausius took fully into account the impacts of molecules on one another, and the kinetic energy of relative motions of the matter constituting an individual atom. He investigated the relation between their diameters, the number in a given space, and the mean length of path from impact to impact, and so gave the foundation for estimates of the absolute dimensions of atoms, to which I shall refer later. He explained the slowness of gaseous diffusion by the mutual impacts of the atoms to which I shall refer later, and laid a secure foundation for a complete theory of the diffusion of fluids, previously a most refractory enigma. The deeply penetrating genius of Maxwell brought in viscosity and thermal conductivity, and thus completed the dynamical explanation of all the known properties of gases, except their electric resistance and brittleness to electric force.

"No such comprehensive molecular theory had ever been even imagined before the nineteenth century. Definite and complete in its area as it is, it is but a well-drawn part of a great chart in which all physical science will be represented with every property of matter shown in dynamical relation to the whole. The prospect we have now of an early completion of this chart is based on the assumption of atoms. But there can be no permanent satisfaction to the mind in explaining heat, light, elasticity, diffusion, electricity, and magnetism, in gases, liquids, and solids, and describing precisely the relations of these different states of matter to one another by statistics of great numbers of atoms, when the properties of the atom itself are simply assumed. When the theory of which we have the first instalment in Clausius' and Maxwell's work is complete, we are but brought face to face with a superlatively grand question—what is the inner mechanism of the atom?"

THE NATURE OF ATOMS.

What light, then, has been thrown on this "inner mechanism" of the atom, by actual discovery?

Helmholtz has proved that in a perfect fluid one vortex or whirlpool cannot destroy another, cannot cut through or divide it in any way from the outside; so that a system of vortex-atoms, shaped each like a ring of smoke expelled from the mouth of a skilful smoker, and consisting of a great number of small circles arranged side by side in the form of a larger circle and all revolving in the same direction, would be an atomic system in which the atoms would be indestructible by any mutual action. Sir William Thomson seized on this conception of a ring-shaped vortex-atom, as meeting both the theoretical and practical requirements of the case. Instead of the hard and solid atom of Lucretius flying in the midst of void space, we thus have an atom of whirling fluid shaped like a ring, yet just as indestructible as the other, moving with equal velocity through an infinite ocean of kindred fluid. This newest conception is of a vastly more complex nature, raising new and profoundly interesting questions, and indicating a great dynamical advancement on the hard mechanism of the Lucretian atomology. But the interior structure of atoms must remain a matter of mere conjecture, until many other fundamental points are first settled.

But, leaving the question of the "inner mechanism" of atoms undetermined, it is a fundamental part of the atomic theory in all its forms that atoms of the same kind should contain exactly the same amount of matter, or be exactly equal in weight; otherwise the laws of definite and multiple proportions could not be true. Their origin (according to Maxwell) cannot be referred to evolution, which implies continual change; whereas the atom is unchangeable, and is the condition rather than the consequence of evolution. In fact, Sir John Herschel considers that the exact equality of each molecule to every other gives it the character of a "manufactured article"; from which Professor Maxwell concludes that it must have been manufactured by Divine power, whereas it is at least as logical to conceive it as eternal and self-existent.

In respect to consistency, the atom is no longer conceived as a hard, rigid body, but as elastic and subject to internal movements which, according to Stokes' discovery, constitute periodical or chromometric vibrations; and it therefore emits light-rays whose wave-lengths may be compared by means of the spectroscope to within one ten-thousandth part. The identity of these vibration-periods in atoms of the same chemical class, whether they exist in the earth, the sun, or the stars, has been proved by the spectroscope.

The relative atomic weights have been ascertained with great precision in consequence of Dalton's discoveries: the absolute weights are known only by "probable conjecture," but Maxwell calculates that one septillion of hydrogen-molecules would weigh only between four and five grammes; that is, in the neighborhood of seventy grains Troy.

As to size, Loschmidt, of Vienna, first estimated the diameter of a molecule in 1865; Stoney, in 1868; and Sir W. Thomson, in 1870, made independent estimates from different data. Reasoning from Loschmidt's data, Maxwell calculates that a row of about two million hydrogen-atoms would be about one millimetre long, or nearly four one-hundredths of

an inch; while Thomson, in a paper communicated to the Literary and Philosophical Society on March 22, 1870, from calculations made on the thickness of the film of a water bubble, declared that, "if a film of one two-hundred-millionth of a centimetre thick can exist as liquid at all, it is perfectly certain that there cannot be many molecules in its thickness." That is, one five-hundred-millionth of an inch cannot very much exceed the diameter of a molecule of water.

With reference to the number of molecules in a cubic centimetre of any gas, at standard pressure and temperature, Professor Maxwell estimates that there are about nineteen quintillions of them in that space.

Lucretius, it will be remembered, conceived that atoms were in continual and rapid motion; at first, only in one direction, but, in consequence of "swerving" and ensuing collision, in various directions. Thus he held that they were constantly rebounding from each other, without ever losing their velocity or being worn away by the violence of the blows they received from each other. This, substantially, is the doctrine of modern science also. Professor Maxwell attributes the recent progress of molecular physics to a study of the mechanical effects of the impact of these endlessly flying molecules one upon another. The constant succession of these strokes upon any confining surface is the accepted explanation of the pressure of air and other gases. M. Lesage, of Geneva, has even attempted to give a mechanical explanation of gravitation in this manner; assuming that atoms are flying in all directions through space with vast velocity, he considers that the attraction of the sun and the earth is due to the fact that they each shield the other from many of these atomic blows in front, while the blows on the back, not being neutralized by similar blows in front, push the two bodies towards each other! This is, of course, an extravagant hypothesis; though interesting as showing the general drift of scientific speculation.

This "Kinetic Theory of Gases," explaining Robert Boyle's law that the pressure of air is proportional to its density by means of the impacts of flying molecules, has of course concentrated attention on the velocity of these molecules and the number of collisions between them. For instance, a cubic centimetre of hydrogen, at the temperature of melting ice and at a pressure of one atmosphere, weighs 0.00008954 of a gramme. At what rate must the hydrogen-molecules be flying, in order to produce the observed pressure on the confining surface? Dr. Joule, as the answer to this question, gives 1,859 metres or 6,096 feet per second. That is, the average velocity of the atoms is considerably more than a mile in every second! This exceeds the velocity of the swiftest cannon-ball. Other gases have a much smaller velocity; oxygen-molecules, according to Maxwell's tables, move at the rate of 465 metres per second, or one-fourth as rapidly; ammonia at the rate of 300 metres. But all gases have a molecular velocity much higher than that of bullets. "If we wish," says Maxwell, "to form a mental representation of what is going on among the molecules in calm air, we cannot do better than observe a swarm of bees, when every individual bee is flying furiously, first in one direction, and then in another, while the swarm as a whole either remains at rest or sails slowly through the air." Elsewhere he directs his audience to conceive the molecules of the air in the hall to be shooting about in all directions at the rate of seventeen miles a minute. We are perpetually under the hottest fire that can be imagined.

Now by experiments on the diffusion of gases it has been ascertained how far a molecule travels, on an average, before coming into collision with another. This distance Professor Clausius has called the "mean path" of a molecule. It is a very small quantity, only about the tenth part of the length of a wave of light, and occupying an inconceivably small time. An atom of hydrogen undergoes about 17,750,000,000 collisions in every second; an atom of oxygen, 7,646,000,000 collisions in every second. In all cases, the course of an atom is changed billions of times in a second, in consequence of these endless and rapid collisions; and the actual distance traversed, as measured between the initial and terminal points of its path during a given time, is therefore very small. For crookedness, the path of chain-lightning will bear no comparison with that of these wonderful and tireless little travellers.

Such, then, is about the sum of the actual results hitherto attained in the study of the atomic constitution of matter. "Astronomical and terrestrial magnitudes," says Professor Maxwell, in a passage which has been deservedly praised by Professor Tyndall, "are far inferior in scientific importance to that most fundamental of standards which forms the base of the molecular system. Natural causes, as we all know, are at work, which tend to modify, if they do not destroy, all the arrangements and dimensions of the earth and the whole solar system. But though in the course of ages catastrophes have occurred and may yet occur in the heavens, though ancient systems may be dissolved and new systems evolved out of their ruins, the molecules out of which these systems are built—the foundation stones of the material universe remain unbroken and unworn."

ATOMS AS INDIVIDUALS.

Modern science, then, teaches us that the universe is built up out of atoms, combining into compounds of ever greater and greater complexity. An omnipresent ether, a "perfect fluid" without friction of part with part, contains an illimitable number of tiny eddies or vortices, consubstantial with itself, whose motions of vast velocity have given rise to all the complicated phenomena of the cosmos. It

might be urged that the notion of a "perfect fluid" not composed of atoms is a fiction; for every known fluid is a compound of the very atoms which this "perfect fluid" is devised to explain, and the imagined "perfection," postulating an absolute continuity of matter which is contrary to all we know of fluids, destroys the very conception of fluidity itself. It will be discovered, I think, on closer analysis, that the ether itself must be composed of ultimate particles of some sort, to explain which a still more subtle ether must be postulated, and so on forever.

"Big fleas have little fleas upon their backs to bite 'em,
And little fleas have smaller fleas, and so ad infinitum."

After all, Nature being manifestly compounded of parts, the assumption of ultimate *minima Naturæ*, as Dalton entitled atoms, cannot be evaded; and it seems as if the very conception of Being itself was thus resolved into an infinite multiplicity, to the total destruction of all real unity.

I do not see how to escape this conclusion, so long as the unity sought is a purely physical or material unity. The only unity that seems beyond the reach of this all-powerful solvent of logic is of a different, a purely dynamical, order. But nothing that science has proved, or can possibly prove, in the direction of a universal atomism, will stand in the way of the unity I refer to. I am willing to admit, even in advance of all discoveries or theories known to me, that a universal ether exists, absolutely homogeneous with itself throughout the infinitude of space; that in this ether ring-shaped vortices, or whirls of any desired shape, of infinitesimal size and of infinite number, constitute the first order of atoms; that molecules of these vortex-atoms are connected in some sixty or more different ways to constitute the known chemical elements, as a second order of atoms, which are regarded as elementary merely because they have never yet been decomposed; and that all the binary, ternary, and other compounds known to experimental science, are really at the third remove from atomic simplicity. A more thorough-going atomic theory than this I cannot conceive. Nevertheless, that being proved which is proved, the conditions of a true dynamical unity are still untouched.

1. Atoms of the same chemical species are known to be absolutely equal in combining power, and therefore in the quantity of matter they each contain, as Maxwell admits. They are also absolutely equal in their internal movements or vibration-periods, and consequently in the character of the light-rays they emit; as is also admitted on spectroscopic evidence. That is, one hydrogen-atom is exactly like all other hydrogen-atoms, and so on. This absolute similarity, however, is itself a fact which demands a scientific explanation in an especial degree, being a fact of the widest generality and of incontestable genuineness. What mechanical theory has ever yet been devised to explain it?

2. The different chromometric vibrations which Stokes has shown to be characteristic of atoms of different species testify to a regularity of internal movements for which no cause can be assigned in the physical environment—testify, in fact, to a sort of atomic vitality strikingly analogous to that of the lowest organisms. What mechanical theory has ever been devised to explain it?

3. The enormous velocity of the atoms, and the constant expenditure of energy required to sustain their motion, and the absolute equality of velocity in all atoms of the same species, are inexplicable by any known causes. What mechanical theory has ever been devised to explain it?

4. The constitution of the entire atomic system is such that it has ensured the gradual evolution of a cosmos out of a relative chaos. What mechanical theory has ever been devised to explain it?

5. Supposing that the ultimate atoms could, by unguessed discoveries and unsuspected improvements of instruments, be brought within the reach of our senses of sight, touch, smell, taste, hearing, nothing could be discovered in them but the power of affecting human nerves in such manner as to produce corresponding sensations. In the last analysis, these sensations are all that is known, or can be known, respecting any object of the senses; and all that the senses, aided or unaided, can testify to is the existence of an external power competent to affect them. What mechanical theory has ever been devised to explain it?

Such questions as these might be multiplied indefinitely. They all point to some other than mechanical answer; to some answer that shall be couched in terms of a pure dynamism to which no data of sense or imagination correspond. In a word, they all point to the existence of a Universal Power which is at the same time Universal Mind; they all point to the truth that more cannot come out of matter, its constitution, its laws, its processes, than it contained at the outset; they all point to a profound identity between the finite thought which interrogates and the infinite Thought which is interrogated; they all point to the conclusion that *Atoms are the Individuals of the Material Universe*—that these Individuals are all specialized or focalized manifestations of a dynamical and intelligent Infinite,—and that in the highest sense the Universal is the only Individual or Indivisible. In a word, they all minister to scientific theism, by which alone can the Universe be made a unity in human thought.

INDIVIDUALS AS ATOMS.

To me all this wonderful system of atoms revealed by science, each instinct with the capacity to perform its own tiny part exactly, without fail, in such order and invariability that out of the primeval fire-cloud there emerges at last a boundless cosmos of harmony and beauty, peopled with souls that can think the true and love the lovely and do the right,—to me, I

say, this atom-system is a luminous self-revealing of what men thoughtlessly style the Unknowable, but what in reality may be known and read in every corner of this magnificent universe. Science, with her reclamation of vast stretches of waste marsh lands from the ocean of ignorance, is but extending the empire of thought over regions where thoughtlessness has brooded like an all-concealing sea-mist. She is but making evident to us, in her rapidly growing atomic theory, the primary concentrations of that Universal Power which is yet never divided from itself. I gladly grant to her all that she demands in the eternal banishment of antique errors—all that she seeks in the reduction of universal matter to ether-vortices or atoms of some other nature, and the government of all the motions by strictly mechanical laws: in all that I doubt not she will sooner or later succeed. But she cannot succeed, and will not long persevere to try, in explaining by mechanical laws alone whence motion originally proceeds or what it finally ultimates in. Origin and end alike are one; and that is Mind. One in Many, Many in One: science, philosophy, and religion are alike concerned in the perpetual vision of that great central truth.

Towards these views, I believe, modern thought betrays a steady and increasing tendency. But what special appropriateness is there in bringing them forward here? Why should I weary you with arid abstractions or dry scientific theories, when so many practical reforms are clamoring for attention at our doors? Perhaps I am greatly in error; but between such abstract speculations as these and the great practical reforms of the day I seem to discern a profound connection. What we think of matter vitally affects what we think of man; and what we think of man will vitally affect what we do for him. While I do not wish to press analogy too far, I find no question more full of grave significance, more sure to arrest the attention of all who take it in, than this: "*Am I an atom?*"

Not an atom, of course, in the sense of Democritus or Thomson; yet in a sense which every quick wit will divine. *Atom* and *individual* are the same: one signifies "not to be cut," the other "not to be divided." Molecular science is not more concerned than anthropology or religion with the problem: "What is the nature of the ultimate unit, the atom, the individual?" Sociology finds its molar mass in universal society; its molecule in the family; its atom in the individual. What it teaches respecting these is to shape the destinies of uncounted generations. Again are we confronted with the question: "*Am I an atom?*" What is this being of mine that the common tongue should call it individual, or indivisible? Has it any such sacred unity as shall justify the boast? What is its relation to the social and the cosmic whole? Is it one of the permanent elements or ultimate units without which the whole could not exist? Was it beginningless—will it be endless? Am I a simple essence or monad, not composed of parts, and therefore not again resolvable into parts? What is that within me which says 'I,' and refuses to consider itself as more or less than one? Why does it refuse to be analyzed into a mere stream of fleeting impressions, or mere seriated states of consciousness? Why is the preservation and development of my individuality so supremely precious to me? Am I, or am I not, in any real sense, an individual, an atom?"

Certainly I shall not presume or pretend to find answers for all these questions. I put them only to suggest the profound connection between the atomism of science and the atomism of religion. Of one thing, however, I am sure. Radicalism to-day is tired of the one-sided individualism which, like the ancient atomic theory of Lucretius, sets up the individual against all comers as an absolute unit, independent of all save itself, heeding no law and knowing no power but that of its own "primordial motion." In its reaction against the encroachments of society on individual rights, it sometimes stands so stiffly straight as to lean backwards. This is not well or wise. The atom cannot secede from the solar or cosmic systems of which it is a part. If radicalism means atomism in the old Lucretian sense, and teaches that the individual is self-subsistent, even to the extent of ignoring a single natural obligation involved in the solidarity of man, it must revise both its theory and its practice in the light of a more modern theory, or it will be swept away as an anachronism. I do not believe in the old-fashioned atomism, either in science or in society or in religion. I believe in the atomic theory as carried forward and developed into the atomo-dynamic theory, which includes all that atomism has to teach, but adds the elements of a profound philosophical, social, and religious unity. Hegel wrote: "In recent times, the atomistic view has become in politics still more important than in physics. According to it, the will of the individuals as such is the principle of the State; the source of attraction (association) is the particularity of our needs and greeds; and the Universal, the State itself, is the external relation of contract." [Quoted in *Stirling's Secret of Hegel*, vol II., p. 212: Eng. Ed.] It is this old atomistic conception of the individual will, rather than the universal reason, as the ultimate principle and appeal, that produces both the oppression of minorities by majorities and the indifference of individuals to their public duties. The trouble lies in leaving the universal out of sight. Individualists in the old atomistic sense appeal to the law of their own nature as supreme over all social law,—which is well enough, nay, necessary, when social law is based on anything more narrow than universal reason; but social law is far more the expression of the common nature of all than is willingly conceded by old-atomistic individualists, and then its claim to be obeyed is also the claim of the

individual's own nature also. The atomo-dynamical view emphasizes the value of the individual, and the sanctity of his rights, just as strongly as the old-atomistic view; but in the individual himself it discerns the universal also, and counts this as the individual's best. Hence it has a rational reverence for the State as the necessary expression of the universal element in all individuals,—as the enactment and institution of the universal reason and conscience, and not at all as that of the majority's will as such. To dispute and disobey this universal authority is to violate, not the arbitrary commands of man, but the sacred behests of our own highest nature and the supreme sanctities of the universe itself.

THE ATOMICITY OF THE SOUL.

Regarding the individual, then, as on the one hand the highest known expression of the Universal Power of the cosmos, and on the other as a centre of conscious moral and intellectual life which plays a fundamental, independent, and dignified part in the economy of human society, the new atomic theory of man is the theory of scientific radicalism; and the supreme value and function of the individual is that of the true atom or ultimate unit of human life.

But I ought to point out the limitation of the analogy I have indicated between the atom of physical science and the atom of anthropological science. The former is held to be uncreatable and indestructible; of the latter this is not affirmed. The physical atom, so far as is yet known, is not a product of evolution, though this may yet be discovered to be the fact, in which case the analogy would hold far more profoundly than I now venture to press it; the human atom, so far as is yet known, is a product of evolution, though this too may yet be discovered to be otherwise, as has indeed been held by those who believe in the eternal preëxistence of the soul. Certain it is that we know the physical atom only as manifesting the same fundamental and unchangeable properties; while we know the human atom as manifesting only qualities and powers which become gradually developed into maturity and gradually fall into decay. This is an important difference; but it does not destroy the still more important resemblance.

Although, consequently, the permanence of the human atom is not to be considered as a matter of scientific knowledge, but rather as a great luminous hope which sheds divine beauty over our relations to each other and to the universe, I must not omit to point out that hitherto the concentrated analyses of science and philosophy have failed to resolve the indivisible person into elements—failed to decompose the *ego* into parts—failed to get rid, at least as a phenomenal fact, of the atomicity of the soul. This principle the greatest analyst that perhaps ever lived, Immanuel Kant, declared to be "the highest principle of all exercise of the understanding"; and the tireless ingenuity of his critics and opponents have failed to shake it. Without this principle, which he calls the Synthetical Unity of Apperception, "nothing can be thought or cognized," he says, "because the given representations would not have in common the act of the apperception I think, and therefore could not be connected in one self-consciousness." [*Critique of Pure Reason*, p. 84: Bohn's Ed.] In other words, the self-conscious unit which is named *I* is a constant and necessary element in all thought, all knowledge, all feeling, all volition; it cannot possibly be resolved into a stream of successive impressions or states of consciousness, for it accompanies them all, is presupposed by each and every one of them, and alone gives them unity or coherence. Apart from all speculation, considered simply as a fact which must be acknowledged as a fact, this unity of personality, this atomicity of the soul, must be accepted in its entirety. Whether I have existed heretofore or shall exist hereafter, I refuse to be extinguished as an absolute unit while I do exist; and so much as this all science that deserves the name will at once concede to me. I am not a mere fascicle of impressions, a mere bundle of sensations, a mere row of beads without a string; I am myself, and that self, from its beginning to its end, if end it is to have, is absolutely one.

ORIGIN OF THE INDIVIDUAL.

Here, then, in the midst of an eternal and boundless universe, stands the tiny Individual—the ultimate atom of all human life. *What is his origin? What is his history? What is his destiny?* These are questions that rise up from the depths of every developed consciousness, in hours of meditation, with imperative and startling emphasis. They demand reply, even if they fail to receive it; they rise up again and again; they haunt our innermost souls; they will not down at our bidding. Each of you, for himself or herself, gives an answer of some sort. Shall I give you mine?

What is the origin of an animal or a plant? Have you accounted for it when you have named its parents or ancestral flower? Not at all. To produce those parents or that ancestral flower, an environment was necessary,—soil, sunshine, rain, day, night, food, climate, solar system, a universe of combining and fostering influences. And this universe that exists and produces animals and plants—it too is the product of its own past, without which it could never have produced an animal or a plant. The whole cosmic system, with its boundless extent in space and its endless history in time,—all this is necessary to account for the origin of a single daisy; all its forces, all its laws, all its long career of evolution from the primeval nebula, all the astronomical, geological, and dynamical antecedents that have gone to make this total system of things in which we live—all this

is necessary to account for the minutest organism that appears. No less than this is the origin of the Individual. It takes a universe to make a Man. He is the child of the All; and, if the All be God, then is he in the highest and noblest sense the child of God. Yes, his origin is naught less than the Infinite, the Eternal; all the forces of the illimitable universe have come to a focus in him; and in the absence of one of them he could not be what he is. The origin of the Individual is the Universal, and the Universal alone.

THE HISTORY OF THE INDIVIDUAL.

And his history—what of that?

Beginning in a tiny germ hidden from all observation, the Individual is a portion of another organism, the impouring of a sacred maternal life into a form destined to become an objective, new, and independent organism in the outer world. Its history is that of ever-increasing isolation: detached from the mother's body, clinging to the mother's hand, going out from the sheltering roof of home, mixing in alien and transient scenes, yet ever concentrating within itself more and more that is unknown to others and communicable to none—verily, it is a life of increasing loneliness that the Individual leads. All this is simply the penalty and the glory of increasing individuality—"rounding to a separate mind."

Yet all the while is this Individual reëntering again into the Universal. He forms close and dear ties into which he pours his very soul; he mingles with other lives, and merges his interests, his hopes, his thoughts, his volitions, in ever-widening circles of human life; he becomes more and more a part of the great human world that surrounds him. And, if he be not a petty soul, he mingles the current of his own being more and more with the great currents of the universe, and finds peace, even in his increasing solitude, through an ever-increasing oneness with the All.

Thus the history of the Individual is double—developing into greater individuality and isolation, developing into greater unity with the Universal whence he came.

THE DESTINY OF THE INDIVIDUAL.

And his destiny—what of that?

His origin is the Universal—his end must be the Universal too. But there are two possible ways to be considered of re-uniting with the Universal.

One way is that of re-absorption, surrendering up the elements of his being, both physical and spiritual, into the great ocean-reservoir of illimitable Being, and passing out of all individual existence. There are those who believe in this,—those even who rejoice in the prospect of it. The idea of final re-absorption into the Infinite lies at the heart of more than one great world-religion.

But there is another way also, open at least to thought. It is to return to the Universal life of Nature, not by the extinction of individual being, but by the perfection of it. Unconscious unity with Nature in our origin—conscious unity with her in our end: that is the belief of many others, and the heart of other great world-religions. It means that the same processes of increasing individuality and increasing sympathy with the universal, going on simultaneously and perpetually, are a higher mode of union with the All than is possible by the resolution of all individual being back into its primal elements. If individuality is itself dedicated to the universal,—if truth, goodness, love, the welfare of each and all, become the loadstone of the private soul that attracts all its sympathies and activities towards the same great ends that Nature herself holds precious,—then the return to the Universal which is indeed inevitable becomes great and glorious, and holds out a dazzling prospect to struggling human souls. From Nature we come with all the elements of our being: back to Nature ought we to go with our ripened thoughts and perfected spiritual life.

Which of these two ways is indeed the true one that lies before us? Verily I know not; but I too hope and aspire. And there is nothing to chill this hope, if we can *meanwhile* live worthily by the high law I have tried to explain. Again and again is it found true, that selfishness is death: the only true life worth living is the life that, in the midst of all particularities, yearns upwards towards the Universal, the Divine, and steadfastly refuses to live by any lower law. Nature and God—are they not the same? Do our bodies tell more of his secrets than our souls—our intelligence, our moral nature, our great loves and hopes and aspirations? We are made individuals at a cost—a cost involving the whole past of the whole universe. Is it all for naught? The individual is not truly such, not truly an atom, unless eternal too. I cannot persuade myself that Nature is unable to finish her own work, to complete her half-developed plans, to fulfil her own ideal, and create an individual that shall know and love her divine self with a boundless, endless devotion. To the actual truth of things must every noble heart and mind bow, before all else; yet if this be not the truth, it has learned so to counterfeit truth's ineffable beauty that I, for one, know not how to distinguish one from the other. A mere atom in the bosom of infinity, still must I obey the law of my own nature, and yearn towards the Universal as my being's end and aim—not as if I were a mere fleck of foam tossed up on the surface of the great ocean of existence to perish again forever, but as if I were a true child of the Universal whence I came, fitted by life's hard struggle to inherit its own eternity.

"PA, I GUESS our man Ralph is a good Christian." "How so, my boy?" "Why, pa, I read in the Bible that the wicked shall not live out half their days; and Ralph says that he has lived out since he was a little boy."

THE SCHOOL QUESTION.

SOLUTION PROPOSED BY A CATHOLIC PRIEST IN JERSEY CITY—THE BOARD OF EDUCATION OFFERED THE CHARGE OF A PAROCHIAL SCHOOL.

The Rev. Patrick Hennessey, pastor of St. Patrick's Church on Ocean Avenue, Jersey City, has maintained a parochial school with six hundred scholars for the past three years, and now has submitted a formal proposition to the Board of Education that it shall take charge of the school. He says that the public schools in the district are already crowded, and it will cost the city \$15,000 per annum, without the cost of a building, to provide for the education of these children. He offers to place the schools under the charge of the Board, charging nothing for the rent of the buildings or school furniture and apparatus, all of which are of the best quality, and in good order. He will also have the school-rooms heated, swept, and kept in order free of cost. He will furnish two male teachers, one as principal at an annual salary of \$800, the other as assistant at a salary of \$500. He will furnish one female principal at a salary of \$400, and as many assistants as may be required at \$250 per year each. All teachers shall be subject to the examination of the Board. No religious instruction will be allowed except the reading of a portion of the Bible in the morning and the recitation of the Lord's Prayer. If the Board will use the same books as are now in use, he will furnish them gratis; if it decides to adopt the books in use in the other public schools, the books to be supplied at the expense of the city. Father Hennessey also offers to take care of the school if the Board sees fit to appoint him, free of expense. He argues that it will be a great saving for the taxpayers, as the school will not cost the city over \$4,000 per annum. He believes that this will afford a practical solution of the school difficulty, as it will simply substitute the Douay Bible for the King James version, and will be very economical.

The Board referred this communication to a special committee, consisting of President Lyon and Directors Chapman, McGrath, Thomas, and Jewell. President Lyon is an Episcopalian, born in this country. Mr. Chapman is also a native of this country, a Methodist, and editor of the *Booksellers' Guide*. Mr. McGrath is of Irish descent, and a Catholic. Mr. Thomas is a printer in this city, a member of the Order of United American Mechanics, and a Presbyterian. Mr. Jewell was born in this country, and is a Presbyterian.—*N. Y. Tribune, Dec. 29.*

METHODISTS AND THE SCHOOLS.

THE "GRAY NUNS ACT"—OPPOSITION TO SENDING GREAT NUMBERS OF CHILDREN TO THE CATHOLIC PROTECTORY.

At the Methodist Preachers' meeting at No. 805 Broadway, yesterday morning, the subject of the "Gray Nuns act" was discussed. At a previous meeting the Rev. Dr. Howard Crosby was present, and spoke of the action taken by the Presbyterian Church. He read the memorial which was adopted at a joint meeting of the Synods of Albany, New York, Geneva, and Western New York, held in this city Dec. 8, and which complained that the enactment "is purely sectarian, conferring upon the schools under the control of one religious sect, rights and privileges not enjoyed or desired by any other sect; that it confers a virtual power upon a corporation outside of our educational system to provide teachers for that system, contravening thus the general act concerning public instruction, and your memorialists ask that the law be repealed." It was expected that the memorial would be approved at the meeting yesterday, but owing to some delay it was postponed until the next session. Several of those present spoke on the subject, all of them in favor of the memorial. After the meeting, the Rev. Dr. Curry, of the *Christian Advocate*, said it was the intention of members of the church to sign a petition for an unconditional repeal of the enactment.

Another subject which came before the meeting was the law which provides that police courts shall send vagrant children to institutions of the same religious denomination as the parents of those children. By means of this law the Roman Catholic Protectory in Westchester receives a very large majority of such children, compared with the number who are sent to the House of Refuge. A prominent member of the Methodist Church said yesterday, that this was a more important subject than the "Gray Nuns act." The objection raised to the law is that the city of New York should not support in this way a great Roman Catholic institution.—*N. Y. Tribune, Dec. 23.*

"YOU WILL OBSERVE from this word *pater*," said a school-master to his pupil, "the great flexibility of the Latin language. *Pater* is a father; and here we have *patruus*, an uncle; and *propatruus*, a great-uncle, on the father's side. Can you make any such change in our language? *Pater, patruus, propatruus*—father; is there any way you can change father into uncle in English?" "I don't think of any," replied young Hopeful, "unless you can get him to marry your aunt."

A LETTER was posted at the chief post-office in London a while since, bearing the subjoined (minute though somewhat indefinite) address: "To my sister Bridget or else to my brother Tim malony or if not to gudy her mother in law who came to americy but did not stay long and went back to the ould country—in care of the Praste who live in the Parish of balsebury in Cork or if not to some Decent Neighbor in Ireland."

TAILOR (measuring fat customer): "Would you hold the end, sir, while I go round?"

Poetry.

THE KING'S PICTURE.

The King from the council chamber,
Came weary and sore of heart;
He called to Riff, the painter,
And spake to him thus apart:
"I am sickened of faces ignoble,
Hypocrites, cowards, and knaves!
I shall shrink to their shrunken measure,
Chief slave in a realm of slaves.

"Paint me a true man's picture,
Gracious, and wise, and good,
Dowered with the strength of heroes,
And the beauty of womanhood.
It shall hang in my inmost chamber,
That, thither when I retire,
It may fill my soul with its grandeur,
And warm it with sacred fire."

So the artist painted the picture,
And it hung in the palace hall;
Never a thing so lovely
Had garnished the stately wall.
The King, with head uncovered,
Gazed on it with rapt delight,
Till it suddenly wore strange meaning,
And baffled his questioning sight.

For the form was his supplest courtier's,
Perfect in every limb;
But the bearing was that of the henchman
Who filled the flagons for him;
The brow was a priest's who pondered
His parchments early and late;
The eye was a wandering minstrel's
Who sang at the palace gate;

The lips, half sad and half mirthful,
With a flitting, tremulous grace,
Were the very lips of a woman
He had kissed in the market place;
But the smiles which her curves transfigured,
As a rose with its shimmer of dew,
Was the smile of the wife who loved him,
Queen Ethelyn, good and true.

Then: "Learn, O King," said the artist,
"This truth that the picture tells:
That, in every form of the human,
Some hint of the Highest dwells;
That, scanning each living temple
For the place where the veil is thin,
We may gather by beautiful glimpses
The form of the god within."

—Selected.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JANUARY 1.

M. H. Doolittle, \$10; Anton Braasch, \$21.20; H. A. Mills, \$7.20; W. R. Foster, \$3.20; S. Lydard, \$3.20; Mrs. O. Gerlaugh, \$4.95; Chas. Zeigler, \$3.20; M. Lillenthal, \$10; O. P. Whitcomb, \$3.20; Oscar Roos, \$3.20; J. W. Maffield, \$3.20; D. K. Boutelle, \$3; J. Shackleton, \$6.40; W. A. Thurston, \$3.20; Miss E. T. Cowperthwaite, \$3.20; Israel Betz, \$1; B. Lindsey, \$3.20; Miss J. P. Titcomb, \$3.20; John H. Clifford, \$1.60; Wm. Boynton, \$1.25; Geo. Rogers, 75 cents; H. C. Orth, \$3.20; Ira W. Castle, 10 cents; D. B. Dunning, 25 cents; J. T. Hanna, 50 cents; Cash, 86 cents; C. L. Howard, 40 cents; Cash, 20 cents; Benj. Rodman, \$28.30; Julius Assmann, \$13.10; D. F. Henderson, \$3.20; M. Schlesinger, \$3.20; E. G. Burnett, \$3.20; H. J. Hudson, 25 cents; Mrs. Jas. Annis, \$3.25; M. Taber, \$3.20; J. L. Roberts, \$6.40; T. E. Clapp, \$2.20; H. Weinberger, \$3.20; Willey Britton, \$3.20; Lucius Everett, \$3.20; Sam'l Warbasse, \$6.40; R. F. Briggs, \$3.25; Mrs. S. B. Berry, \$3.25; M. T. Dole, \$3.20; G. H. Stevens, \$1.10; E. Lawton, \$4.40; A. A. Bugbee, \$3.20; N. S. Townsend, \$2; T. C. Evans, \$1.50; Mrs. Sarah S. Russell, \$50; R. Dodge, \$1; S. R. Honey, \$3.20; Isaac Ames, \$3.20; B. Newland, \$6; G. N. Smith, \$1.10; S. R. Calthrop, \$5.20; C. A. Mitchell, \$2.50; E. Kelley, \$3.20; W. C. Donnell, \$6.44; M. M. Waterman, \$3.20; Mrs. A. L. Tracy, \$3.20; A. H. Brockway, \$3.25; C. R. Purdy, \$6.40; E. W. Keeler, \$3.20; C. P. Tenney, \$3.20; W. E. Harriman, \$3.20; Wm. Barbour, \$1.50; S. Nixon, \$3.20; G. W. Fletcher, \$3.25; E. O. Avery, \$3.20; L. Markham, \$3; Mrs. O. W. Bird, \$3.20; Edward Gustine, \$3.25; Miss H. P. Robinson, \$3.20; L. C. Kimball, \$3.25; Edward Ayres, \$3.20; Wm. Babcock, \$3.20; Jackson Bros., \$3.20; Dr. Alexander, \$3.20; H. B. McNair, \$4.70; B. F. Chapman, \$8; Mrs. C. M. Rotch, \$8; C. P. Carpenter, 35 cents; B. S. Willey, 10 cents; H. C. Orth, 20 cents; O. K. Crosby, 25 cents.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are not on hand will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

THE LAWS CONCERNING NEWSPAPERS.

1. Subscribers who do not give express notice to the contrary, considered as wishing to continue the subscription.
2. If subscribers wish their papers discontinued, publishers may continue to send them until all arrearages are paid.
3. If subscribers move to other places without informing the publisher, and the paper is sent to the former direction, they are held responsible. Notice should always be given of the removal.
4. If subscribers neglect or refuse to take their papers from the office or place to which they are sent, they are held responsible until they settle bills and give notice to discontinue.
5. The courts have decided that refusing to take a paper from the office, or removing and leaving it uncalled for, is *prima facie* evidence of intentional fraud.
6. Any person who receives a newspaper and makes use of it, whether he has ordered it or not, will be held in law to be a subscriber.
7. If subscribers pay in advance, they are bound to give notice to the publisher at the end of their time if they do not wish to continue taking it; otherwise the publisher is authorized to continue to send it, and the subscribers will be responsible until an express notice, with payment of all arrears, is sent to the publisher.

The Index.

BOSTON, JANUARY 6, 1876.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 1, TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer. The editor is obliged to reserve the right of withholding from publication any article of a libellous or immoral character.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ARBOT, Editor.
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, ROY. CHARLES
VOTSEY (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England),
DAVID H. CLARK, Editorial Contributors.

A WRITER in the *North American Review* (October, 1869, page 354) is quoted by the *Nation* as authority for the statement that the word God "is but a variant pronunciation of the word Odin or Wodan (Guodan), by which the Norseman personified the 'all-pervading' Storm-wind."

It is necessary to contradict once more a rumor which has been set in circulation (apparently with malicious motives): namely, that THE INDEX is about to suspend publication. No such purpose or necessity exists; THE INDEX will continue to be published as heretofore. Its prospects are better than they were a year ago, and we hope it will live to speak its uncompromising word for many years to come.

MR. DYER D. LUM, whose name is well known to our readers as author of several articles of unusual merit in these columns, met with a sad railroad accident lately, by which his leg was broken. Great sympathy is felt for him by his fellow-townsmen of Northampton, who, as the *Springfield Republican* states, "kindly remembered him Christmas week with a gift of \$200." His friends at a distance will share our own pleasure at this richly deserved tribute of esteem.

A BOUND VOLUME of THE INDEX, either for 1871 or 1872, will be given as a premium to each new subscriber who remits \$3.20 for a year's subscription, or to each old subscriber who remits \$3.20 for a new subscriber obtained by means of his or her efforts. The volume will be sent by express at the recipient's expense; but no volume will be sent at all unless it is claimed at the time of making the remittance. This offer can only remain in force a little while, as the supply of volumes is small; but it is one which those who know the value of these volumes will hasten to improve.

A PHYSICIAN whose untiring efforts to advance the cause of Liberalism have commanded our sincerest gratitude writes as follows: "I cannot help thinking that the Administration is stealing the thunder of THE INDEX. To organize the liberal element of the country will be a troublesome matter, but after the anti-slavery triumph we must not despair. We are slowly working towards the formation of a League in our valley. My acquaintances at different places are exerting themselves to secure subscribers for THE INDEX for the coming year. The devotees of superstition are almost everywhere wallowing in revival mud. Medically speaking, I agree with you that this is 'hysterical Christianity.'"

THE CLOSING paragraph of Mr. Frothingham's discourse on "The Lord's Day," published in THE INDEX of December 23, prompted Bishop Ferrette to send us a little French hymn which he wrote a few days previously for the use of his French congregation in Boston, and "in which," he says, "precisely the same sentiments, namely, those of the whole Christian Church up to the invention in England of the Protestant Sabbath, are expressed." We append it for the sake of our readers who are familiar with French:—

CHANT DU PREMIER JOUR.

De l'éternel sabbat dissipaient les ténèbres,
Dieu dit, Soit la lumière! et la lumière fut.
Et d'un plus noir sabbat foulant les draps funèbres,
Le Soleil de Justice, éclipé, reparut.

Car du monde naissant la clarté matinère
Eut des nuits, des sabbats, après le premier jour.
Le Christ ressuscité ne meurt plus. Sa lumière
Des sabbats et des nuits ignore le retour.

Que le pécheur, aveugle à l'éternelle aurore,
Dans la nuit du sabbat demeure enseveli.
Du Premier Jour du Christ la clarté brille encore.
Elle éclaire l'Eglise, et n'a jamais pâli.

THE UNFINISHED WINDOW.

When, at the command of Aladdin, the genie of the lamp had erected over-night the wonderful palace for the reception of the Sultan's daughter, twenty-three of the windows in the great domed hall were lavishly decorated with jewels of the costliest kind; but the twenty-fourth was purposely left plain and incomplete, that the Sultan himself might have the glory of putting the finishing touch to such an incomparable structure. For a whole month all the Sultan's jewellers and goldsmiths labored assiduously to decorate this unfinished window in a style not unworthy of its superb companions; but, after utterly exhausting the resources of the imperial treasury, they found themselves unable to finish even one side of it. In this perplexity, Aladdin ordered them to undo their work and restore to their master his jewels. He then rubbed his lamp, and bade the genie to complete the hall; which was immediately done, to the astonishment and delight of the Sultan.

Is it strange that the inadequate propositions of ex-Speaker Blaine, President Grant, the Union League, and others, to supply the omitted guarantees of religious freedom in the United States Constitution remind us irresistibly of the unfinished window in Aladdin's palace? The majestic Constitution of this great republic was planned and established by men of ideas,—nay, by the very genie of Liberty, inspiring their brains, nerving their hands, firing their hearts; but they left one of its jewelled windows unfinished. The Constitution has no adequate provision for the protection of the most precious of all rights—the right of free religion—the right of free thought, free speech, free press, free education. To-day men of mere shifts and expedients are stepping forward to complete what men of ideas and principles commenced; but, like the Sultan's jewellers and goldsmiths, they will find their puny resources utterly unequal to so grand a task. They will botch the job; their work must sooner or later be done all over again. Only the genie of Liberty can finish what the genie of Liberty began.

It is persistently urged by many thinkers, both Christian and non-Christian, that the political and social life of every nation is dominated, shaped, and directed by the religion of that nation; that the mightiest forces at work in national development are religious forces; that the springs of vitality in great communities as such, no less than in individual existence, can be discovered nowhere but in the universal consciousness of obligation under eternal moral law; in short, that all political and social institutions are the direct or indirect outgrowth of religious ideas, sentiments, and convictions. Stated in broad and general terms like these, the position is one which we have never controverted and do not now controvert; but the moment that it is translated into the technical terms of any special world-religion, it immediately becomes a falsity so far as this country is concerned. We admit that religion is the vital or formative principle of every great national organism; but we deny that religion as construed by the technical religionists of America is the vital or formative principle of this republic.

What is their claim? That this is a Christian country; that Christianity is the national religion of the United States, although the Christian Church, as a visible ecclesiastical organization, is confessedly not established by law; consequently, that a personal God, as the Supreme Being, Author, and Authority of Christianity,—the Lord Jesus Christ, as its authoritative revealer and head,—the Bible, as its authoritative sacred book,—and the "Lord's Day" or "Sabbath," as its authoritative sacred day,—are all part and parcel of the national religion of the United States, and justly entitled, if not to formal recognition (as claimed by the Christianizers of the Constitution), at least to informal authority and practical supremacy in all legislation. This claim is maintained and acted upon by the great majority of Protestant Evangelical believers, and is the only ground on which the practices protested against in the "Demands of Liberalism" can be even feebly defended.

But this claim must be denied by every American citizen who comprehends the true spirit of the institutions under which he lives. Just as the Church has an indefeasible right to be judged by its own collective and authoritative declarations, as contained in its great historical creeds and confessions and illustrated by its own corporate acts, and not to be judged by or held responsible for the erratic utterances of individuals who set all these things at defiance; so also the Republic, as a great State independent of the Church, has an equally indefeasible

right to be judged solely by its own authoritative utterances in its Constitution, treaties, and laws. Judged by this standard, the United States cannot intelligently be declared to be a Christian country; or, if intelligently so declared, the declaration must be coupled with a demand to amend the Constitution in accordance with the alleged fact. For the Constitution, treaties, and laws of the United States, as a nation, render this country totally independent of Christianity and all its sacred authorities. The Christian religion has here no national right but to be nationally ignored, and left to provide for itself on its own private responsibility. The Christian Church is not a national church, and the Christian religion is not the national religion; the attempt to make either of them a national institution is an attempt to deliver over this purely secular republic to a foreign power. And that is neither more nor less than treason.

Nevertheless, the republic has its own purely secular religion, declared luminously in its Constitution and exemplified (with sad deviations) in its history. It is the religion of political and personal freedom, of widely diffused education, of equal and universal human rights, of justice between man and man and the brotherhood of universal benevolence which inevitably grows out of justice between man and man. Few, perhaps, are prepared to admit that these glorious yet simple things are enough to constitute a religion; yet what do they lack? They have proved their vitalizing power as a religion by creating a political organism of majestic proportions, of an unprecedented type, of a cohesive strength sufficient to survive the earthquakes of foreign war and domestic rebellion; they have proved their power to create civic heroes by the hundred and soldier martyrs by the hundred thousand; they have proved their power to kindle fires of self-devotion, self-sacrifice, and moral enthusiasm which burn in millions of breasts to-day, and gird Columbia with a wall of living flame; they have proved their power to inspire in a great nation an inextinguishable faith in its own future, and a purpose stubborn as steel to crush all parties and all administrations which imperil this future by fostering political corruption or betraying the cause of public virtue and public intelligence. Millions and millions of lives are ready to be devoted to the defence of the republic, and to the defence of the real religion of the republic, just as soon as the enemy that plots their ruin dares to reveal openly its hideous face. Freedom, justice, knowledge, equal rights—these are the religion that builds no churches and hires no priests, but makes every honest citizen's heart an altar and the republic itself a temple. If Christianity, Catholic or Protestant, dares to carry its lust of power so far as to attack overtly the real safeguards of this religion, it will eventually be made apparent that the republic of the United States prizes its secularism above its Christianity, and has a religion of its own against which the gates of heaven shall not prevail.

The religion of every free State is free religion; and free religion, on its political side, is absolute secularism—the absolute restriction of government to the transaction of all public affairs by the simple rules of intelligence, justice, liberty, and equal rights, and the absolute exclusion of all rules introducing revelations or supernaturalisms or ecclesiasticisms of any sort. This is the common religion of mankind. Every special religion pretends to include it, but crucifies it in the act. Christianity pretends to include it, but violates it by its peculiar claims. The moment that revelations or supernaturalisms or ecclesiasticisms are introduced into government, the rules of intelligence, justice, freedom, and equal rights are straightway trampled on. There is not a Christian in the United States who would not declare that he believed unreservedly in intelligence, in justice, in freedom, in equal rights; and a government, therefore, administered faithfully by these purely secular principles, cannot really give him any reasonable cause of complaint. But there is not a Christian in the United States who is sufficiently Christian to think that the government ought not to be absolutely secular, that would not break the laws of intelligence, justice, freedom, equal rights, for the sake of making the government Christian.

Here is the difficulty: all honest citizens want the government to be intelligent, free, just, and equitable,—and some of the honest citizens want it also to be Christian in the sense of giving special privileges to Christianity. But the wish of this Christian party is contradictory of the wish of the whole people, including themselves; and it is no reason for defeating the wish of the whole people that the Christ-

ian party cherish contradictory wishes. Let the government be absolutely secular, and the wish of the whole people is gratified—one wish of the Christian party being gratified at the expense of the other. But if that wish of the Christian party which requires the government to be Christian should be gratified, then not only is the wish of the whole people defeated by this defeat of justice, but the very Christian party who gain their one wish defeat their own other wish at the same time unwittingly. It is thus plain that the Christian party cannot satisfy at once their two wishes to have the government just and to have it Christian; in any event, one of these two wishes must defeat the other; and it is much better, even for the Christian party itself, that that one of their two wishes should be defeated whose defeat ensures the victory of the wish of the whole people (including themselves) for real justice to all.

So much only of religion, therefore, can justly be incorporated into our political institutions as is common to the whole people; namely, so much of it as consists in freedom, intelligence, justice, equal rights before the laws. Whatever in religion denies or violates these things tends to destroy our national existence, and is treasonable in fact, if not in intention. But these things constitute the real religion, the purely natural and secular religion, which has created the republic, inspired its whole history, and given it the promise of an illustrious, noble, and happy future. It is manifestly evident that the imperfect guarantees of this political secularism, of this utter divorce of Church and State, need now to be perfected. The "unfinished window" of the Constitution needs now to be completed. Leaving each individual at perfect liberty to add on his own account to this common religion of the whole people whatever tenets he may hold to be true, and whatever practices he pleases that are no infringement of his neighbor's rights, the republic should now restrain and chain forever the restless ambition which seeks continually to impose on the whole people the special religious beliefs and practices of only a part of the people. Let such a Constitutional amendment be now adopted as shall make the separation of Church and State no longer a matter merely of national tradition or disputed inference, but a great principle fully and explicitly declared in the great charter of all our civil and religious liberties. With this purpose in view, and with all the light thrown on the subject by recent events, we submit the following form of amendment to public consideration:—

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever in any State be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious practices shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

This amendment is as comprehensive and as thorough as we can make it. The first section provides

for the total separation of Church and State, covering the exemption of church-property from taxation; the second section provides for the personal religious rights of each and every citizen; the third section (being Judge Hurlbut's admirable proposition) prohibits sectarian appropriations, and provides for a genuinely unsectarian public school system; and the fourth section provides for the efficient execution of the foregoing provisions. No measure less thorough ought to be adopted, for no measure less thorough can accomplish the entire secularization of the State. All who intelligently believe in that principle and favor its practical adoption by the nation will, we think, give their cordial assent and sympathy to this proposition. Who will circulate for signatures a petition asking Congress to recommend this Religious Freedom Amendment to the various States for adoption as part of the fundamental law of the land? Who will thus do his part towards completing the "unfinished window" of our glorious Constitution, by decorating it with the priceless jewels of religious liberty, equality, and justice? Or must it be sung of the great founders of the republic, as Longfellow sang of the dead Hawthorne and his uncompleted romance:—

"Ah, who shall lift that wand of magic power,
And the lost clew regain?
The unfinished window of Aladdin's tower
Unfinished must remain!"

GREETING FROM OUR GERMAN FRIENDS.

It is with great pleasure that we have received and now publish the following fraternal letter to the Liberal Leagues from the Union of German-American Liberal Societies. The cordial and friendly sentiments expressed by the President and Secretary of the Union will certainly be reciprocated very heartily by the members of the Liberal Leagues. As the Leagues have not yet entered into any organic connection, but propose to discuss and act upon some plan looking to that end at a general convention in Philadelphia next summer, we can only express here a hope that both American-born and German-born American citizens who believe in the actual separation of Church and State will cooperate in all possible ways with each other in securing that great object. When the Liberal League convention is assembled at Philadelphia next summer, we do not doubt that it will do all in its power to reciprocate the courtesies now tendered by the officers of the Union, whose letter is as follows:—

TO THE LIBERAL LEAGUES.

Thanking you for your cordial invitation to attend your late September convention at Philadelphia, and assuring you of the most earnest determination to labor hand in hand with you, to make propaganda for, and eventually to enforce by political action, the "Demands of Liberalism" as stated in THE INDEX, the undersigned, officers of the Union of German American Liberal Societies, take pleasure in announcing to you that this organization will hold its fourth triennial at Philadelphia, during the last week of June, in the one hundredth year of American independence; and that in connection therewith (the precise day to be made known hereafter) is to be held a convention of delegates from all the progressive and liberal societies, clubs, and leagues in the United States; the object of the latter assemblage being the framing of a platform, and the discussion of ways and means to a concerted action of all friends of uncurtailed liberty and equal justice. Besides the "Demands of Liberalism" forming the basis of your organization, other reformatory demands will be proposed for discussion and adoption, which we hope will meet your approval, and insure your cooperation.

In order that there may be no suspicion of exclusiveness or misapprehension in regard to the motives for holding a separate convention nearly at the same time with that called by your sister organization, we will here state the principal reasons for this action. A formal reason (sufficient in itself for the officers of a democratic organization like ours) is, that a resolution adopted at our last convention in 1874 makes it our duty to hold the convention at the time and place before stated. But the principal reason is, that the societies forming our union were founded by, and were composed almost entirely of, members of German birth or descent, who, although mostly able to read and write the English language besides their own, and even to speak it for the purposes of every-day life, still could not ably and eloquently express their views, or do justice to themselves and their constituents when taking part in public discussions carried on in a language not their mother-tongue.

In conclusion, we would propose that both our organizations be mutually represented at each other's conventions by delegates who would form a connecting-link, and insure a harmonious and effective cooperation.

In the name of the German American Union of Liberal Societies, we sign with friendly greeting,
Yours for truth and justice,

J. E. LOUIS, President.

EMIL MORAWETZ, Secretary.

MILWAUKEE, Wis., Dec. 20, 1875.

[FOR THE INDEX.] CURRENT EVENTS.

BY B. C.

Mr. Gilbert Haven, a Methodist bishop who is somewhat notorious for vigorous and extravagant statement, made a characteristic speech in this city recently, in which he exhorted his hearers, mostly ministers, to pray for the reelection of Gen. Grant. Being taken to task for this peculiar union of politics and prayer, by both the ungodly and the religious press, the unterrified bishop replies with the following exhorting bit of rhetoric: "Chase and Greeley and Sumner and Wilson are towering warnings to the American people how they consider the work of renewing the land accomplished, and set themselves against him whom God hath selected for this renewal. Had Wilson thrown his mighty influence on the side of the President; had he cordially supported the reconstruction measure still needed to insure liberty and safety to our land, and to the late and not yet freed slave; had he helped pass the force bill, and the education bill, and the marriage bill, and other bills necessary to secure equal rights to all, he would have been alive to-day. But he put himself against these demands of God and the hour; and was not, for God took him." We are sorry to observe that some people have become greatly excited by this language, one writer even calling it "horrible blasphemy." We beg leave to assure our readers that there is no necessity for the expression of even the mildest indignation. Coming from an ordinary mortal, the above language, of course, would be looked upon as blasphemous, or insulting, or indecent; but coming from Mr. Gilbert Haven, we are sure that it means nothing—absolutely nothing. After a certain amount of practice in the making of unguarded statements, a man's words become meaningless to all persons but himself, and, according to our observation, the period of Mr. Haven's apprenticeship ended some time ago. We should be unable to repress our indignation against the Methodists for making a bishop out of a man whose characteristics were so well known as were those of Mr. Haven before his election to that position, were it not for our conviction that they are now profoundly repentant for that great misdeed. It is not difficult to imagine the pious resignation of the leaders of the denomination, if, upon awaking some morning, they should learn unexpectedly that Brother Gilbert "was not, for God took him."

The above reference to Methodism leads us to say, with all due respect to the members of that denomination, that they are threatened by an evil far more to be dreaded than the burden of carrying Mr. Haven, though the latter should live to the age of Methuselah. The mischief wrought by a boomerang bishop may be calculated, or, in commercial phrase, "discounted," in advance, and to a certain extent, therefore, may be guarded against. But when a moral standard has been once lowered, the process of getting it back again to its former elevation is apt to be a long and difficult one. And this demoralization is the present danger of the Methodists. The former denominational zeal has greatly abated. The leaders are beginning to see visions of vast projects, and dream dreams of great enterprises to be carried out by their great organization. And in the furtherance of their schemes some of them are becoming indifferent to the moral character of those who will help them. Only thus can we account for the nomination by one of their number, at a recent ministers' meeting, of Benj. F. Butler for the Presidency. This man believes that Butler will help him in "putting through" the "force" bill, the "marriage" bill, and other bills which he desires to have served up, à la Haven, for the political regimen of the Southern people; and, occupied with these pet schemes, he utterly ignores not only Butler's opinions upon the most fundamental questions of legislation, but also his moral character and disposition. The apotheosis of the Butlers, Tweeds, and Flaks is one of the most disheartening signs of our civilization; and when a clergyman is guilty of this same degrading idolatry, the denomination which can endure him without rebuke may well begin to suspect that something is wrong in its moral standards. We trust to see some of the guns which have been liberally discharging hot shot in the direction of the harmless Haven turned toward this new candidate for unworthy fame.

A very interesting question is in course of preparation for the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. The Mormons have always maintained the unconstitutionality of the laws passed by Congress against polygamy in Utah. They argue as follows: When the present territory of Utah was ceded to the United States by Mexico, the treaty expressly stipulated that all dwellers in the territory were to be allowed the free exercise of their respective religions. The Mormons were then in the territory. Consequently, they argue, the practice of polygamy, which is commanded by their religion, is protected by treaty-obligation, and cannot, therefore, be interfered with by Congress. So confident are the Mormons of the strength of their case that they have procured the formal indictment of one of their number—no less a person than Brigham Young's private secretary. He has just been tried and found guilty of polygamy by a jury composed principally of Mormons, Brigham Young being among the witnesses. All legal forms have been strictly complied with in order that the case, which has already been appealed, may be decided by the Supreme Court solely upon its merits. If the decision be in favor of the Mormons, we do not know why the Chinamen may not take courage and begin to send for their

wives; and all Mohammedans who may hereafter come to this country would also be protected (at least in Utah) in the enjoyment of the full practice of their religion. If the Sultan of Turkey be driven out of Europe, as now seems probable, he may be enabled by this decision to set up his harem, and read the Koran in our Western land. The prospect becomes distressing. We exhort our Christian friends to hurry along their Constitutional amendment, or the followers of Joe Smith, Mohammed, and Confucius may yet outvote the true believers.

A beautiful instance of Christian love has recently been witnessed at Abingdon, Illinois, in which place the Campbellites, as they are termed by outsiders (or Christians, as they term themselves), have a college. For many years, according to the Chicago Tribune, the administration of the college has been marked by dissensions and quarrels, and for the past two years there has been open warfare between two opposing factions. The "Christian" Church of the town has been divided by the same strife, and a new church formed by seceding members. The two college parties, each backed up by a Christian church, have not only blackguarded one another without stint, but have burned effigies, defaced dwellings, and threatened personal violence. On Christmas Day, at a Sunday-school festival, a regular fight took place between members of the two factions, and during the fight, which does not appear to have been conducted according to the rules of the Prize Ring, the Rev. Mr. Perley, President of the college, was beaten to death. Behold, how these Christians love one another!

From Christian love we turn to an illustration of Christian morality. The Rev. Mr. Hepworth's church in New York is encumbered with a debt of \$180,000. The congregation is large, and the Sunday-school flourishing, the Bible-class alone numbering one hundred and fifty. But the interest on the debt is an unpleasant burden even for this prosperous society. It has been decided, therefore, to allow the mortgage to be foreclosed, and the church building to be sold at auction. Of course, in these times, there is no demand for expensive church property. No one imagines that the building will sell for more than a small fraction of its cost. It will be quietly bid in, therefore, at a low figure, by a member of the society, who will by-and-by pass it over to its present owners for the amount of his bid. By this strictly legal transaction the society will gain probably \$100,000, and the holders of the mortgage will be defrauded of the same amount. If this proposed scandalous transaction is carried out, it will not be the first instance of a Christian church guilty of similar dishonesty. And yet, the Sunday after the consummation of this precious bit of rascality, the reverend and godly pastor of the church will preach probably about the corruption of politicians, the sinfulness of the world, and the necessity of coming to Jesus for clean hands and a pure heart.

Mr. Chock Wong, editor of a Chinese paper published in San Francisco, has announced his intention of applying for naturalization papers at the United States District Court. If Mr. Wong's application is granted (and we know of no legal ground on which it can be refused), his example will probably be followed by others of the same race. It is useless to deny the fact that the idea of admitting the Chinaman to citizenship is a very distasteful one to many excellent people. The Chinaman differs so greatly from the New Englander in religion, traditions, language, habits, and physical peculiarities, that it is difficult to conceive the two as dwelling together in harmony under the same national roof. Nevertheless, he may yet become a most useful citizen. In Northern Australia and in the Pacific Islands, the Chinaman has exhibited a wonderful power of adaptability to new circumstances, a power not yet fully displayed in California because of the antagonistic influences by which he has been surrounded. If we are to continue to have the Chinaman among us, it is certainly better to have him a citizen, with the balance-weights of wife and children, and the ownership of a house-lot, than to have him remain in his present anomalous condition.

The Beecher-Tilton controversy is again to be opened. Mr. Beecher's church has voted to accede to the request of Mrs. Moulton for a mutual council of Congregational churches, to decide upon the questions at issue between herself and Plymouth Church; and this mutual council is to be followed by an advisory council to be called by Plymouth Church alone. We sincerely trust that we are not to be called upon to witness another farce like that of the previous council. If these new councils are simply to decide some petty questions of church discipline, they should not be convened; at least, not in connection with this disgusting controversy. There is one question only in this connection in which people in general are interested—the question of the guilt or innocence of Mr. Beecher; and bearing upon this question there is, we are informed, an immense mass of evidence excluded on technical grounds from Mr. Tilton's civil suit for damages, which has not yet been given to the public. If a church council is willing to take up this evidence, properly sift it, and determine its value, it may settle finally this unsavory affair; but we have little faith that any church council will properly undertake or execute this task. Mr. Beecher has never shown the slightest disposition to have this evidence produced; but, whenever any plan has been proposed which seemed likely to include it, he has begun to talk about "wolves and foxes," or something equally irrelevant. Until his guilt or innocence has been determined in the light of his evidence, Mr. Beecher cannot hope

to be left in peace in his position as a Christian minister, or even to be received much longer in respectable society. In addition to the ecclesiastical councils we are to have legal proceedings, Mr. Moulton having brought suit against Mr. Beecher for \$50,000 damages for malicious prosecutions, and, if we are correctly advised, the form of the suit is such that essential evidence, excluded from Mr. Tilton's suit, must now be admitted.

Communications.

AN ECHO OF THE PAST.

In the summer of 1838, Mr. Emerson gave his famous address before the Divinity School. It was the event of the season, and as a literary product unsurpassed. I never read it without increasing admiration of Emerson's ability as a thinker and a writer. It is the *ne plus ultra* of his prose style, and is evenly excellent throughout. Jeremy Taylor or Milton, Landor or De Quincey, may have finer passages, but none has continued at such an elevation, or written so long with so much grace and grandeur. The rhetoric is gorgeous as a butterfly's wing, but the thought is packed and solid as a blazing diamond.

But its literary value is least to whoever can interpret the significance of a prophet-voice, and its relation to the times. The tone of the address marks its quality, and is the test of its power. And how lofty and spiritual it was! Not "a voice crying in the wilderness" merely, but a silver-tongued trumpeter standing in the noonday light of civilization, and challenging the busy throng to attend the warning. The silvery tones of that trumpet-voice went in at ears stuffed with cotton, and appealed to interests mightier than trade or commerce. But the chief effect was in another quarter. That voice shook the temples and synagogues of the popular religion—shook them as with thunder, and earthquake, and fire. The ministering priests at the altar trembled and grew pale,—or ran out in terror of their lives. What did the voice mean? what could it portend?

Andrews Norton, the Unitarian champion, the critical Goliath and Corypheus of the liberal wing of religionists, spoke to the assembled bands of the clergy, taking for his theme "The Latest Form of Infidelity." Without designating Mr. Emerson in particular, his guns were double-shotted, and aimed at the structures of that philosophy of which Emerson was considered the ablest New England representative and exponent. But historical proofs of Christianity, and critical reasonings drawn from the text, could not touch a man who built securely on the sublime bases of the soul itself.

"The antick pillars massy-proof" of Mr. Emerson's dwelling did not crumble and fall, because they did not feel the cannonade. Mr. Emerson had no call to answer, and did not answer. But "a champion of transcendentalism"—so Mr. George Ripley was designated—stepped forth, in an elaborate review of Mr. Norton, entitled, "The Latest Form of Infidelity Examined." It was issued anonymously in the form of a letter to Mr. Norton, and the writer subsequently added two more letters, and published the whole in book form under his name. About the same time, Theodore Parker entered the lists, appearing, singularly enough, under an assumed name, in a tract called "The Previous Question between Mr. Andrews Norton and his Alumni, moved and handled, in a letter to all those gentlemen, by Levi Blodgett." I have never seen this tract of Parker's; but Mr. Frothingham, in his life of Parker, says it was "admirable for clearness, pith, and point." There were other replies, by Brownson, and J. F. Clarke, and "one of singular beauty" from Theophilus Parsons. Richard Hildreth, the historian, addressing Mr. Norton, wrote "On Miracles as the Foundation of Religious Faith,"—an anonymous tract which has escaped the notice both of Welles and Frothingham.

Meanwhile there was a great stirring in the camp of Orthodoxy; the Princeton reviewers got hold of Emerson at last, and did him up in two articles on German transcendentalism and the influence of the philosophy of Cousin, and its effect in this country. These articles were written by Doctors Hodge and Alexander, assisted by Professor A. B. Dodd. They were able on their side, and were republished with an introductory note by A. N. [Andrews Norton], in Cambridge, 1840. This was about the end of the controversy, as it appeared in print; though the subject continued to be agitated in the newspapers for a while longer.

Throughout the storm Mr. Emerson sat serene, and apparently unconscious that he had done anything to cause such disturbance in the religious world. Young ministers were especially excited, and preached Emerson, or about Emerson. By the older clergy he was recognized as the head and fount of that dangerous radicalism which has leavened the Cambridge Divinity School ever since, and has been a thorn in the side of Unitarianism to this day. To show the attitude and feeling of Mr. Emerson, we shall quote some sentences from letters passing between him and his friend Henry Ware, Jr., occasioned by a sermon Mr. Ware preached on the "Personality of God," which it was thought Mr. Emerson had denied. Mr. Ware says, referring to the "unqualified statements" of the address, that some of them "appear to me more than doubtful, and that their prevalence would tend to overthrow the authority and influence of Christianity. On this account, I look with anxiety and no little sorrow to the course which your mind is taking. That I appreciate and rejoice in the lofty ideas and beautiful images of spiritual life which you throw out, and which stir

so many souls, is what gives me a great deal more pleasure to say."

Mr. Emerson in reply, after speaking of the "pain of dissent, and the dissent of dear friends and benefactors of mine," answers in this noble strain: "Yet as my conviction is perfect in the substantial truth of the doctrine of this discourse, and is not very new, you will see at once that it must appear to me very important that it be spoken; and I thought I would not pay the nobleness of my friends so mean a compliment as to suppress my opposition to their supposed views out of fear of offence. I would rather say to them: These things look thus to me; to you otherwise. Let us say out our own uttermost word; and be the all-pervading truth, as it surely will, judge between us. Either of us would, I doubt not, be equally glad to be apprised of his error."

Mr. Ware, in a subsequent letter accompanying a sermon which he sent to Mr. Emerson, hopes that "he has not argued unfairly" against Mr. Emerson's positions; since "I do not know by what arguments the doctrine that 'the soul knows no persons' is justified to your mind." He (Mr. Ware) thinks that men do not sufficiently realize the fact of the Divine Person; and, after lamenting his being brought into "a sort of public opposition" to Mr. Emerson, he concludes with the ancient maxim, "*Amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, sed amica Veritas.*"

Mr. Emerson replies: "The letter was right manly and noble." But neither that nor the sermon disturbs his habitual contentment, or his resolution that "you should say your thought whilst I say mine." Then follows this interesting avowal and confession: "I believe I must tell you what I think of my new position. It strikes me very oddly that good and wise men at Cambridge and Boston should think of raising me into an object of criticism. I have always been, from my incapacity of methodical writing, 'a chartered libertine,' free to worship and free to rail—lucky when I could make myself understood, but never esteemed near enough to the institutions and mind of society to deserve the notice of the masters of literature and religion. I have appreciated fully the advantages of my position; for I well know that there is no scholar less willing or less able to be a polemic. I could not give account of myself if challenged; I could not possibly give you one of the 'arguments' you cruelly hint at, on which any doctrine of mine stands. For I do not know what arguments mean in reference to any expression of a thought. I delight in telling what I think; but if you ask me how I dare say so, I am the most helpless of mortal men. I do not even see that either of these questions admits of an answer. So that in the present droll posture of my affairs, when I see myself suddenly raised into the importance of a heretic, I am very uneasy when I advert to the supposed duties of such a personage, who is to make good his thesis against all comers. I certainly shall do no such thing. I shall go on just as before, seeing whatever I can and telling what I see, and I suppose with the same fortune that has hitherto attended me—the joy of finding that my abler and better brothers, who work with the sympathy of society, loving and beloved, do now and then unexpectedly confirm my perceptions, and find my nonsense is only their own thought in motley. And so I am, etc., etc."

It is nigh forty years since these words were written; and Mr. Emerson's name is now a household word all over the land. It is pronounced with respect and veneration in two hemispheres. Wherever his fame has gone (and his writings are read by the most intelligent, thoughtful, and cultivated men), there have gone the "uttermost word" of that spirit of truth to which his whole life has been devotedly loyal, the lofty charm of spiritual ideas, and that magnificent beauty of his prose style which have their culmination and perfect incarnation in the address to the Divinity School. Its delivery marked a "white day" in the literary and religious annals of New England.

JOHN SAVARY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec., 1875.

A REJECTED ARTICLE.

[The difficulties encountered by liberals in any attempt to get a fair hearing from the general public are illustrated in the rejection of the following letter by the Washington, D. C., Tribune. It has kindly been sent to us by the writer, presumably for publication.—Ed.]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WASHINGTON TRIBUNE:—

The Tribune of this morning says:—
"As a matter of fact, both the Grant and the Blaine amendments to the Constitution are uncalled for, useless, answer no good purpose, and are designed to guard against dangers that exist solely in the imaginations of two candidates for the Presidency."

This is an assertion which will by no means secure the unanimous concurrence of the party which the Tribune represents. It may not be known to its editor that a movement exists, and for two or three years has existed, entirely independent of either of the existing political parties, looking to the actual and entire separation of Church and State in this country; and the necessity of such a movement cannot be better shown than by its platform, as follows, entitled:—

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

[Here followed the "Demands."]

Organizations to the number of twenty-five or more have been formed in the principal cities of the East and West under the name of "Liberal Leagues," and the movement has an organ in THE INDEX, published at Boston, and edited by Francis E. Abbot, an able and zealous advocate of the "Demands."

If the Democratic party wants to place itself squarely on the platform of religious liberty, let it as-

sume a position as unequivocal as the above indicates, and there can then be no suspicion that it is acting for or against any particular sect or religious faction. Nothing short of this can satisfy an honest, earnest, and consistent desire for the utter and absolute separation of Church and State.

Respectfully,
GEO. M. WOOD,
President Liberal League of Washington, D. C.
WASHINGTON, Dec. 13, 1875.

WHY HE REFUSED TO TAKE "THE INDEX."

EDITOR INDEX:—

Almost mournful is the misapprehension which some intelligent and good men entertain with respect to the real mission of THE INDEX, and the important part it is acting in the great social revolution through which we are now passing. An invitation to a friend to join a club to take THE INDEX called out the following answer, which shows how easy it is to rest in old assumptions, the correctness of which is not seen to be called in question:—

"My friend —, You ask me if I will subscribe for THE INDEX, published at Boston, Mass., at a reduction of one dollar. I say no, even if it should discount as much more. THE INDEX may not do me damage; I think it would not do me good. I must say I have no money to use to promote infidelity. It has a mission; and one of its main designs is to weaken the affection for the Bible, on which it throws so much contempt, as well as on the Christian religion. Till something better is found, I shall use my money and influence for that. I can say, as Dr. Franklin is said to have spoken, 'If the world is bad, with all the hopes and restraints of religion, what would it be without any?' No, my dear friend, I think a poor religion is better than none. I pity that man who has no hope, and who lives in this world without hope, and without God. But the religion of Christianity is founded on a rock, and will stand against all the machinations of men or evil spirits. All such as have a good hope are through it measurably happy, while the bold and unchastened scoffer is unhappy. No hope of living after he shuffles off this mortal coil.

"More safe, and much more modest 'tis to say,
God will not leave mankind without a way;
And that the Scriptures, though not everywhere
Free from corruption, or entire, or clear,
Are incorrupt, sufficient, clear, entire
In all things that our needful faith require.
If others, in the same glass, better see,
'Tis for themselves they look, but not for me;
For my salvation must its doom receive,
Not from what others, but what I believe.

For points obscure are of small use to learn,
But true and common faith is mankind's great concern."

It is not fair to assume that documents not examined or allowed to speak for themselves can do no good; that THE INDEX promotes infidelity in the better sense of the word *faith*; that it designs to weaken affection for anything good in the Bible, or to throw contempt on what substantial religion there is in Christianity; that hostility to religion is shown by efforts to remove the sham that usurps its place; that the hopes and restraints supposed to spring from a piece of artificial machinery named religion must necessarily make the world any the better; that a poor religion cannot be improved, or cannot be replaced by a better; that a selfish and vain hope for personal advantage or promotion, which has no reasonable basis, can promote human welfare; that mankind become immortal solely through freaks of the imagination; that he who seeks to inspire humanity with a noble and salutary faith deserves the name of *scoffer*; that the perpetual goodness of the Creator is represented by an obscure, imperfect, and corrupt guide, instead of by the real way of human life which is being constantly revealed; that conscience requires any faith in such a guide, as God's last word to man; that faith in dogmas prescribed has anything to do with man's ultimate destiny; that what a multitude embrace must necessarily be true.

The real merits of the present agitation will not be understood by persons who make it matter of principle never to look beyond the prejudice in which they have been educated.

C. C.
NORTHUMBERLAND, Pa., Dec. 23, 1875.

NOT INSANE.

M. H. L., in THE INDEX of Dec. 2, says: "I write to say that I think Moody insane and a dangerous man to run at large"; and quotes from him the following to prove it:—

"I have a son, and no one but God knows how I love him; but I would see those beautiful eyes dug out of his head to-night rather than see him grow up to manhood, and go down to his grave without Christ and without hope."

Now, judging him from his own stand-point (and we cannot rightly judge him from any other) Mr. Moody has put the case with infinite mildness and moderation. Only his eyes dug out! Why, sir, if I believed in Moody's hell, and my son had as many eyes as there are stars in the heavens or leaves in the forests, and the digging process should consume as many millions of years as there are drops of water in the ocean, it would be an act of infinite mercy to hand him over to the surgeon, if that alone could satisfy the demands of Infinite Justice, to commence operation at once.

The work would all be accomplished in the early twilight of hell's everlasting midnight. Insane? No! Moody is the sanest Christian I have heard of for years; and he and his backers would be more sane and rational as Christians, should they all go stark mad. The insane ones are those who carelessly see the world tottering on the "ragged edge" of hell and damnation, a floating magazine of powder over a "lake of fire," and give no warning cry.

Go on, brethren Moody and Sankey; daub with no untempered mortar; hack with no broken sword; mask no battery; strike straight from the shoulder until you drive them to Jesus or to Bedlam. Be honest and consistent. Let us have more logic or less Christianity; and, if M. H. L. sends you to the mad-house, we will promptly forward your discharge.

E. F. RING.

SPARTA, Wis.

TRIUNE REASON.

MR. EDITOR:—

In a recent number of THE INDEX appeared an article on Unitarian principles by Rev. Henry Blanchard, of this city. The article contained the following impressive statement, as his understanding of one of the principles of Unitarianism:—

"III. To rely on reason, when the individual reason has been informed by the common reason of mankind, and helped by the divine reason."

Perceiving much wisdom in this Trinitarian individualism, I have sought to apply it to my daily life; but without flattering success.

Upon inquiring of my grocer to-day for good potatoes, he informed me that he would send a sample to my house for trial, and, if they suited my taste, requested my order. I replied: "Certainly; I rely on taste, when the individual taste has been informed by the common taste of mankind, and helped by the divine taste."

Query.—How soon can I decide upon my grocer's request, and what shall I do for potatoes pending my decision?

T. M. LAMB.

WORCESTER, Mass., Dec. 22.

A FRESH light has just been thrown upon one of the most hideous epochs of modern history by Professor Villari's publication of the despatches of Antonio Giustiniani, who was the ambassador of Venice in Rome from 1502 to 1505. These papers were among the valuables carried to Vienna by the Austrians when they withdrew from Italy; and one of the benefits arising from the restitution recently made is the appearance of Villari's volumes. They cover the last sixteen months of the pontificate of Alexander VI. and the commencement of that of Julius II., their main interest naturally centering in the sayings and doings of the Borgias while their ambitious schemes were ripening to fruition, to be cut short by the sudden death of the father. It would not be easy to convey a more vivid impression of the scandals of the time than is afforded by the quiet jottings of the Venetian diplomat, recording how the Holy Father amused himself with comedies and masquerades and the sports of the Carnival of 1503, when, his son having captured and slaughtered the Orsini at Sinigaglia, he was completing the task by executing and poisoning the members and adherents of the family in Rome, sacking their palaces, and carrying off the booty to the Vatican. No time, apparently, was lost in this latter portion of the work. When the Cardinal of St. Angelo died, as was asserted of poison, on the night of April 10-11, Giustiniani, visiting the Pope on the 11th, was carried by him into a room where his creatures were already busily engaged in counting the spoils of the victim; and Borgia pathetically complained that he was reported to have secured at least 80,000 to 100,000 ducats by the operation, but that there was only a paltry 23,832, to confirm which he called upon those engaged in the work to verify his statement. It is some satisfaction to know that when, four months after this, the monster died, he made *el più brutto, mostruoso et orrendo corpo di morte che vedesse mai*, and that for very shame his corpse could not be openly shown to the people in the funeral ceremonies. The faculty of abhorrence seemed to have been exhausted by the revelations of Burchard and the suggestiveness of Machiavelli; but Giustiniani has shown us the possibility of even deeper degradation in an infallible Vicegerent of Christ.—*Nation*, Dec. 23.

WITHIN THE near memory of comparatively young men business was transacted as usual upon Christmas day, except by Episcopalians and Roman Catholics; and the courts held their sessions without intermission throughout the State. We need not comment upon the very different sentiment and practice in regard to the day at the present time. The first innovation, or at least the first leading to very fruitful results, was made in the circuit court of the United States, sitting at Boston, at its October term, 1852. Christmas occurred in that year on Saturday, as will be the case the present year. On the Friday preceding, the district-attorney, Mr. Lunt, moved the court to adjourn over until Monday, out of regard to the day. The excellent judge, Mr. Justice Sprague, hesitated about so serious a departure from the universal custom of the courts. In his own court a capital case had been argued on Christmas day not long before. He is said to have remarked to a friend afterwards that he was a Puritan, not an Episcopalian, though, as we have already remarked, the Puritan was first applied to those who sought for reformation in the English Church, of which class mostly were the Massachusetts colonists, while the Pilgrims at Plymouth were dissenters. Judge Sprague, however, as a justice of a United States Court, had a right to do as he pleased, and finally granted the motion at the urgent request of the district-attorney. It was not long, we believe, before the Supreme Court of the State followed the example thus set, until, by the passage of the statute of 1856, the legislature constituted Christmas a legal holiday. This is the history of the legalization of the day in Massachusetts at so recent a period; and the progress of Episcopacy in this State is no doubt owing in no small measure to the change thus officially established.—*Boston Advertiser*, Dec. 24.

Sanctuary of Superstition.

A FEARFUL THING.—"Is it, or is it not, a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God? The Bible says it is a fearful thing. The Bible is right."—*Rev. J. D. Fulton, D. D., in Boston.*

A NEW INDUCEMENT.—Why, I heard of one physician who attended sick folks in a hospital, and he noticed this: that the sick people who were Christians got well much quicker than those who were not, and it led him to think, "Well, if the religion of Christ is good like that for sick folks, it surely must be good for those that are well."—*H. L. Hastings, Editor of "The Christian."*

NOT AUTHORIZED TO DISCUSS.—That a body of ministers unknown as to their ecclesiastical polity should here discuss the very foundation of Methodism is horrible. If this discussion [on the future punishment of the wicked] be allowed, I desire to have my name stricken from the rolls.—*Dr. Curry, at New York Methodist Preachers' Meeting in 1808.*

INFALLIBLE.—The Bible is a vein of pure gold, unalloyed by quartz, or any earthly substance. This is a star without a speck; a sun without a blot; a light without darkness; a moon without paleness; a glory without a dimness. Oh, Bible! it cannot be said of any other book that it is perfect and pure; but of thee we can declare all wisdom is gathered up in thee, without a particle of folly. This is the judge that ends the strife, where wit and reason fail. This is the book untainted by any error; but is pure, unalloyed, perfect truth.—*Spurgeon.*

LOST.—Oh, 'tis a terrible thing to be lost in the wilderness; to be lost in an abyss of vice and sin; to be lost at sea; to have your ship ground to fragments amid the roaring tumult of the breakers and the frowning terrors of a lee shore; to feel that only one single plank holds you back from death, and that that will soon be swept from your enfeebled grasp; but oh, how much more terrible to be lost in eternity, to be shipwrecked and dashed along dark ruin's fiery coast, to be drowned in destruction and perdition, to be lost amid the surging billows of the lake of fire and brimstone—to be LOST! LOST! LOST!—*Leaflets for Letters, No. 7; Christian Publication Society, Boston.*

THE MISERY OF ORTHODOXY.—In looking over the private papers left in my hands by a very dear friend at her death, many years since, I find records of her religious struggles which stir my heart with grief and pity, that what she had been educated to consider "religion" should have thrown her beautiful and sensitive nature into such states of suffering. She was naturally conscientious in the highest degree, and her whole moral character was of rare elevation and purity. Her intellectual endowments were also of a superior order, so that all the elements of her being combined to give intensity to feelings prompted and controlled by the ideas into which she had from her birth been indoctrinated, and from which the environments of her situation afforded no means of escape. In melancholy contrast with the glad some "Light and Liberty" which it is the mission of THE INDEX to diffuse amid the darkness and constraint of existing falsities and dogmas, I will transcribe for its "Sanctuary of Superstition" some passages from the records referred to.

A. H.
"I have spent days and nights in such agony as never mortal long endured without sinking into death-like, calm despair, or experiencing that peace which the world can neither give nor take away. How earnestly, how sincerely (and it does always seem that I was sincere, that no one could be more so), did I pray to God, and how constantly, in bitterness of soul, did I try to lift my heart to him! I did desire that the choicest blessings earth could give might be taken from me rather than they should keep me from loving God,—rather than they should comfort me in the least, till I had made my peace with him. Oh, how many hours I have spent in that old garret, seated on old lumber behind the chimney to avoid observation, and thought I would rather remain there all my days than become thoughtless again. Oh, what tears of anguish have I shed in that spot, and how my heart did all but break! I dare not write all. It is wonderful I live and have my reason, and no one knows how wonderful. For what could I have been preserved, from that awful step which wild despair had prompted me to take, when Satan had almost got entire possession of me? And when I became less wretched, I did think I took great delight in reading the Bible and singing hymns, and thought my joy and strange delight proceeded from a love to the Savior which was just beginning to be lighted up in my soul. But my rejoicings were of short continuance. I saw that my prayers and songs of praise were sinful mockery, and an abomination, and then I laid me down and wept, and tried to give myself away again and again, and then sunk exhausted into an almost senseless state, in which I imagined myself in a very perilous situation, and was just ready to fall, when an arm was extended, and I awoke. Never did I feel such sweet peace. I tried to dismiss the impression, tried to think 'tis all a dream.' I had no hope, though I had not one desire to enjoy anything in this world, and had no pleasure in anything. Every one encouraged me to hope—said I had much more reason than many Christians. Now why did I not settle down on a false hope? This was the second time I had been put in this situation, and in just such a situation as I fear many are who are thought pious."

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ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF —.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in —, and thereby to effect the total separation of Church and State in fact as well as in theory.

Also to send delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League, when organized, and to cooperate heartily with all the liberals of the country in furtherance of the above-named object.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

"If we are to have another contest in the near future of our national existence, I predict that the dividing line will not be Mason and Dixon's, but between patriotism and intelligence on the one side, and superstition, ambition, and ignorance on the other. Now, the centennial year of our national existence, I believe, is a good time to begin the work of strengthening the foundations of the structure commenced by our patriotic forefathers one hundred years ago at Lexington. Let us all labor to add all needful guarantees for the security of free thought, free speech, a free press, pure morals, unfettered religious sentiments, and of equal rights and privileges to all men, irrespective of nationality, color, or religion. Encourage free schools, and resolve that not one dollar appropriated for their support shall be appropriated to the support of any sectarian schools. Resolve that neither State or Nation, nor both combined, shall support institutions of learning other than those sufficient to afford to every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common school education, unmingled with sectarian, pagan, or atheistical dogmas. Leave the matter of religion to the family altar, the Church, and the private school supported entirely by private contributions. Keep the Church and the State forever separate."—PRESIDENT GRANT, at Des Moines, Sept. 29, 1875.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT: PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies, or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinion he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever in any State be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid of, any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious practices shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid of, any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSSES.

A CORRESPONDENT suggests (and the suggestion is a good one) that all those who favor the opening of the Centennial Exposition on Sundays should write to Mr. John Welsh, Chairman of the Centennial Commission, respectfully protesting against closing the doors on that day.

THE STATEMENT of the German semi-official journals that the Ultramontanes are abandoning their opposition to the Prussian government is denied by the *Berlin Germania* (Ultramontane), which declares that submission to the State as required by Prussia is contrary to the fundamental principles of the Catholic Church, and can never be accorded.

THE PROHIBITIONIST CONVENTION at Syracuse, N. Y., on December 8, memorialized the Legislature of that State "to amend the Constitution so that the Bible will be secured in the public schools." The Christian Amendment is stealthily but steadily working its way into the mind of the Protestant Evangelical party, which contributes the largest element to the Prohibitionist party.

A LARGE MEETING of citizens was held in New York, on last Monday evening, January 10, at Rev. Dr. Burchard's Presbyterian Church, in favor of retaining the Bible in the public schools. Earnest addresses were delivered by Mr. C. H. Luscomb, Rev. H. C. Cronin, Rev. Dr. Burchard, and others. How any one not wilfully blind can persist in maintaining that the Protestant denominations as such are in favor of secular schools, passes our comprehension.

WE ARE very glad to be corrected by a correspondent respecting Rev. Dr. Curry's position on the school question. Trusting to the report of an "interview" with him contained (we believe) in a New York daily, we intimated last week that he favored retention of the Bible in the schools. We are now pleased to acknowledge that some just received editorial articles in the *Christian Advocate*, presumably his, show the contrary to be the fact. Would that all Protestants were as fair and wise as these articles are!

THE BOSTON *Globe* says that on the Sunday after Christmas Dr. Bartol "gave an instance of his personal experience with the Free Religionists, showing that sometimes they are intolerant of freedom of thought, their conduct herein comparing unfavorably with the courtesy and candor of the Unitarian Conference of Essex, the members of which listened to the same sentiments without objection." We are constrained to believe that the reporter is responsible for a gross and grave misrepresentation of Dr. Bar-

tol's language; it is incredible to us that he should ever have said anything so unjust and untrue as that.

JOHN BRIGHT uttered a weighty truth, when he said: "Nothing tends more to impede the progress of liberty, nothing is more fatal to independence of spirit in the public, than to add to the powers of the priesthood in matters of education. If you give them such increased powers by legislative enactment, you do more than you can effect by any other means to enslave and degrade the people subject to their influence." Those who are disposed to substitute denominational for secular schools will do well to ponder these sentences of Mr. Bright.

REPORT SAYS that "certain prominent Catholic citizens of Providence propose to establish a Catholic Protective Association, the chief, if not exclusive, purpose of which shall be to protect the interests of Catholics in relation to the public schools, more especially to protest and provide against any unjust removals of Catholic teachers." Of course this means fresh attacks on the school system. Catholics as citizens have the same rights as all other citizens in the public schools; Catholics as Catholics have no rights there at all. Will some one of our Providence friends procure for us further information on this subject?

MR. CONWAY, as we learn on excellent authority, has had only one engagement with a Young Men's Christian Association (that at Elmira, N. Y.), in his lecturing tour this winter; and that is the only instance thus far in which he has been defrauded of his proper compensation. After the lecture, the committee waited upon him, said they were in financial straits, and should pay him twenty-five dollars less than the contract price. In all his other numerous engagements the contract has been promptly and honorably fulfilled; but the "Young Christians," after first securing the lecture, economized by withholding part of what they had promised to pay.

THE FABRICAL nature of official oath-taking was well illustrated at the recent admission of members of the new Legislature at Albany to their seats. Each man was required to swear that he had not been guilty of bribery or corruption "at the election at which he was elected"; and the oath was taken, according to report, with mutual winks, nods, and smiles. Not only had they been guilty of these crimes, but they publicly made a jest of the perjury they were committing in denying the fact. Thus the oath, one of the "Christian features of the government" which the Christianizers are strenuous to retain, is utterly powerless to secure truth-telling after all, and only adds a new stench to the corruption it cannot restrain.

THE PEOPLE are beginning to discuss the Christian Amendment "reform." A public debate was held at Crestline, Ohio, on the evening of December 28, on a resolution—"That the proposed Amendment to our National Constitution, so as to recognize God as the source of all authority and power in civil government; the Lord Jesus Christ as the Ruler of nations, and his revealed will—the Bible—as of supreme authority in civil governments, is incompatible with the principles of a republican form of government, and such an Amendment would endanger the liberties, prosperity, and happiness of the people." Dr. E. Booth and Dr. L. P. Harris took the affirmative side, and Professor H. H. George and Rev. J. P. Lytle the negative. The chief argument of the latter was that the Amendment was necessary in order "to hold the Bible in the public schools, and to preserve inviolate the Sabbath laws." The *Crestline Advocate* of January 1 says: "If there had been another meeting announced, the hall would not have contained the audience." As it was, "the Opera House was largely attended by the intelligent portion of the community."

LIST OF LIBERAL LEAGUES.

ST. LOUIS, MO.—M. A. McCord, President; P. A. Lofgreen, L. La Grille, Secretaries.
 BOSTON, MASS.—F. E. Abbot, President; J. P. Titcomb, G. A. Bacon, Secretaries.
 JEFFERSON, OHIO.—W. H. Crowell, President; A. Giddings, Secretary.
 SAN JOSE, CAL.—A. J. Spenger, President; J. L. Hatch, Secretary.
 TOLEDO, IOWA.—J. Reedy, President; E. S. Beckley, Secretary.
 VINELAND, N. J.—John Gage, President; Sue M. Clute, Secretary.
 JUNCTIONVILLE, NEB.—J. W. Eastman, President; B. L. Easley, Secretary.
 OLATHE, KAN.—S. B. S. Wilson, President; H. A. Griffin, Secretary.
 DETROIT, MICH.—W. E. Hill, President; A. T. Garretson, Secretary.
 BREKESVILLE, MICH.—A. G. Eastman, President; V. R. Knowles, Secretary.
 OSCEOLA, MO.—R. F. Thompson, President; M. Roderick, Secretary.
 BATH, ME.—F. G. Barker, President; C. Rhodes, Secretary.
 BERLIN, WIS.—President, J. D. Walter; Secretary, J. D. Kruschke.
 WASHINGTON, D.C.—George M. Wood, President; J. E. Crawford, Secretary.
 AUBURN, OHIO.—John Fish, President; G. W. Barnes, Treasurer.
 MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—S. C. Gale, President; S. G. Rollins, Secretary.
 NEW YORK, N.Y.—J. B. Brown, President; D. M. Bennett, Secretary.
 ST. JOSEPH, MO.—P. V. Wise, President; T. H. Kennedy, Secretary.
 EAU CLAIRE, WIS.—President, S. J. Dickson; Secretary, W. Kennedy.
 BALTIMORE, IND.—President, T. Gray; Secretary, W. Allen.
 NEW ORLEANS, LA.—President, E. Vorster; Secretary, J. E. Wallace.
 BAY CITY, MICH.—President, S. M. Green; Secretary, S. M. Johnson.
 CLEARFIELD, PA.—S. Widemire, President; H. Hoover, Secretary.
 SAUK CITY, WIS.—Chr. Spiehr, President; Robert Cunradi, Secretary.
 AUGUSTA, WIS.—Davis Jackson, President; George P. Vaux, Secretary.
 WATERBURY, N.Y.—L. D. Olney, President; W. A. Howland, L. M. Delano, Secretaries.
 PHILADELPHIA, PA.—Carrie S. Burnham, President; John S. Dye, Secretary.
 MILWAUKEE.—Theodore Fritz, President; D. C. Zihling, Secretary.
 MILWAUKEE (Second League).—R. C. Spencer, President; R. Boyd, Secretary.
 NORTHUMBERLAND, PA.—M. B. Priestley, President; Chas. Collins, Secretary.
 NORTHAMPTON, MASS.—E. E. Denniston, President; M. A. Dewey, Secretary.
 MEDINA, MINN.—Allen Grave, President; Taylor Archibald, Secretary.

Deliverance, not Perfection, the Aim of Religion.

A LETTER FROM HENRY JAMES.

MY DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

You characterize religion as the effort of man to perfect himself. This is a singularly clear and bold statement of our modern gospel of culture, and is worth any dozen pages of Mr. Matthew Arnold's euphemistic maundering to the same general purpose. But the judgment, wherever I find it, seems to me saturated and even sodden with inexperience, unreason, and impiety; and, however rash it may be on my part to assail it in the person of its stoutest defender, I can better afford to risk a broken head than to keep silence.

I pronounce the judgment *inexperienced*, because it violates the integrity of the race-tradition, which implies: that religion is the instinct of man not to perfect—but to get deliverance from—himself.

I call it also unreasonable, because nothing can strike a rational imagination as more wantonly absurd than to find a creature charged by its Creator with the provision of its own destiny.

And I stigmatize it finally as impious, because the dictate of true piety the world over is to find none of its cherished or coveted satisfactions in self, but all in God.

Such are the counts of my indictment stated in successive order; but in arguing them I shall lay aside all formality, and deal with them in simultaneous order. That is to say, I shall appeal from what seems to me your very revolting statement on the subject, to the heart of your readers rather than their head.

I frankly confess, then, *in limine*, that, if there be the least fibre of truth in your definition above quoted, my whole religious life of more than forty years' duration has been a sheer infatuation. "Very possibly," you may reply; "but what does that prove?" It proves nothing, of course, as to the abstract merits of our discussion; but it is an imputation which—as brought home to me by your dictum—I cannot at all afford to admit; which, indeed, I am naturally driven to resent and snap my fingers at. It is by no means a question of science, mind you, which you are here canvassing, nor even a question of dogmatic faith, but really of the most intimate and hidden life of the soul; and the testimony of the humblest intellect in regard to it, therefore, provided it be a veracious intellect, is as absolutely valid as that of the highest. No one can have, for example, a more unaffected respect for your scientific intelligence than I have, and your remarkably lucid style of exposition. But I distinctly maintain that the scientific intellect, as such, is of absolutely no authority—because it is wholly inexperienced—in any question touching the conscious life of man as distinguished from his sensible existence. It is as inveterately blind in fact to religious light—that is, to the whole realm of truth lying within man's free or inorganic consciousness—as an owl is to daylight; and its most impressive affirmations strike one, accordingly, not as a less but only as a more darkling and conceited *Tuwhit!* and *Tuwhoo!* But you are a man of so manifold a pattern—that is, of so clear and clean an in-

tellectual make,—that one hates to see your fine perspicacity clouded, and your fine genius weighted, by the dull scientific scolism, and the insolent scientific pretension, of the time. I for my part always feel disposed to insist, *en révanche*, that you belong by spiritual nativity to the side of philosophy alone, the side of living knowledge, and inward invincible faith. At any rate, this is the reason why I do not hesitate to free my mind to you in this very hearty way.

What, then, is the definition of religion I would propose in lieu of yours? Yours errs in my opinion utterly, because it disowns any historic induction; because it consents, for example, to erase Christian civilization from the records of the mind, and to look upon the last twenty centuries of human history as practically *non avenues*, or unelapsed, as simply of no account whatever in determining the religious problem. I, in my turn, consequently, should be very careful to frame my definition in such a way as effectually to exclude your error. In other words, I should frame it in such a form as to gather in the intense, concentrated, and exhaustive light shed upon the religious problem by the most momentous era of the world's history; that era of distinctively infirm Christian fellowship whose literal close I myself am cheerfully awaiting and invoking, because I live in the confident hope and expectation of very soon witnessing its infinite and eternal spiritual resurrection. I should unquestionably say to myself, for example: "Mr. Abbot's definition of religion is a palpably Jewish one, and if anything is clear to my mind, it is that the Jewish pretension has long since received its historic *quietus* and refutation in the intellectual developments of Christianity. Let me be sure, accordingly, to neglect no advantage given me by the peculiar intellectual genius of the latter dispensation." The reason why I style your sentiment Jewish is that its principle was actually incarnate in that fanatical polity; was formally on trial there, and had a final verdict rendered against it. That is to say, the principle of selfhood, absolute and unrelated as you yourself hold it, was hypothetically posited in that shameless economy as the true basis of intercourse between God and man, as a legitimate link of connection between infinite and finite, and had an ample chance allowed it, in the historic vicissitudes of the nation, to vindicate its truth, if truth it had; and yet it was found conspicuously wanting in that divine substance. To the Jewish apprehension not mankind, but the Jew alone, was the depository of the Divine love, and he alone, consequently, the heir of all Divine culture and blessing.

"True," you say; "but when I allege self-perfection as the principle and aim of the religious life, I allege it in no private but only in a public or universal sense, as being the interest of all men, Jew and Gentile alike."

But that consideration does not improve your case. All you do, so far I can see, is spiritually to democratize the Jewish virus, and by diffusing it among all mankind hide its ungodly flanks from the scourge of a just reprobation. But surely when a pestilence visits a town, the part of true wisdom is not to make it epidemic, but to restrict its ravages, if you can, to the family in which it breaks out. The Jewish infatuation—the principle of supreme selfishness and worldliness which illustrated itself in that representative economy—is not a literal but a spiritual temper of mind. It is not a particular but a universal malady, inherent in us by virtue exclusively of our finite generation; and no one, therefore, would dream of identifying the literal Jew with it save in his public capacity, or as playing the devil's part—the part of divinely permitted spiritual egotism, lust, and vindictiveness—in the great educative drama of human history. No, my friend, you alone, as doctrinally determined, are the true or spiritual Jew, when you are thus found, in the fast gathering twilight of our crumbling civilization, audacious enough to attempt reorganizing man's blessedness in the lineaments of his primal curse; which is his instinctive and peristent desire to find life in himself organically defined, and not in God or his kind.

And now I am ready to hazard my definition. Instructed, then, by the waning light of our literal Christian conscience on the one hand, and by the waxing light on the other of our socialized or spiritual Christian perception, I do not hesitate to define religion as a deathless divine instinct in man, prompting him to despise, disown, and reject himself utterly: why? Simply on the ground of the selfhood never helping, but, on the contrary, always fatally hindering by its insane exactions, his free or immortal spiritual conjunction with infinite goodness and truth.

Why, in truth, should you and I crave to be perfect in ourselves, when we are already perfect in our creative source, and our spotless kind? Can there be, in the point of view of philosophy, any more radical insanity than this? If you hold, as I doubt not you do, to the truth of creation, and if you admit, as I doubt not you will, that creation is rationally inconceivable, save as an exact equation between creative substance and created form, why upon earth should you be found cherishing any private aims, or seeking to save your individual self? Why not rather let yourself go forever, content to find your coveted life, and health, and peace—your coveted spiritual perfection—solely in God or your kind? We ourselves are neither our own substance, nor yet our own form; neither our own absolute being, nor yet our own contingent existence. No doubt we seem to ourselves to be both one and the other of these things. But I need not remind a man of your pith that what seems never a direct, but always the *inverse*, attestation of what really is. What, then, is the use of cultivating this strictly vicious semblance, this purely fallacious quantity, which we denominate

ourselves? Has doing so ever profited any man of woman born? Has it ever brought him peace of mind? Has it ever brought him the sincere respect of his kind? Why, then, should we not all of us resolve, with this inspiring new year, to whistle it down the wind, and bid it fool us no longer?

I, for my part, and God helping me, mean to do so. I am tired to death almost of my long bondage to the will of the flesh, forever and forever prompting me painfully to pursue this mocking *ignis fatuus* of self-righteousness, when our modest race-righteousness stands by unheeded, offering me its solid and deathless divine satisfactions without money and without price. I have never got the least gain from the pursuit, but always shame and confusion of face instead. For whenever my infatuation has shone brightest, and I have been on the very verge apparently of achieving a perfect self-complacency, I have instantly been plunged anew to the neck in a bog of unclean thoughts and criminal loves. Clandestine things are never so attractive to me—the inmost sweetness of the evil and the false is never so intoxicating to my imagination—as when I am most bent upon purging myself inwardly into the Divine likeness. Such sties of ignominy as my patient, unteachable idiosyncrasy has been dragged through, by the crazy effort thus to realize spiritual conjunction with God in my proper person, and not exclusively in my proper nature! But even that patient idiosyncrasy had its divine limitation, and has now effectually broken down, leaving me to see the desire after personal holiness—that desire of man to perfect himself which you avouch as the end of all religious discipline—to be the root of all true insanity among men. I will none of it, therefore, any more. Rather let me find myself corroded with every lust denounced by the decalogue than undertake again to compass a divine righteousness in myself, or apart from my great, magnanimous, so long-suffering and crucified kind. Bare existence even is a boon to which I no longer feel in myself a titlle of sanction. I am self-conscious, or appear to exist in myself, not because I am aught more than an appearance, but because my great race alone exists, and reflects upon me her supreme reality. My consciousness and yours are only a feeble echo—are, at most, a far-off and empty reverberation of that lustrous, divine reality. We have absolutely no particle either of being or of existence in ourselves. So shallow, indeed, is the existence or selfhood which we claim to ourselves, and on the strength of which we daily pipe such fantastic paeans to our own purity and prowess as make the angels blush, that a grain of sand breathed into our weasand, or a slight excess of carbon infused into our blood, will disperse it in an instant like the mere mirage it is; and what does such a beggarly selfhood or existence as this argue, if not that it was given us not to cherish, or cultivate, but simply to spend and get rid of? How? Why by simply reacting from it towards God and our race; by simply turning it into the base fuel which alone it was designed to be—fuel to a pure flame of emancipated desires and regenerate affections.

Let us look out, my friend, accordingly, how we become definitively wedded in thought, either of us, to our own personal consequence, or are caught assiduously nursing and coddling distinctively personal ends of action. For in that case we shall fix ourselves in unrelieved intellectual night, or go on to realize in the perpetual chase of shadows a forfeiture of every ennobling joy which the divine substances of the world are empowered and aching to yield.

I am so glad I have done as to be very sorry that I could not have finished my task sooner; and I remain, my dear friend, with the most perfect personal respect and sympathy,

Yours,
HENRY JAMES.

CAMBRIDGE, JAN. 9.

WHITHER TENDING?

In the appendix of Mr. W. R. Greg's book entitled *Rocks Ahead* is an essay entitled "Three Men and Three Eras," which may be read with much profit by thoughtful persons, even if they cannot approve the writer's sweeping conclusions. Mr. Greg's purpose is to show that the United States as a representative of the virtue and power of free institutions to elevate the national life is proving a failure; that the evils of popular government are overmastering the advantages; and that the tendency is to demoralization and wreck. For this purpose he reviews the condition of our national life in the eras of Washington's, Jackson's, and Buchanan's administrations. The essay was written, we judge, in 1860 or 1861. It is supplemented by a view of the United States in recent years, lately written, the argument of which is that the tendency formerly observed has not been arrested, and that this nation is drifting recklessly to the bad. This is not the judgment of a man who imagines there can be no government worth the name without a king and an aristocracy; but of a contemplative and philosophical student of institutions, who to all appearances would be glad to take a different view of his convictions if what is true would let him. He says, indeed, "No Englishman who is not meanly malignant can dwell upon the picture without grief and shame."

Mr. Greg understands the nature of our institutions such as they were and such as they are, and writes about them with fairness and discrimination within certain limitations. The grand features of our form of government in its original conditions, those upon which its security and permanence were reasonably believed by the fathers to depend, are distinctly enumerated. The extraordinary and paramount powers conferred on the Supreme Court, and the irremovability of judges, were ordained to secure the supremacy of law and purity in the administra-

tion of justice. The consequences of too sudden and simultaneous changes in the governing body were provided against by appointing the elections for different terms and at different epochs. A formal process for amending the organic law was fixed. The electoral college was regarded as a sure device to secure the election of the President by the wisest heads in the nation. The executive head was strengthened by making the President supreme over appointments, and able to select and retain his ministers in defiance of hostile majorities in Congress. Finally, and in the writer's view most important, the "excessive preponderance of the Democratic element" was prevented by the electoral qualifications which existed in the several States,—a property qualification, the payment of direct taxes, and usually a certain length of residence. The new political organization in Washington's hands worked well, and the executive seemed almost strong enough. Such difficulties as arose were easily surmounted by his promptitude, resolution, and courage. "But Washington was a man in a million." His rapid, comprehensive, and discriminating sketch of Washington's career as soldier and statesman will rank with the most intelligent and just eulogies ever paid to that exalted personage.

Forty years from the beginning of Washington's term Jackson was President. The area of the country had been more than doubled "by the cession of Louisiana and the seizure of Florida." There were twenty-four States instead of thirteen. The population had increased from 4,000,000 to 13,000,000, the slaves from 700,000 to 2,000,000, and the commerce, exports, and imports from \$72,000,000 to \$144,000,000. Enormous as these changes were, "the moral, social, and political change was more startling still, and unfortunately was not in an equally encouraging direction." The formal and recognized modifications of the institutions of the country were many and important, "and all tended to increase the uncontrolled power of the popular will, and were so many progressive encroachments of Democracy." Not a single State admitted after the year 1800 required any property qualification for the exercise of the suffrage, and the older States had reduced or abrogated their established qualifications. During the interval between Washington and Jackson there was a "still more fatal innovation" in the judiciary system. The notion was fostered by Jefferson that the judiciary, like every other department, ought to be made dependent on the popular breath. Under that President sixteen judges were dismissed, and their courts abolished by Congress without notice and without compensation. Both Jefferson and Jackson pertinaciously urged the limitation of judicial appointments to four or six years, removable by the President and Senate, "thus reducing their holdings to absolute dependence," and before the end of the latter's term five States had gone a step further and made the judges elective for a term of years. The representatives in Congress had several times raised their own pay. The Democratic instinct, "than which nothing is keener or surer," had contrived to neutralize without formally repealing the provision of the Constitution committing the election of President to a body of "select men," chosen for that duty. "Finally it was reserved for General Jackson to give the most desperate and fatal blow to the dignity and purity of republican government in America ever inflicted upon it by friend or foe."

"During Washington's eight years of administration, he only removed nine persons from office; one, a foreign minister, at the instance of the French directory; the other eight for causes assigned. Politics had nothing to do with any of these cases. Adams also removed nine subordinate officers, but none for political reasons. Jefferson removed thirty-nine, but, as he solemnly declared and was ready to prove, not one of them because his political opinions differed from his own. . . . Madison made five removals; Monroe nine; John Quincy Adams two only. General Jackson was no sooner inaugurated than he dismissed from office nearly every man who had opposed him, or whose friends had voted for his opponent, and replaced them by partisans of his own. The number thus removed was variously stated: his enemies mention two thousand; his friends admitted six hundred and ninety."

The evils of the practice which has since become so general, of making removals from and appointments to the civil service dependent upon personal and political allegiance, have seldom been so tersely and strikingly set forth as in this essay. The growth and encouragement of the notion of the "manifest destiny" of the nation to despoil other nations of their American possessions, the increasing power of the slaveholding element, the sanction and encouragement by Jackson himself of brutal violence in retaliation for words spoken in debate, are also mentioned among the evidences of national deterioration.

Thirty years later, in Buchanan's administration, the evil tendencies had developed in a yet more alarming degree. The abolition of all qualifications for the exercise of electoral rights had been consummated in nearly all the States. Elections had, as a natural sequence, fallen into the hands of professional agents, who worked the whole machinery for candidates who employed them, "who spared neither calumny, intimidation, promises, nor bribes; and who are, as might be anticipated, among the most noxious class of bankrupts and disreputable rowdies." The elective principle in the appointment of judges for short terms prevailed in twenty-two States; in three others they were elected for the term of good behavior, and in two others they were appointed for a term of years by the governor. The evil working of this policy in various ways is explained, lynch law being one of the outgrowths of its inefficiency. In the matter of the election of President, the business

is so managed that he is chosen by a minority, and is so in the control of professional politicians that the most worthy men are seldom nominated by party conventions. The insolent attitude of the slave oligarchy is accurately described, and the brood of fateful phenomena which Sumner so faithfully described in his speech on the "Barbarism of Slavery." Buchanan's character, as a representative of the kind of men who were elevated to high office in that era, is keenly analyzed, and the startling contrast between the leading men of his administration and the associates of Washington is revealed. "Finally," says Mr. Greg, "the recent deliberate treason of three members of the Cabinet, and the proved frauds of one of them, need only be recalled to mind to give us a conception how deeply immorality of every sort must have eaten into the heart of political circles in America."

The supplementary portion referring to the recent history of the United States is characterized by no more hopeful tone. The progress of corruption in all departments appears to be rapid and appalling. His position is fortified by extracts from the *North American Review* and other authorities that discover the sores of our civil polity. The most dangerous of all present evils, however, is, he thinks, our utterly wrong policy of recruiting the civil service. At the end he presents some important statistics to show that the present condition is not entirely due to the degeneracy of the same people, but to the fact that we are a different people. "The Americans of the days of General Grant can scarcely be said to be the descendants of the Americans of Washington's epoch." He estimates the proportion of original British stock to be but forty-six per cent. of the whole, and says: "Such a change as this since the days of Washington could not possibly have taken place without entailing a change of character of almost equal magnitude, even if other circumstances had not exercised great influence also."

While Mr. Greg's facts and conclusions are suggestive of much that is going wrong, and which it will be the work of the immediate future to correct, he signally fails to take into account facts and influences of supreme importance that are all the time at work counteracting the evil tendencies. Our grand system of popular education, the constantly increasing interest of all citizens in public affairs, which is sure to make itself active and dominant in any grand emergency, the intelligent and self-sacrificing patriotism that can always be appealed to with confidence whenever there is imminent danger,—these are facts that no broad survey will leave out of sight. The corrective forces are always at work, and on the whole they are working successfully. There are wrongs to be righted, no doubt, and diseases to be cured, and tendencies to be balked, and weaknesses to be guarded against; but we believe that, even in the United States, "humanity moves onward." We are yet a young nation, and possibly have grown up rather loose-jointed, and reckless, and uncultured. Nevertheless, we are not utterly insensible of our shortcomings, and if our way of improvement is different from England's or any other nation's, it is pretty safe and certain. The honest men outnumber the rogues by a good working majority, and keep a sharp eye on them all the time. We cannot do everything at once. It is something to have got rid of slavery. Let us not despair of accomplishing civil service reform. As to universal suffrage, we are unlikely to go back, but it can be made unnecessary to go back by educating all to the degree of exercising their privileges intelligently and patriotically.—*Boston Advertiser*.

A RELIGIOUS WAR NEAR AT HAND.

BY THE ABBE MICHAUD.

Many a quiet reader, on seeing this heading, will say: "Exaggeration again. Another sensation novel. Another partisan trick." Now, though such offences as these are not justly chargeable to me, still upon this question, any more than upon any other, I would not have the reader to accept my statements as authoritative. I mean to prove by facts, which, unfortunately, are unquestionable, that the Romanism of the present day, far from being a religion, is only an aggressive and contentious political system, and that, in view of the gigantic organizations which the Jesus and Rome are everywhere developing, a religious war is inevitable, and even near at hand.

Assuredly it is not the indifferentists in religion who will begin this war. Yet they, too, will perforce take part in it, in defence of their civil and political rights, which will be attacked by the Jesuits and Romanists. For it is to be observed that the Jesuits and Romanists aim not only at universal religious supremacy, but also at supremacy in civil and political matters. The temporal, say they, must be subordinate to the spiritual; the State to the Church. Since the publication of the Syllabus this has been a commonplace; and it is manifest that just now the Company of Jesus and Rome are making every effort to put in practice the subversive and revolutionary principles of the Syllabus.

Do the Jesuits and ultramontanes dread civil war? By no means. Look at Spain, where Carlist ultramontanes and Alphonsist ultramontanes have been fighting against one another for some time. It is a matter of public notoriety that the Carlists have as leaders priests who fire their revolvers oftener than they pronounce absolution. And these disciples of the Curé de Santa Cruz are applauded, upheld, and supported by the ultramontanes of France, Belgium, England, Germany, and other countries. A Parisian, M. Liebman, had in March, 1875, collected for the Carlists 46,304 francs. On the 19th of March the *Univers*, a Papist journal, published its seventeenth list of subscriptions for the Carlist soldiers, amount-

ing to 1,880 francs; on the 20th of August its eighteenth list, amounting to 2,031 francs; on the 9th of September its nineteenth list, 923 francs. The majority of the subscribers are priests, Jesuits, and members of various religious orders.

Last September the Pope's nuncio at Madrid, Cardinal Simeoni, published a circular letter addressed to the Spanish clergy and people, urging them to uphold the Concordat of 1851, the first article of which says that "the Catholic religion is exclusively dominant in the realm, and that every other form of religion must be excluded and interdicted." This Concordat of 1851 surrenders the State and the civil power to the curia and the Jesuits; and the curia can demand of the secular power all the requisite facilities for preventing the establishment or practice of any other form of worship in Spain. Such a Concordat plainly provokes a religious war, and the Cardinal Simeoni, when he insists on the Spaniards complying with this Concordat, simply incites them to civil war.

A French liberal newspaper, having recently declared that by sending Simeoni to Madrid Rome recognized the government of Don Alfonso, but only to force him to execute the Concordat of 1851, under threat of Ravallac's poignard, M. Veuillot's *Univers* denied that Rome had officially recognized the government of Don Alfonso; but so far was it from denying the threat of Ravallac's dagger, that it added: "If there is a threat, it will fulfil itself."

In the burning of the city of San Miguel, Salvador, priests led the mob to pillage, and many other facts of the same kind might be quoted. Such conduct is in perfect agreement with Jesuit and Roman doctrines. Last year Canon Torres Asensio, Professor of Theology and Missioner Apostolic, published at Paris, from the house of the "publisher to the Pope and the Archbishop," a work entitled *Right of Catholics to Defend Themselves*. Under pretence of moderation, the author, nevertheless, recognizes "the perfect right of insurrection." In certain circumstances he holds that the exercise of this right is even "obligatory." To legitimize this obligation of taking up arms, it is enough, he says, if there exists just cause of war. Now, clearly, there will be just cause, according to Rome and the Jesuits, when there is question of defending religion—and religion with them is popery. This declaration is formal. The official journal of the Diocese of Paris warmly commends this work "in view of events which may occur."

Is this plain enough? But this is not all. The new free universities, which must base their teaching on the Syllabus, will, of course, give to students an anti-national education. On the one hand, these clerical universities will teach their students that their supreme chief on earth is the Pope, and that he must be obeyed, under pain of eternal damnation. On the other hand, the State universities will teach the contrary of all this. The result will be that the rising generation will be divided into hostile camps; the point of dispute being the supreme authority to which every Catholic Frenchman must submit, in politics as well as in religion. Does not this lead to civil war?

Then what is the origin and what is the aim of those Catholic committees, so called, which the Jesuit faction is organizing and establishing everywhere—not only in France, but also in Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, and Germany? I might answer this question myself; but I prefer rather to quote the testimony of a French Protestant journal, the *Christianisme au XIX^e Siècle*. On the 17th of September this journal stated, in accordance with the admission of a member of the Paris committee, that these Catholic committees had their origin simultaneously at Paris and in Brittany, in 1871, springing from patriotic distress and from an act of Christian hope. And it added: "Thus the origin of this work breathes war. The object is to take a Catholic revenge on Protestant Prussia. A tinge of religion is thus given to a purely political antagonism."

But the question grows bigger still with peril and menace when we consider the speech delivered by Cardinal Manning (then Archbishop Manning), on January 20, 1874, at the meeting of the League of St. Sebastian. "Now," said he, "that the nations of Europe have risen in revolt, have dethroned the Vicar of the Church so far as it is possible for man to do so, and have made usurpation of the Holy City a part of international law; when all this has been done, there is but one solution of the difficulty—a solution which I regard as imminent,—and that is the terrible scourge of a continental war—a war which will surpass in horrors the wars of the First Empire. I do not see how this war can be avoided; and it is my firm conviction that, despite all obstacles, the Vicar of Christ will be restored to his legitimate place."

The conspiracy of the Romanists against the present Italian government, their fixed resolve to set up again the temporal throne of the Pope, are thus confessed and plain to be seen. We hear this every day in France. Daily the Romanist pilgrims chant the hymn, "Save Thou Rome and France." Save Rome—i. e., restore the Pope-King; save France—i. e., place Henry V. on the throne. And we all know what would be the policy of Henry V.

In short, it is plain that, first, the Jesuits and ultramontanes virtually hold doctrines which lead to insurrection—even bloody insurrection—against their opponents; that, second, they are getting ready, organizing for this war. This is an undoubted fact as regards Europe, and especially France. As for the United States of America, there, too, are Jesuits and ultramontanes who have the same nature, the same orders, the same designs, as those of Europe. But they are in a minority; they will bide their opportunity with all the more patience since it is only a question of time.—*New York Independent*.

A REVIVAL OF RELIGION.

[We will guarantee ten minutes of amusement to any INDEX reader who will spend them in reading and reflecting on the following extract.—ED.]

Moody and Sankey have closed their labors in the city of Brooklyn. There cannot be found on the face of the earth a more unpromising subject to work upon spiritually, than the man who does business in New York and lives in Brooklyn. He has all the moral principles belonging to a New York importer, combined with the religious, modest assurance of a member of Rev. Mr. Beecher's flock; and so he is apt to undervalue his silks as much as he overestimates his virtues. With Mr. Evans to look after his legal demurrers, and with Mr. Beecher to attend to his religious devotions, he feels secure in the possession of present prosperity, and looks forward with confidence to the attainment of future bliss. It will take a vast amount of preaching and singing before his invoices are satisfactory to the government of the United States, or his invocations pleasing and acceptable to the court of Heaven. It were easier to change the soldiers' monument into a first-class wet nurse than to alter such a man into a humble, praying Christian. Mr. Sankey would have been fully justified in using the bass trombone or the snare drum to soften and mellow his hard heart to make it pant after the true waters of life.

When will men learn that religion is not to be applied, like a life-preserver, only in times of great danger and distress, but rather to be worn at all times, like our flannel, to comfort and protect, and always dangerous to leave off? If men went on the selfish basis of seeking the most pleasure with the least pain, they would find themselves pretty good imitations of Christians, without having gone through the process of experiencing religion.

The times are not promising for the cause of pure religion. We are all in that deplorable condition of mind where we have just knowledge enough to doubt the first chapter of Genesis, and not faith sufficient to believe in the Sermon on the Mount. Before long we shall become so scientific and well-informed that when a person dies there will be no funeral services. Some one will read comforting passages from the transactions of the American Scientific Association, and the mourners will go about with small hammers in their hands, chipping the rocks and assuaging their anguish by proving the antiquity of creation. Front seats at the scientific lectures will be reserved for the widow and the fatherless, and instead of looking up to heaven for our consolation, we shall bore down a few feet deeper into the earth for our interesting facts. We have traded off all simple religious faiths for a few meagre scientific facts; but there may come that day when we think of bestowing our patronage on some undertaker that we shall wish to trade back again, and in something of a hurry. A slight smell of camphor in a sick room has often proved efficacious in withdrawing thought from questions of mere intellectual or scientific criticism, and fixing them upon the true condition of the individual soul. Darwin's greatest work is the last book we should want to read the last evening we spent on this earth.

It is by no means certain that we are placed in this world to begin a grand hunt after what is called the truth; nor is it clear that our present happiness entirely depends upon having everything proved to us. Our mission here is not so much to keep pace with the facts of science as with the duties of life, and the most ignorant laborer who is patient and uncomplaining in his lot is a far greater man than the gentleman of culture who is restless and snappish in his daily walks of life. The knowledge of the truth often operates to discourage virtuous endeavors. We knew a good man who said that he always lost money as long as he kept a set of books, and not until he had destroyed them did he find heart to go on and give notes, trusting with childlike faith that his assets would somehow or other pay them. It is evident that we have now about all the scientific truth that is good for us, and we ought to add to our scanty stock of faith, or else our brains will resemble the fat man who travelled with Barnum's show, while our poor souls will form a striking likeness to the living skeleton that used to exhibit himself in that tent back of the old Manufacturers' Hotel. We recently saw a man who believed that the whale swallowed Jonah, and we were glad to see him, and to cling to this rare specimen of all faith and no intelligence. He was a much happier looking man than any one of the advanced thinkers of the age that we ever have had the pleasure of seeing.

Macaulay says that George Fox, although he possessed an intellect too much disordered for liberty and not sufficiently disordered for Bedlam, was still able to convert men of ability like Barclay and Penn, simply because Fox believed what he did believe. In close quarters the man who really believes in anything is more than a match for the man who entertains an intelligent doubt on all subjects. Shut Moody and Sankey into a room with Francis E. Abbot and John Weiss for a week, and at the end of that time you would find Abbot and Weiss on their knees reading that excellent little tract called, "What shall I do to be saved?" with tears streaming down their cheeks, and all because Moody and Sankey are just ignorant enough to believe in something, while Abbot and Weiss are so precious knowing that they are not sure that they know anything. In spiritual matters we want a man at the helm who has entire confidence in himself, if he really does not know half as much as we do. What the world has gained in one direction, in the last fifty years, it has lost in another. If we could retain the faith of our fathers with our present worldly comforts, how happy we should be!

We live in better houses, we walk on better side-

walks, and we drink better water than did our ancestors; but we have not their reverence for things sacred, nor their belief in things eternal.

They never saw the railroad, nor the telegraph, nor the last work of Professor Tyndall, but they all believed in the day of judgment, and they all loved the sound of the church-going bell. They lived in contentment and died in peace, and they were more solicitous to know the final destiny of their own souls, than of the "Origin of their Species."

We, their unhappy children, have relinquished the faith that cheers, without attaining unto that knowledge that illumines, losing all our piety in our vain efforts to become profound.

We need a revival of religion, but we fear the firm of Moody and Sankey have not the proper machinery to manufacture the right article for us. E. J. C. —*Providence (R. I.) Bulletin, Dec. 8, 1875.*

THE BIBLE AND THE SCHOOLS.

A SERMON BY THE REV. M. J. SAVAGE AT THE CHURCH OF THE UNITY.—AN ARGUMENT IN FAVOR OF THE EXCLUSION OF THE BIBLE FROM THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

The Rev. M. J. Savage preached yesterday morning at the Church of the Unity on West Newton Street, his subject being "The Bible and the Public Schools." The audience was very large, there scarcely being a vacant pew. He took as his text the words of the prophet, "My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge." The prime evil of the present time was not so much ignorance as vice and dishonesty; but as the world went the terms were synonymous. Tweed never could have lived and reigned in New York had it not been for the ignorance of the masses, who thought his rule was more advantageous to them than an honest government. Business would never have been brought so near to ruin had not our legislators been culpably ignorant; no civil service disgraced but for the prevailing ignorance of the people. When the people could be educated to see things as they were, their selfishness, if not their virtue, would demand an honest government, for all men desired what was for their own good. The great step to national safety was national education, and since the ballot could not be taken from the hand of ignorance, compulsory education was necessary to save the country. He believed our common-school system was seriously threatened, and he also had faith that it would not be overthrown. It would not be saved by either of the political parties, but its salvation was in the common sense of the people. The victory would come after a battle which must be waged with energy and vigilance, and not carelessly.

The danger which threatened the school system was the old question of Church and State—whether the State should sanction the use of the Bible in the public schools. It was the same battle which Bismarck and Gladstone were engaged in, and the question arose here because people from all nations had accepted an invitation to come and help build up our country. They wanted to stand on a platform of equal rights, and objected to their children's being taught what they sincerely believed was wrong, and compelled to grow up under the influence of one religion. The question was not whether we were right, for all were sincere in their convictions. The country should be ashamed, as a matter of hospitality, to force its Scriptures on those whom it had invited to come and live here. We should not trample on the sacred feelings of any. It had been a matter of pride with us that we were tolerant; but was it true that we were only tolerant to those of our faith? Our religion ought to receive the contempt of mankind if it asked odds of any one in the battle of supremacy, and be ashamed to beg for legislative majorities and congressional amendments. If Christianity could not sustain itself against the world with a free literature and other advantages which it had here, it ought to fall. We violated the fundamental compact of civil rights in forcing the Bible on the schools which all were taxed to pay for. If we, being in a majority, now compelled the Bible to be used, we should expect similar treatment when the opponents of the Bible got in power. Such an action looked like a religious persecution, and he did not wonder that the Catholics were ready to riot, even, when they truly believed their children were being taught what was wrong. It was strange that the sons of the Pilgrims were engaged in a national scheme to treat others in the same manner from which their fathers suffered. If it could be proved that keeping the Bible in the schools was an act of governmental safety, the law of self-preservation might justify it in some way. The State had nothing to fear from unbelief, but from superstition. In answer to the question, Why should we let the Bible be driven from the public schools? he said it was because we could win by allowing its opponents to have their own way in this instance. We would then establish popular education, and thus make Catholic supremacy impossible. He believed the opponents of the Bible used the injustice of its being forced on them only as a pretext. They hated and feared any education except what they chose to give; they were afraid of modern civilization. Their pretext, however, was a just one, whether their opposition to the Bible was or not. He would remove any just ground of opposition, and, by taking the Bible away from the schools, compel the Catholics to go in. If the Bible could not hold its own where all could read it, it was its own fault. The speaker then noticed several objections made to remove the Bible from the schools. The first was that it ought not to be singled out for removal. He thought that the Bible stood in the way of compulsory education, and could not stand on an equal footing with other books, since it was the sacred book of one creed.

No one would object to its use as a text-book. The next objection was that schools would be godless without it; but the speaker did not believe that education was any more godless without the Bible than with it. The last objection was that a knowledge of the Bible was essential to the best education in literature, history, and morals. He admitted that the book was a masterpiece of English literature, and its use as a text-book in this study the speaker thought no one would object to. It was not reliable as a teacher of history, but as a teacher of morals it claimed a good deal of attention. He thought the Bible's highest moral precepts were equalled by those in books of other nations; but it was absurd to claim that reading many portions of the Old Testament was conducive to the highest morals. No book was less fit to read than certain portions of the Bible.

He concluded by saying that the great need of the republic was universal education, and that it could not be reached if the State taught religion. A false religion should not be boosted by outside help, and a true doctrine did not need that aid.—*Boston Advertiser, Jan. 10.*

AN EXPERT IN CHAPLAINS.

Obviously Jones knows a chaplain—a good chaplain—when he sees him. And it is no small accomplishment. For there be chaplains and chaplains; chaplains of all ages and sexes and sects; and of all races, denominations, colors, and previous condition of servitude; chaplains that pray extemporaneously, that pray by book, and by book and candle, that don't pray at all, and that spell it with an e. You may find chaplains almost anywhere. But connoisseurs in chaplains are rare. Such is Jones. Jones is a man, mind you, who could soar above a convention of clergymen for just a single moment, and then pounce down upon the chaplain of chaplains in the whole meeting; he could poise himself on equal wing for just one fluttering instant over a camp-meeting of entire strangers, and scoop you up a chaplain at a glance; a chaplain who should have the intellectual grip for a lodge of Good Templars, the fervor and the martial ardor for a militia brigade, or the staying power for a Legislature. And Jones is—but it may be we are too rapid. Possibly some reader of the *Tribune* may not know who Jones is. Let us pause then a moment while we convene Jones and contemplate him. We are not ourselves so familiar with the history of Jones as we could wish. And yet we think we can get him together somehow, in epochs, like the Pentateuch, and convey a fair impression of him. We are indebted for our facts to the *Springfield Republican*, which seems to know of him; and as thus far in the canvass for the chaplaincy of the Massachusetts House of Representatives that journal has not nominated the Hon. Char—but perhaps that is irrelevant. The Rev. Jesse H. Jones is a representative from the Twelfth Plymouth District to the Massachusetts General Court; and he represents Labor Reform. Need we say more? We think not; unless, indeed, some one should desire to know how he proposes to reform labor. To that we cannot make answer in detail, but we do feel warranted in saying that if left to himself he will either reform it or do away with it altogether.

The Rev. Mr. Jones has been engaged in selecting a chaplain for the Massachusetts House of Representatives. He has made his choice, and has sent to the members-elect a circular informing them of the fact and the candidate. The Rev. Mr. Jones knew his best hold. The matter of choosing Speaker, and clerks, and doorkeepers, and such, he left to others—to the worldly-minded and profane. "The chaplain," said he, "I will myself select." So nominated he "the Rev. Joseph Cook, of Boston," and in the circular before referred to announced it to his fellow-members. He describes him: "Mr. Cook," he says, "is a man of stature, of grip, and strength, and power of body"—considerations of no small consequence in a chaplain. "But," adds the Rev. Mr. Jones, "in stature of mind, in grip, and strength, and power of thought, he far excels." There he is in outline, sketched physically and intellectually; and how bold a figure it is too. Now for the filling up. Says Jones: "He wields his subject as a farmer would wield a flail. He tramples down wrong with an elephantine tread. He handles the teachings of the chief thinkers of our day as the toys of an athlete; not one of them is a labor to him. His keen discernment cuts right through all their sophistries, and he brushes them aside as cobwebs." Let us pause here a moment to say that Cook is the man for the place. The world has waited long for a chaplain who is a flail-wielder, an elephantine-trampler, an athlete among chief thinkers, a sophistry-cutter, and a cobweb-brusher. When we read further that "Mr. Cook has marked originality and freshness of thought and expression"; that "he does not say the same thing over twice"; that "he is a man of immense brain, of great heart, of mighty power"; and that "he is fully abreast of all that is best and most truly progressive in the movements of the thought and life of the world," we are in some measure prepared for what would be otherwise the abrupt announcement, "One hardly needs add that Mr. Cook is every inch a man." Well, hardly. Mr. Jones remarks also that "he is cast in a heroic mould"; that "he moves steadily forward in his purpose with a tread" (he seems an uncommonly heavy stepper) "that it rests one just to feel the power of; and that he is made up on a rare scale of greatness and completeness."

And yet it may, after all, happen that the Legislature—Legislatures are so wayward and perverse at times—may not elect Rev. Joseph Cook, of Boston. Who knows but that some light-footed parson, whose tread it does not rest one just to feel the power of,

who does not handle his subject like a flail, nor trample down wrong with an elephantine tread, nor handle the teachings of the chief thinkers of our day as the toys of an athlete, nor cut through sophistries, nor brush away cobwebs, may be elected. Well, let us hope for the best. We know at least that the Rev. Jesse H. Jones has done his duty. And if after this the Legislature shall elect another, no member of that body can shake his gory locks at the Rev. Mr. Jones and say he did it. That noble representative of Labor Reform can rest content waiting for the time to come, as come some day it must, when the General Court shall lift up its bowed head from the slumberous exercise of a chaplain not cast in a heroic mould, and with one accord exclaim, "Oh for an hour of the Rev. Joseph Cook, of Boston!" Then may the Rev. Jesse H. Jones rise in his place and calmly say, "I told you so."—*N. Y. Tribune*, Jan. 3, 1876.

NATIONAL RELIGION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE GAZETTE:

Sir,—The nearest approach to a purely "secular" system of national education exists in the United States. The public schools there had no doubt originally a decidedly religious character, and even now, in the majority of them, the Bible is used, and serves as an instrument whereby the teacher may better enforce the principles of virtue and morality. Even the advocates for its retention in the schools pretend to no higher authority than this for its presence there. Having entirely divorced Church from State, and having no national religion, it seems impossible for them to plead that theirs is a Christian nation, and that, therefore, Christian principles must be taught in their schools. No wonder that the Bible is being thrust out in compliance with the "demands of liberalism." These, as explained in the columns of THE INDEX, an avowedly atheistical paper (!), are dangerously consistent and uncompromising. The liberals, or rather libertines (as they were called in Calvin's day), demand "that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished, and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a textbook or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of Christian morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty." How history repeats itself! This sounds like the language of the French Convention in 1793, and the libertine's "requirement of natural morality" corresponds to Danton's *Worship of Reason*.

All this would be very discouraging were it not that, among our neighbors, to recognize an evil and to provide a remedy are, historically speaking, almost simultaneous operations. Already the "National Reform Association" has been formed, which seeks to imprint a Christian character on the Constitution of the United States, and its organ, the *Christian Statesman*, discusses with some ability many of the subjects connected with national religion and Christian government.

Meanwhile we may learn that the relations at present existing between the civil government of the United States and the Christian institutions of its people are anything but satisfactory to a large and most respectable portion of that community. It further becomes of the utmost importance for us to ascertain whether our position is sound in this matter, and whether we have nothing to learn from the experience of our neighbors.

Yours respectfully, T. M.
—*Montreal Gazette*, Jan. 4, 1876.

AN EXAMPLE WORTH FOLLOWING.

When the chief of an Anglo-Saxon community of forty millions takes up the position which President Grant took in his annual Message to Congress, on the vital questions of sectarianism in schools and exemptions from taxation, his words are likely to receive a large degree of attention. The people of the various States and their representatives in Congress are expected to yield a ready acquiescence, and there is every probability that the constitutional amendment suggested by the President will be gladly accepted by the various States. But the words of the American President will be read, marked, and inwardly digested by the people of every civilized country in the world. The statesmen of the old countries on the European continent will rub their eyes, and re-read what the head of the youthful, giant nation has said, and reiterated, against paying for the teaching of sectarianism from public funds, and against exempting ecclesiastical property from taxation. Wherever a State Church exists, the doctrine promulgated by President Grant will cause uneasiness to the hierarchy, and strengthen the hands of those who feel that the State should have nothing to do with paying for the teaching of dogmas, either in school-room or in church, and that the real estate belonging to ecclesiastics should, in equity, bear a fair share of the public burdens.

In the matter of exemptions, the chief city of Ontario has stepped boldly forward to ask the Legislature to put an end to a system so grossly unjust and utterly incapable of defence. Other Ontario cities will doubtless follow the lead of Toronto. Special attention has been directed to the subject in this province by M. Taillon's bill to enable untaxed industry to compete more generally with that which is taxed. Such an attempt serves to open the eyes of all, from the seamstress up to the compounder of medicines, to the danger which menaces trade by unjustly permitting a class in the community to escape burdens that all others have to bear. This province has long been the special victim of this

worst species of class legislation. While the American States are taking the steps necessary to place all classes on an equal footing with respect to taxation; while Ontario is about to follow the example thus set, Quebec should not be singular in permitting the injustice to remain. The Canadian public man who may have courage enough to take the matter in hand, and to persevere in the cause of justice and opposition to everything like class legislation in this country, can rely upon soon finding followers and supporters enough to place him and his cause in the front rank. The country is sick and tired of both our miserable sectarian school-system and the exemption of immense ecclesiastical properties from contributing anything toward the improvements which give value to such property long held in the dead hand. A leader or two, imbued with some of General Grant's sound views upon such matters, are greatly needed in Canada at the present time, when public opinion is aroused, and so ripe for putting down class legislation that M. Taillon has threatened to withdraw his obnoxious bill.—*Montreal Evening Star*, Dec. 22, 1875.

A CLERGYMAN was preparing his discourse for Sunday, stopping occasionally to review what he had written, and to erase that which he was disposed to disapprove, when he was accosted by his little son, who had numbered but five summers: "Father, does God tell you what to preach?" "Certainly, my child." "Then what makes you scratch it out?"

RECEIVED.

Books.

- LETTERS AND SOCIAL AIMS. By Ralph Waldo Emerson. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1876.
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THE CHURCH, Our Modern System of Commerce, and the Fulfillment of Prophecy. By William Brown. Montreal: John Lovell.
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SERMONS, by the Rev. Charles Voysey.—Oct. 3: "The End We have in View."—Oct. 10: "The Faults of Christianity."—Oct. 17: "The Merits of Christianity."—Oct. 24, 31, Nov. 7: "Reply to Westminster Review."—Nov. 14: "Our Treatment of Sinners."—Nov. 21: "Religious Education."—Nov. 28: "The Reward of Virtue."
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THE TEMPERANCE QUESTION. By Rev. Henry Powers, Manchester, N. H.
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A REPLY to Criticisms on Prof. William Denton's Lectures. By Prof. William Denton.
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THE UNITARIAN REVIEW. November, December, January. Boston: L. C. Bowles.
THE WESTERN. November and December, 1875. St. Louis: Western Publishing Association.
THE HERALD OF HEALTH. January, 1876. New York: Wood & Holbrook.
THE SANITARIAN. November and December, 1875. New York: McDivitt, Campbell & Co.
THE PENN MONTHLY. November, December and January. Philadelphia: Penn Monthly Association.
SET of Truth-Seeker Tracts. Published by D. M. Bennett, New York.

Poetry.

[For THE INDEX.]

SAINT BLUDSO II.

They came in and sat down together,
The cars being crowded that day;
The drover talked crops and the weather,
Stock-market, the tariff on leather,
The Quaker: "Yea, yea!" and "Nay, nay!"
Then thus "struck a lead," as he'd say:—
"Ha'n't heard uv that Bludso? not Jo?
Jo Bludso—own cousing uv Jim?
Wal, now thar! that *will* do for low!
W'y, papers wern't nothink but him!

"He didn't go put'n on style,
Fes'm singin' an' preachin' and pra'r,
But cum to the gincoine tie
'F religion—you bet he war thar!

"He gambled, in coorse; 'twas his trade;
But, what be a leetle mite strange,
Whats'mever at monte he made
He lost to the Quakers on Change!

"For drinkin', they do say he'd breathe
Jest twict to a quart o' the raw!
He'd lie, and—Wall gold in yer teeth
War safe, ef ye've got the lock jaw!

"No: 'mac'late he wusn't—not much!
That's drawin' it reether too thin;
At fightin', harlotin', and such,
He'd discount the devil, and win!

"But: one Chris'mas Eve ('twas so cold
Thar mought uv ben skatin' in bell)
A wanderin' yo from the fold
Thar's no gittin' back to, named Nell—

"Close by a great church they call 'Grace,'
Jo found her half dead, and the gas
Shone warm on her sin-wasted face
Through that of our Savior—in glass!

"He know'd her? Oh, no, I guess not!
A year ago thar ar same night,
'Twan't her and another, nam'd 'Dot,'
Clean'd him to the bed-rock, when tight!

"He know'd her as soon as he spied;
And what did he do, if you please?
Cum Levite? go by t'other side,
And leave her to lay thar and freeze?

"He lifted her, keeful and kind,
And kerrid her in on his arm—
To church? Not for Jo! would he find
A chance and a welcome to warm

"In thar? Lord! the meanest saloon
Wer better for that! And he went
For th' highest (sign, 'Ring-tail Raccoon')
A cellar—steep stairs for descent!

"Howt' hap'n'd God only can tell!
He stumbled, tho'—struck on his head;
His own heft and that uv poor Nell,
And—thar they laid—dying and dead!

"Put that in yer pipe now and smoke!
Ef them as holds such hands expects
To lose, then the bank must be broke,
Or Jesus gone back on his checks!"

The Quaker then: "Well, with thy creed,
My friend (and this one I may call
Its obverse), salvation indeed
Seems freely provided for all.

"Twixt saints saved by moments of grace
And saints by sole acts of good will,
Methinks, though, the pleasantier place
For honest folk may be—in Hell!"

T. H. R.

RUSHFORD, Minn., Dec. 18, 1875.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JANUARY 15.

Henry F. Blount, \$13; A. H. Roffe & Co., \$14.20; H. Rice, \$3.20; J. Hall, \$2; Isaac Taber, \$1; R. Illenden, \$3.25; H. D. Dix, \$3.20; W. C. Allen, \$1.50; J. E. Peck, \$3.20; J. W. Marshall, \$3.20; E. L. Winham, \$3.20; W. C. Preston, \$3.20; H. Apthorp, \$3.20; K. B. Harrington, \$3.20; Charles Almy, \$4.40; J. R. Fletcher, \$3.20; Charles Fritz, \$3.20; B. P. Johnson, \$5; F. A. Angell, 10 cents; J. E. Peck, \$1.25; H. Powers, \$2; Charles W. Slack, \$2; George Thorn, \$3; G. F. Matthes, \$3.20; E. W. Gunn, \$2.10; E. Krackowizer, \$3; Frank L. Pope, \$3.20; D. Landmann, \$3; W. E. Mott, \$3.20; George C. Young, 75 cents; Charles Wilkins, \$4.02; W. E. Lucas, 25 cents; R. Hopper, 20 cents; James W. White, \$3.20; J. M. Holmes, \$3.20; J. S. Thompson, \$3.20; E. Chase, \$3.20; W. H. Wood, \$3.25; Edmond Frang, \$3; L. P. Babb, \$3.50; W. E. Lukens, 50 cents; E. Whichey, 50 cents; Mrs. H. J. Lewis, 10 cents; D. L. Shaw, 10 cents; A. T. Wilkison, 25 cents; L. Sisson, 10 cents; C. H. Chace, \$3.40; D. K. Boutelle, \$12.70; J. M. Hadley, \$3.20; James Thompson, \$3.20; J. J. Allen, \$3.20; E. M. Turner, \$3.35; A. M. Dent, \$3.20; N. E. News Co., \$11.48; Dr. Mergler, 20 cents; W. H. Spencer, \$5.70; H. W. Smith, \$4.12; O. A. Bailey, \$3.20; Miss A. Paterson, \$4.12; H. S. Hubbard, \$2.25; W. Kennedy, \$2; D. B. Morey, \$3.20; Adela Gates, \$1.30; Samuel Drew, \$3.20; O. H. Dana, \$3.20; W. L. Foster, \$3.55; Mrs. E. D. Lucas, \$1.60; W. R. Badger, \$3.20; Mrs. Clara Johnson, \$3.20; I. P. Greenleaf, \$3.20; Photius Fisk, \$3.40; Joseph Copeland, \$5; H. A. Dean, \$3.20; F. R. Association, \$50; C. H. Phillips, \$1; G. H. Foster, 42 cents; J. A. Gardner, 25 cents; C. H. True, \$2; H. W. Kruckeberg, 25 cents; T. W. Higginson, \$20; M. Whitney, 10 cents; E. R. Brown, \$3.20.

THE LAWS CONCERNING NEWSPAPERS.

1. Subscribers who do not give express notice to the contrary, considered as wishing to continue the subscription.
2. If subscribers wish their papers discontinued, publishers may continue to send them until all arrearages are paid.
3. If subscribers move to other places without informing the publisher, and the paper is sent to the former direction, they are held responsible. Notice should always be given of the removal.
4. If subscribers neglect or refuse to take their papers from the office or place to which they are sent, they are held responsible until they settle bills and give notice to discontinue.
5. The courts have decided that refusing to take a paper from the office, or removing and leaving it uncalled for, is *prima facie* evidence of intentional fraud.
6. Any person who receives a newspaper and makes use of it, whether he has ordered it or not, will be held in law to be a subscriber.
7. If subscribers pay in advance, they are bound to give notice to the publisher at the end of their time if they do not wish to continue taking it; otherwise the publisher is authorized to coninue to send it, and the subscribers will be responsible until an express notice, with payment of all arrears, is sent to the publisher.

The Index.

BOSTON, JANUARY 20, 1876.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 1, TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON. Toledo Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer. The editor is obliged to reserve the right of withholding from publication any article of a libellous or immoral character.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, REV. CHARLES
VOYSEY (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England),
DAVID H. CLARK, Editorial Contributors.

MR. VOYSEY'S account of his new magazine will be read with great interest, and doubtless incline many of his INDEX friends to become subscribers. Such a list of contributors as he publishes is a guarantee of at least intellectual success.

CANNOT you form a club of five new subscribers to THE INDEX, among your own friends and acquaintance? To clubs of five new subscribers the paper will be sent for a year at \$2.50 each; to clubs of ten new subscribers, at \$2.00 each. An extra copy will be sent free to the getter-up of the club. This reduction cannot be made to any whose names are now on our mail-list, as it is made in the hope that such new subscribers will renew at regular rates. Now is the time to help THE INDEX, if you really value its ideas and aims.

A BOUND VOLUME of THE INDEX, either for 1871 or 1872, will be given as a premium to each new subscriber who remits \$3.20 for a year's subscription, or to each old subscriber who remits \$3.20 for a new subscriber obtained by means of his or her efforts. The volume will be sent by express at the recipient's expense; but no volume will be sent at all unless it is claimed at the time of making the remittance. This offer can only remain in force a little while, as the supply of volumes is small; but it is one which those who know the value of these volumes will hasten to improve.

WE WISH to offer very modestly a suggestion which may possibly be of importance. The courts decide that the property of the Roman Catholic Church is under the exclusive control of the Bishops, as individuals, because the title-deeds stand in their individual names. Does not this place such property in the category of all other private property? If so, on what ground is it entitled to exemption from taxation? Why should not the local assessors forthwith assess and collect taxes on it everywhere? If the private property of an individual, no Catholic church or cathedral can be a church-building in the same sense as a Protestant meeting-house, which we suppose could not escape taxation if privately owned. Or are we mistaken on this point? We should be grateful for information.

WE ARE glad to see that the New York Graphic reads THE INDEX, as appears from its issue of December 23: "While the question whether the public schools shall be religious or secular is up for discussion, it may not be amiss to quote the following amendment to the Constitution of the United States, drafted and proposed five years ago by ex-Supreme Judge Harbut, of Albany: 'To the end that the functions of civil government may be exercised without interference in matters of religion: neither the United States nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax or make any gift, grant, or appropriation for the support or in aid of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious practices shall be observed; or for the support or in aid of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.' This is exceedingly explicit and comprehensive—perhaps a little too clear to be at once adopted. But whatever amendment is chosen, let it be transparently precise, and let it not hide any ambiguities of meaning behind the word 'sect.'"

"DELIVERANCE" THROUGH "PERFECTION."

The remarkable letter of Mr. Henry James which begins this number of THE INDEX ought by all means to be read before reading the present article, which will be only a commentary upon it. Mr. James has been so long known to the literary world as an original thinker of a high and rare order, that any introduction on our part here would be a piece of sheer impertinence; and no intelligent reader will peruse many sentences of his letter without being drawn irresistibly, by the mere charm of his trenchant yet polished style, to read it to the end. There are few such masters of words as Mr. James, either in England or America. But those who look deeper than words, and are capable of a fit spiritual response to this "blast from a red-hot furnace of faith" (as Mr. James himself, in an accompanying note, with exquisite accuracy characterized his own communication), will be struck with what is infinitely finer than rhetorical beauty; namely, moral intensity and a fervor of religious conviction almost volcanic in its outburst. For this quality, wherever it manifests itself, and with whatever type of opinion it may be conjoined, we are always overpowered with instant reverence; and, were it not that the idea which Mr. James so impetuously (though so kindly) assails has its roots deep down in the very core of our being, it could scarcely hold its own against such a whirlwind. But it is of a strength too great to be uprooted by any power save that which planted it—the power of thought. The most searching and dispassionate scrutiny of our idea of religion, in all the light of Mr. James' criticisms, leads only to a fresh and confident reaffirmation of it as substantially true; and we are all the more firmly grounded in this conviction by the belief that Mr. James himself, to a large and unsuspected extent, rests on substantially the same conviction. That is to say, we think he misapprehends the real spiritual purport of the definition in question, and may be surprised to find that it covers at least a great deal of his own ground.

The thesis that religion is essentially the "effort of Man to perfect himself" is pronounced "inexperienced, unreasonable, and impious":—

1. "Inexperienced, because it violates the integrity of the race-tradition which implies that religion is the instinct of man not to perfect, but to get deliverance from, himself."

What "deliverance"? The deliverance of absolute annihilation,—of the absolute extinction of self? Nothing short of this is effectual deliverance from self, for, short of this, self survives to plague or bless us. "*Patria quis exul Se quoque fugit?*" There is no real escape from self while self endures. That Mr. James does not mean such deliverance as consists in absolute annihilation is apparent from his own subsequent words, when he declares that we are to "spend and get rid of our beggarly selfishness" . . . "by simply turning it into the base fuel which alone it was designed to be—fuel to a pure flame of emancipated desires and regenerate affections." These words which we have italicized show plainly enough that Mr. James is not aspiring to any Nirvana of pure cessation of all being, when he seeks deliverance from self; since desire and affection are eminently vital manifestations of self. Destroy self, and you have destroyed the very possibility of desire and affection. What, then, can Mr. James mean by his declaration that "religion is the instinct of man not to perfect, but to get deliverance from, himself"? Clearly, to get deliverance from selfishness rather than self. To get rid of self would be to get rid also of "emancipated desires and pure affections," which are confessedly the great goal of Mr. James' aspirations; yet to attain this goal is to approach dangerously near to the detested—perfection of self! It is very plain to us that what Mr. James would really get deliverance from is not self at all, but simply selfishness—gross, greedy, and slavish desires and impure affections; and that what he really seeks is the opposite of these, or spiritual perfection. So far, then, from the "effort of man to perfect himself" being really rejected by Mr. James, he himself makes it the confessed object of his own religion; and we are left to marvel at his inexplicable rejection of a definition of religion which exactly describes his own religious end and aim. But we pass to the second count of his indictment.

2. "Unreasonable, because nothing can strike a rational imagination as more wantonly absurd than to find a creature charged by its creator with the provision of its own destiny."

Destiny is a large word. We do not know what our destiny will ultimately be. But it is very plain

that, so far as destiny comes at all within the scope of human vision, the creature's destiny does, as a fact, depend very largely upon the creature's own provision and action. If there is any absurdity in this arrangement (which we do not admit), it is the creator's alone; and at his door must we deposit whatever "unreason" is imputed to us for the simple recognition of facts we have not made and cannot change.

3. "Impious, because the dictate of true piety the world over is to find none of its cherished or coveted satisfactions in self, but all in God."

Is it not the true "impiety" to find this God-created self so vile, bad, ugly, hateful, disgusting, that it cannot be patiently endured, or even made a "stepping-stone to higher things"? Is self the only spot in all this universe where there is no God at all? If there is indeed none in self, we conclude there is none elsewhere, and the charge of "impiety" has a dreadfully hollow sound. But who is so shrewd an engineer as to run a partition line between self and God? If either is real, they are inseparable; and detestation of self, which is only another shape the blasphemous old dogma of total depravity takes to mask its hideousness, is the most impious of all impieties. To tax God with such moral rottenness as is implied in attributing to him the creation of a whole race of spiritual abortions carries impiety to such lengths that atheism is infinitely lovely by its side.

So much for direct answer to the "three counts." In arraigning our idea of religion for contempt of the past in general and of Christian civilization in particular, Mr. James evidently considers that, when we describe religion as the "effort of Man to perfect himself," we mean the "effort of a man to perfect himself." But we speak generically, no less than individually. The "effort" we intend began with the earliest religious consciousness and will end only with the latest; and, finding the history of religion just as important as Mr. James,—nay, we suspect, more so,—we discredit and undervalue none of the historical forces which have made civilization what it is.

It is the supposition that the definition we give to religion identifies it with egotism, selfishness, pharisaism, absorption of the individual in his own private ends and aims to the exclusion of all that is self-forgetfully or self-sacrificingly universal, which excites the ire of Mr. James, and would justly excite it, if that were a correct supposition. But it is not mere private culture that is included in the "effort for perfection," but the self-dedication of the whole soul to the public, the universal, the non-personal. It is not a stolid self-perfection that the soul should seek, but rather that race-perfection which binds all souls together in mutual helpfulness, disinterestedness, love, and worship of the best. This cannot possibly be realized by degrading or despising or disowning self; the race is no Realistic entity, but merely the sum of countless selves, whose co-laboring devotion, each to all and all to each, is that "effort of Man to perfect himself" which constitutes religion in its purest sense. If the individual, however, neglects self-culture or affects to despise himself, he becomes a religious stumbling-block in the pathway of all. Only self-respect and self-culture qualify for universal serviceableness, which is the true end of all self-culture.

Why Mr. James should consider our idea of religion "a palpably Jewish one," we cannot perceive, unless on the ground that it seems to set the "works of the law" above the "faith of the gospel." But this is a misunderstanding. The "effort for perfection" can consist in no mere routine of performance, no mere technical discharge of external obligations, but requires the internal dedication of our whole being to culture for the sake of usefulness, the unselfish devotion of all our powers to the universal ideal clearly prefigured in the very constitution of human nature. The petty egotism of merely private ends clings inseparably to Christian "salvation," as well as to the old Hebraic legalism. Both Judaism and Christianity are merely successive steps towards the universal religion; neither is or can be a finality. It takes the spirit of a broad humanity which abdicates all special revelations, and despises all merely personal or national interests, to complete the idea of a religion which fulfils all legitimate self-interest in the attainment of the universal good. That all men should devote themselves each to his own personal perfection would not universalize religion: that requires the devotion of each to the service of the welfare and perfection of all. In no narrower spirit was our definition framed. It is a stumbling-block to

Jew and Christian alike, for it demands the sacrifice of that very egotism and self-exaltation to which both are wedded. The spiritual pride of a special revelation clings to both alike, and it is the very first offering to be laid on the altar of free religion.

When, therefore, Mr. James imagines that our definition teaches the "principle of selfhood, absolute and unrelated . . . the principle of supreme selfishness and worldliness," and plays the "part of Divinely permitted spiritual egotism, lust, and vindictiveness," it is only necessary to point out that this is a total misconception. Not individualism, but universalism,—not egotistic callousness to all save the interests of a petty personal self-culture, but rather the grand abnegation of all low interests in the service of an uplifting ideal which appeals to us both personally and as members of the great community of Man,—is the principle we would teach; and it is the principle for which Mr. James himself seems to plead. If we are correct in our surmise that he really means to attack *selfishness* rather than *self*, and that his own religion aims at the purification of self from selfishness, there is little to differ about.

He asks, to be sure, "Why should you and I crave to be perfect in ourselves, when we are already perfect in our creative source and our spotless kind?" To which we reply, Simply to fulfil the Divinely inherent law of our individual being while that individual being endures. Self may be a "strictly vicious semblance," a "purely fallacious quantity"; nevertheless, it behooves us to obey the law of the fallacy while it lasts, rather than to tax the "creative source" with idleness and fraud. Would it better matters to plunge religiously into imperfection—to surrender the citadel of virtue at the trumpet-blast of the first besieger? That is the only alternative—from which Mr. James too would shrink. His own definition—"religion is a deathless Divine instinct in man, prompting him to despise, disown, and reject himself utterly"—is either a reiteration of the old infamy of total depravity, a summons to a new Nirvana of absolute annihilation, or a simple affirmation that man's true self enjoins him to be unselfish and universal in his aims. We do not doubt for an instant that Mr. James intends the last of the three; in which case, instead of invalidating, he bears fresh testimony to the truth of the definition which he criticises under a misapprehension alone. He denounces "the desire after personal holiness"—but only as "apart from" his kind; and so do we. But the "modest race-righteousness" which he so eloquently exalts above "self-righteousness" vanishes absolutely, if all men give up the pursuit of "personal holiness"; it exists only in and through the latter; and we doubt not that this will be at once admitted. In short, the true interpretation of Mr. James' letter, and the true interpretation of the definition it opposes, appear thoroughly to coincide in thought and spirit. But, if not, we shall be most glad to be corrected.

MR. EINSTEIN'S LETTER.

NEW YORK, Jan. 10, 1876.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—It was considerate in you to send me Mr. Einstein's courteous criticism on my "inconsistencies" [published on a succeeding page]. The only objection I see to publishing his communication is the excessive over-estimate of my own ability and performance, which occupies so large a place in it. To the charge that my mind is poetical and imaginative I am compelled to submit—as that is the common opinion; and the unfortunate consequences of such a mental constitution must be accepted. Minds of a poetic and imaginative cast will have visions and dream dreams, will cherish ideals that seem wild in the estimate of the scientific understanding, will ascribe substantial value to ideas, will cherish hopes that common sense does not justify, and entertain beliefs that utilitarian minds discard; and in doing this they will lay themselves open to the reproach of inconsistency from honest, plain-spoken men who are differently made. This cannot be helped.

What can be helped and should be helped is the disposition to dogmatize on the strength of any private endowment; they who, on one side or the other, are guilty of that deserve rebuke, and must not complain if they receive it.

In regard to Mr. Bradlaugh and the "Infidels" of his or of other schools, I have been unfortunate if I have conveyed the impression, by words written or spoken, that in my judgment he or they are any way deficient in intelligence or goodness. His essential right-mindedness and fidelity to very honorable convictions it would be injustice to doubt. Few will

claim for him a poetic or imaginative mind. Neither he nor his friends would consider such a description complimentary. All I ever said or meant to say was that, not having a poetic or imaginative mind, he failed to appreciate certain ideas, beliefs, opinions, shades of thought, which to minds poetic and imaginative possess significance and value. That is all, and that does not seem to me unjust or ungenerous. I hope it is not timidity or a disposition to equivocate that prompts the suggestion that Mr. Einstein has taken some foolish reporter's account of my language, and thence inferred that I held a lower opinion of Mr. Bradlaugh and others than I do. That our estimates of the nature and influence differ calls for no apology from either of us.

Faithfully yours, O. B. FROTHINGHAM.

LONDON LETTER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—At your kind request I will in my letter this week tell your readers about my new magazine.

A friend of mine warmly interested in the propagation of true religion had been turning over in his mind how best to carry the principles of pure theism into the homes of England. He deplored, like myself, the amazing ignorance and misconception of our views, which were owing in a great measure to hostile rumor, and also to the varied and conflicting utterances of freethinkers, some of whom mix up "spiritualism" with their religious beliefs, while others are simply atheists. He bewailed, too, the fact that freethought, which ought to be the most grave and dignified exercise of our reason, was often tainted by association with the most frivolous theories, and with much that is vulgar and in bad taste—not to say lawless and immoral. While such an impression of religious freethought holds the majority of good and respectable people, it is unlikely and even undesirable that they should look favorably upon our work, or be induced to look upon it at all. Hence the necessity for some kind of propaganda; and my friend knowing the impossibility of our "stumping the country," bethought him of a magazine, one feature of which should be the declaration of religious freethought principles, not set forth in a controversial or scornful spirit, but in a genial, winning way, avoiding needless offence while not sacrificing one iota of necessary truth.

My friend, with abundance of means at his back, paid me the high compliment of asking me to become the editor of this magazine. The religious portion will be mainly, if not invariably, written by myself, and will be restricted as a rule to one article in each number. The rest of the magazine is to contain essays bearing on all varieties of human interest, steering clear of purely party politics, but not excluding matters of general policy. It will give articles on science, on domestic and social ethics, on the past and present of other races and climes, on every subject likely to quicken thought and convey instruction. It will also provide for the amusement of those who wish to be amused by tales of fiction, or narratives of adventure.

Our project having been started in the late autumn, it was found impossible to secure a first-class serial, all the most popular writers having already made their engagements for the new year. This valuable addition is only postponed; meanwhile we shall have a regular succession of short stories quite worthy of the department.

We have called it *The Langham*, in a sort of concession to the custom of giving local names to magazines. There are already *The Cornhill*, *St. James*, *Temple Bar*, *Belgravia*, etc., etc., indicating the place of their issue; and as I have been now for more than four years known in connection with St. George's Hall, Langham Place, the title selected is natural and yet unobtrusive. My present staff of contributors comprises the following:—

Professor F. W. Newman; Miss F. P. Cobbe; Rev. Brooke Lambert, Vicar of Tamworth; Rev. Charles W. Stubbs, Vicar of Granborough; Dr. Frankland, F. R. S.; Edward Clodd, F. R. A. S.; Ascot R. Hope-Moncrieff; W. E. Bear; A. D. Graham, M. A.; H. Baden Pritchard (Royal Arsenal); Dr. Ferdinand Hiller, of Cologne; Rev. G. W. Cox (author of the *Aryan Mythology*, etc., etc.); Rev. John Basling; Dr. Andrew Wilson, Ph. D. (Lecturer on Natural History at the University of Edinburgh); Rev. J. Allanson Picton (London School Board); and Rhys Davids, Barrister. I have not nearly closed my list, nor made all the applications for help which I intend to make.

I have had some disappointments as you may suppose; but I am happy to say that only two out of a

group of very eminent men declined to help me on the score of want of sympathy. The rest warmly greeted my undertaking, and would gladly have helped me but for previous engagements or lack of health.

I have no doubt that I could publish their names without their objecting to it; but as I have not asked their permission, I refrain from doing so now. The list would give a glad surprise to all who wish me success.

It is frequently talked of as very likely to have a good run. We have the advantage of not coming out as a rival publication; all the existing magazines have a groove of their own, and we neither would nor could interfere with them.

The Langham will be very nicely printed and got up, and is to be sold at half a crown. This price will carry it better than a lower one into the circles we wish most of all to reach, while it will not exclude it from workmen's clubs and institutes, or any of the public libraries.

It is doubtful at present whether our first number will appear in February or March; but I will send you circulars in due time. I have already opened negotiations with a leading firm in New York, and when these are completed, I will let you know.

This is a very egotistical letter, and I am half ashamed to send it; but no doubt you were acting wisely in wishing me to make this announcement to your readers. At all events, I must offer you my best thanks for the kindness which prompted your request. Wishing you and all your fellow-laborers a happy New Year,

I am, very truly yours, CHARLES VOYSEY.
CAMDEN HOUSE, Dulwich, S. E., Dec. 21, 1875.

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY R. C.

A stirring debate upon the question of general amnesty is the event of most interest thus far in the proceedings of Congress, the Democrats, under the leadership of Mr. Randall, attempting to carry through the House of Representatives a measure in favor of universal amnesty, and being opposed by most of the Republicans, who, under the leadership of Mr. Blaine, endeavored to exclude Jefferson Davis from participation in the provisions of the bill. The debate was carried on, evidently, for political effect, and, from this point of view, the Democratic leaders certainly cannot be congratulated. Mr. Hill, of Georgia, who made the chief speech in defence of Davis, said some good things; but on the whole his speech was too decidedly "Southern" in tone to produce a good effect, and his carelessness in statement gave the quick-witted Blaine abundant opportunity for the putting of questions which were not always easy to answer. The bill, which was finally defeated, will come up again, in all probability, in some other form. The question at issue—the continued disfranchisement of Davis—is one which has certainly two sides, and the arguments seem to be so evenly balanced that some members of Congress (including Mr. Blaine himself) have already, at different times, favored both sides. If, as Mr. Blaine asserts, and as seems probable, Davis knew of, and was therefore responsible for, the atrocities of the Andersonville prison, he should have been hung upon the same gallows with Wirtz, ten years ago. If, on the other hand, his offence is to be regarded as a political one only, no reason exists for his continued disfranchisement which does not hold good equally in the case of the seven hundred other men whom it is proposed to pardon fully. To single out Davis as an exception to the rule of universal amnesty would be to confer upon him a notoriety of which no one at the North or at the South believes him to be worthy, and in time would be likely to produce a great deal of that kind of morbid sympathy which many people manage to conjure up for "the poor, dear murderer," who, after strangling his wife, has experienced religion while on his way to Paradise.

The "amnesty debate" made very evident the fact that Mr. Blaine, as a parliamentary leader, is unsurpassed by any man whom the Democrats have yet brought forward on their side of the house. In vigor and effectiveness of denunciation, in readiness of resort, in a quick apprehension of the requisites for the production of popular effect, in knowledge of parliamentary law, in skilful manoeuvring, and, last, in power of mere physical endurance, he is almost unequalled. The way in which he disposed of the amnesty bill, gaining his purpose in face of the large majority against him, was almost, if the expression may be allowed, a stroke of parliamentary genius. Whether the qualities thus indicated, however, are those most to be desired in a President of the United States (for which office Mr. Blaine is at present the candidate most frequently mentioned) is a question which we leave for future discussion. The "amnesty debate" also made evident another fact of a different nature; namely, that Congressional language is, to say the least, peculiar. Such expressions as "You dry up," "Bellow away," etc., in a bar-room would lead naturally to bloody noses and broken heads; but in our House of Representatives they appear to be employed only as playful expressions of affection.

Ever since the opening of the present session of

Congress, a large number of lobbyists have been working diligently to secure an appropriation of \$1,500,000, for the Centennial Board, and the desired sum may be voted by both Houses before this reaches our readers. Although we ardently desire the success of the Centennial Exhibition, we shall nevertheless deeply regret the voting of this appropriation. Again and again those having charge of the exhibition have formally promised that Congress should not be called upon to make an appropriation, and these promises are now disregarded in the most shameful manner. "Dining and wining," and all the other appliances of the modern lobbyist, have been unsparingly used in order to secure the desired money from the national treasury. When, at the last session, Congress refused to make an appropriation, the members of the Board went to work manfully, and the success of the exhibition, through private enterprise, is now fully assured. A large gift of public money at this stage of the affair would encourage the breaking of positive promises, would stimulate wasteful expenditure in the management of the exhibition, would give new hope and faith (as well as money) to the lobbyist,—in short, would foster those national vices which have already caused our deepest humiliations.

Some facts connected with the management of the West Boston Savings Bank—facts brought to public notice by the suspension of the bank last week—are of more than local interest. The bank was chartered in 1867, and Mr. Franklin Haven was chosen President by the Board of Trustees. Mr. Haven was well and widely known as a gentleman of wealth, of business experience, and of financial ability, being then, as now, the active President of the large and flourishing Merchants' National Bank. His name, therefore, was at once accepted by the public as a guarantee that the new institution would be managed with the skill and caution befitting a depository of trust funds. And now the public has just learned that Mr. Haven accepted the office of President "with the understanding that he would not be called upon to take an active part in the management of the affairs of the corporation," and so well was this understanding adhered to, that, until the day before the suspension, he "had no idea of the real condition of the bank." Most of the Trustees seem to have been chosen with a similar understanding, and the bank fell into the hands of the Treasurer and one or two Trustees, who, as the result shows, were incompetent men, and the bank accordingly failed. In other words, the captain, who had been advertised to manage the vessel, sailed in another ship, and the chief officers remained on shore, leaving the vessel in the hands of unskilful sailors, who have run aground. The West Boston Bank undoubtedly secured the deposit of large sums of money which would not have been deposited there, had not Mr. Haven been its acknowledged President, and therefore, as was supposed, the chief manager of its funds. It is no exaggeration to assert that the use of Mr. Haven's name enabled the bank to obtain money on false pretences; nor can Mr. Haven's conduct be excused by the statement that other men have allowed their names to be used in a similar way. The practice is a thoroughly pernicious one, and, if it can be arrested in no other way, we hope that the various State Legislatures may be induced to pass laws making the Trustees and other officers of a savings bank peculiarly liable in case of its failure. If this should be done, poor people would not be so easily duped, by the use of prominent names, into putting their savings into the hands of incompetent men.

A State Director of the Boston and Albany Railroad has presented to the Legislature a minority report, in which he accuses the Directors of "cooking" their annual reports. He gives also the details of several discreditable facts connected with the management of the road. Among these facts is the following: The Boston and Albany Railroad has recently acquired possession of a connecting road, by taking a lease of this road for 999 years, and pledging the stockholders a large annual dividend for that length of time. The stock of this road, which had been selling at various prices from 50 to 70, immediately went up to 100, and the discovery was then made that the President of the Boston and Albany Road had nearly 4,000 shares of this stock in his possession—partly in his own name, and partly in the names of various members of his family. This President (who is thus charged with making improper use of his official position in order to put a small fortune into his pocket, at the expense of the State, and of the other stockholders of the Boston and Albany Road) has just been elected a member of Congress from Massachusetts; and therefore, if the charge be true, Massachusetts has now at Washington another representative who may be depended upon to sustain the unpleasant reputation which the State acquired in connection with the Credit Mobilier scandal. The charge calls for prompt investigation, alike in the interests of confiding stockholders and for the honor of the State.

The Catholics have proposed, through a Catholic member of Congress, a substitute for the "Blaine Amendment" to the Constitution. The distinguishing clause of this substitute is one which forbids clergymen to hold office. Against the adoption of any such provision we must be allowed to enter a most emphatic protest. What would have been the present condition of our foreign service had Grant been unable to appoint the learned Newman "Inspector of Consuls"? What would become of the poor Indian deprived of the services of the pious Commissioner Smith? and of what avail would be the Declaration of Independence if Holy Harien could not run for office? There are at least a dozen

prominent politicians whom that substitute might compel to return to their pulpits, and the mere idea of any one of these men standing in a pulpit and preaching the gospel of honesty, of charity, of self-sacrifice, and brotherly kindness, begets a strange feeling of mingled wonder and sadness. We implore the Catholic member of Congress to withdraw that substitute.

The mutual council which was to be called in order to settle the differences between Plymouth Church and Mrs. Moulton has been given up. After ten churches had been selected and invited by Plymouth Church, and a corresponding ten by Mrs. Moulton, Plymouth Church objected to two of the churches invited by Mrs. Moulton—that of Dr. Storrs and that of Dr. Budington. In consequence of this proceeding, which Dr. Budington declared to be "unexampled in the history of mutual councils," Judge Van Cott, acting for Mrs. Moulton, declined to have any further dealings with Plymouth Church. The church immediately ordered the calling of an advisory council, the decision of which, under the circumstances, is likely to have about the same effect on public opinion as had the decision of Secretary Delano's committee, appointed to inquire into the charges brought against the Secretary by Professor Marsh. At the Friday evening meeting Mr. Beecher made a speech in which he accused Mrs. Moulton of perjury, declared that the proposed council would have been a "hodge-podge" which could not have given him a fair trial, expressed a desire to run his church as an independent organization, and hoped that God's grace would yet give him a fair trial—apparently forgetting that "God's grace" and the American people have given him a pretty thorough trial during the last two years, and that if he has anything further to say it had better be said quickly, for the verdict is about ready to be given.

The revolt of the Christian population of Herzegovina against their Mohammedan masters still engrosses a considerable share of attention in Europe, not so much because of its intrinsic importance as because of the political complications which may grow out of it, if it be not soon suppressed. The insurgents appear to be suffering great hardships, and it is estimated that at least one hundred and fifty thousand refugees are now scattered throughout Montenegro, Dalmatia, and Servia. These have urgent need of food and clothing, and appeals for aid have been made to the Christian nations of Europe. As to the doings and prospects of the insurgents but little can be stated or predicted with certainty. A recent report states that one prominent leader has withdrawn from the contest. On the other hand, we hear that several hundred Turkish troops sent against the insurgents have perished from the effects of severe cold. Mr. Edward A. Freeman has contributed to the *Fortnightly Review* an article (reprinted in the *Living Age*) in which he contends that the Turks, notwithstanding their long occupation of Turkey, are still to be looked upon only as a band of robbers temporarily possessed of the property of others. The Herzegovinians, he asserts, are positively determined to live no longer under the oppressive rule of the Turks, and he accordingly appeals for Christian sympathy and European aid. Intervention would doubtless have come to the aid of Herzegovina before now, were not the nations of Europe so watchful of one another, and so fearful of disturbing existing relations. Nevertheless, there seems to be an impression prevalent throughout Europe that the time has come for some of these relations to be altered, and that we are upon the eve of important events which may bring about the final settlement of the much vexed "Eastern Question." It may be, therefore, that the comparatively little cloud over Herzegovina will prove the forerunner of a terrible storm which will spread over all the countries of Europe.

Communications.

DOES THE MIND ACT ON THE BODY?

That depends on whether or not there is such a thing as mind. One class of philosophers has discovered certain phenomena which seem to prove the non-existence of mind.

John Weiss well states the materialist's creed: "All our mental action results from molecular distribution and arrangement. Whatever a man thinks that he feels is nothing but the gambolling of these microscopic spheres. When one is flush with well-assimilated food, it makes him manly, and prompts him to sacrifice his stimulated atoms upon the bed of honor. The physician traces melancholy and self-distrust to acrofulous conditions of the blood, or to a clogged bile-duct; hysteria breeds temper and irregularity, and chronic dyspepsia suggests criminal ideas."

Fish and phosphorus put into the hopper of the stomach, in the brain flame up into a grand epic poem, an inspiring melody, or a logical treatise on science. Atoms rush to the front, and immediately the problems of the universe stand in order before us, its deep secrets revealed; they subside, and knowledge becomes folly. Life is simply the tragedy of matter. Thus the materialist.

But what is matter? Has sage protoplasm, in human form, yet been jostled into just the right arrangement to enable it to see and solve this deep problem?

But admit the facts which the materialist, in common with others, declares; namely, that physical conditions affect mental action. What then? Does it follow that there is no mind? What, then, is the meaning of such facts as the following?

Here is a man in whose blood the red corpuscles dance right merrily. Robust health has its home in all parts of the body; but his bank-stock takes a tumble; or a firm in which he has five hundred thousand of his million dollars invested has the bottom knocked out. The man's table still groans under its charge of broiled steak, turkey, and pudding; his servants are just as obsequious; but melancholy takes possession of his mind, scourges appetite away, and creates dyspepsia. The corpuscles shrink before a power, mighty indeed, but coming without the mediation of protoplasm or atoms. Here is a cause acting from without, and in vain may the scientist direct his microscope to see it, or study the function of the liver, the structure of the blood, or the condition of the stomach. These were all affluent with health and jollity till the external disaster, impalpable to the senses and inscrutable to material science, struck the mind; and it being depressed, the bodily functions all share the depression. It is telegraphed through every nerve that crape is hung at the door of the mind, and every organ of the body defers business, lowers the curtains half-way, and goes into mourning. The materialist's philosophy is inverted. Matter is subordinate to a master. What master? Mind.

A husband goes from home for a few days on matters of pleasure and profit. The fond wife, with bright eye and cheerful heart, kisses him, and twines anew the cord of love around his heart, which neither time, distance, poverty, nor sluggishness of blood can impair, and dances back to her duties, joyful in anticipation of his return. A rap is heard on the door. She flies to open it, when behold, borne by neighbors, the broken and lifeless body of her husband lies before her. She falls, and soon the white cheek and pulseless breast prove that bounding blood has no controlling power in the presence of such mighty forces, which through the mind act on the body.

No matter how symmetrically the protoplasm is arranged, or with what sprightliness the atoms leap into favorable combinations, fear will put upon them the spell of paralysis. No matter how closely the fibres may be knit, when a great grief tugs at the life the heart will break.

When the physician finds melancholy, and announces dyspepsia behind the curtain, sapping the vitals, he announces more than this; he directs that cheerful influences be constantly let in upon the mind,—cheerful sights and sounds; that loving words and deeds be given the key to the citadel, and they will prove mighty angels in casting out the demons of sadness. The physician declares that oftentimes, in its helplessness, medicine is secondary to hopefulness of mind. Create confidence, and the work is half done. If despair depresses, hope revives.

Then if one sees or hears of a very mean act, an emotion (anger) reaches the body through the mind, and controls molecular movements. Says Dr. Traill: "A paroxysm of anger will render the bile as acrid and irritating as a full dose of calomel; excessive fear will relax the bowels equal to a strong infusion of tobacco; intense grief will arrest the secretions of the gastric juice as effectually as belladonna."

Besides, true manliness, clear intellect, and solid judgment, are often found associated with acrofulous blood and a moderate degree of health and physical strength. Giants are not characterized by exceeding wisdom, and the loftiest poems have sometimes come forth when the body was only a prison for the mind.

Last week, in this vicinity, a woman died who had been a great sufferer from scrofula and consumptive tendency for many years; yet, with a husband whose bodily atoms were arranged for exuberant health, she was the wisdom, the inspiration, and mental power of the family; and, with a body worn to the merest shadow, her mind kept its brightness, its confidence and serenity to the last. With the last breath she drew, she gave evidence of a full recognition of friends and her own condition; mind thus triumphing over the wreck of matter, and establishing its existence and supremacy.

Many minds have seemed eclipsed as death approached; but many others have as evidently kept, to a great degree, their understanding, not unfrequently seeming clearer and brighter as they approached the change. Now if only one mind presented this phenomenon of fulness when the bodily forces are so nearly spent, would it not be proof that where the mind seems to be spent also, the conditions prevented its clear manifestation rather than that there is no mind to survive?

So the question has two sides. The materialist has ridden his hobby-horse into that part of the temple where he sees the operators, from every part of the body, sending messages to the brain, and modifying its action, and he says: "This is all. There is no such thing as mind; it is molecules instead." Another, who leaves this horse in the rut, and mounts to the dome of the temple, in its greater light beholds not only what the materialist has seen, but also that here are immaterial forces—powers of mind—which return messages and commands to every part of the body.

Mind and matter, spirit and body—this, it seems to me, is the solution of the double problem. While intimately joined together by vital force, each must exert its influence on the other for good or evil, according to its perfect or imperfect condition and surroundings, material and mental. And while such interdependence exists, each must have means to inform the other of its condition and needs. Whether suffering or rejoicing in sympathy, each must send back its message with recruits, according to its ability. The hand telegraphs to the head that it is inflamed; and the head returns that the hand shall reach up and take the soothing plaster that will scatter the inflammation. The mind sends word to the foot that it is sad, and, under instruction from

the mind, the foot bears it to bright surroundings. The material organs respond to the mind with sympathy and obedient action; the mind answers the organs with sympathy and instruction.

It seems to me that facts of the nature of some of those pointed out above indicate as clearly mind in man, as distinguished from matter, as do the materialist's facts indicate that matter plays a part in physical existence. Is this inference sustained or not?

O. K. CROSBY.

MR. O. B. FROTHINGHAM'S INCONSISTENCIES.

MY DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

Anything emanating from the pen of Mr. Frothingham has such an irresistible charm about it, that expressions which would be severely censured, when uttered by another less enchanting speaker or written by another less bewitching writer, pass without offending. His style is so pleasing, his sentences so weighty, his periods so finished, his sermons or other speeches so full of good sense, of learning, of deep thought, that the enraptured listener or reader is so captivated by them that he overlooks much that might arouse his scorn, if uttered by or read from another man. Whence, then, the not extremely rare aberrations of such a mind? I think I can show. Mr. Frothingham is not only profoundly learned, a deep thinker and strong reasoner, but he has also a fine poetical mind, a rich imagination, and vivid fancy. These latter carry him sometimes beyond the range of reason into the realm of the *ideal*, or the *supernatural*; and then he is as much bewildered as any one who ungauily wanders in these pathless regions. Coupled with these qualities is a strong conviction of the correctness of his opinions, and a consciousness of the purity and benevolence of his intentions, that makes him (as it does every one who thus holds to his belief) unjust to the beliefs and opinions of others. This is the only way I can, at least to myself, explain his *inconsistencies*, and even his harshness, now and then, in judging others; and in this way alone I can explain his censorious allusions to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, his flings now and then at "infidels" generally, his arrogant claims to "faith" for himself (or the religious) alone, and his denial of it to "infidels," and similar inconsistencies.

And so again is it with his claims for Free Religion, or what he wills to be understood by Free Religion. Now, my dear sir, you certainly must know that by its opponents it has frequently been reproachfully said that Free Religion is no "religion at all"; and I believe that it would be much the better for it if it were not. It certainly does not contribute at all to its benefit, to a closer union of its actively enrolled members, nor to bring those sympathizing with but not yet members of it into its fold. For "religion" is, I believe, (in spite of what may generally be maintained to the contrary) not anything *real*, much less innate, but only an *abstraction*, a fancy of the imagination. Hence there has never been, because there *cannot* be, a definition of it acceptable to *all who think*. "Religion" must, therefore, be something different with one individual from what it is with another; and must thus, instead of a means of union, become a cause of division of individuals generally as well as members of the Free Religious Association. The inevitable consequence, then, is, as it must be, that the latter is obliged to seek for some other element combining its heterogeneous members into one homogeneous body. This element it found, not in its "religion," catholic or free, but in its "aims and purposes." We find, therefore, that by its *very constitution* it wisely does not make harmony in some religious views, nor the acceptance of some definite religious tenets or doctrines requisite in those applying for membership and their admittance, but merely a *recognition and willingness to work for its aims and purposes*. For these only are something real, substantial, definite, on which all can unite; no mere abstractions, fancies, conceived differently by different individuals and different minds—as is "religion," which, in fact, is nothing but the *collective name* of all that is wise and good, praiseworthy and desirable, in man or in his arts; or, as you yourself phrase it, "an effort to perfect ourselves." In these, and in these only, every good man—whether he be a "free" religionist, a plain religionist, or a no-religionist, a Jew, a Christian, or an "infidel"—can agree, have "faith" (i. e., believe) in them, and endeavor just in proportion to his real goodness to live and realize them.

Why, then, does Mr. Frothingham say that "infidels have no faith"? Will he deny them "faith" because they do not believe in "religion," as he does? I hope the President of the "Free" Religious Association will not be as bigoted as that! But if he is not, why will he find fault with so good a man as Charles Bradlaugh for not believing and for having no "religion"? Can and does Mr. Bradlaugh not believe in, has he not strong faith in, and works he not as earnestly and effectually for, the improvement of humanity in all that can make it better and happier—the *very aims and purposes of Free Religion*? Is he not doing it better and more effectually without any "religious" belief, but with strong "faith" in, and in the sacred name of, humanity, than any "free" or creed-bound "religionist" is doing, or can do it in the name of his fancied "religion"? How, then, can Mr. Frothingham deny to such men "faith," or speak flippantly of "infidels," generally?

Or has Mr. Frothingham, perhaps, "faith" in the "unseen," the "unknown," the supernatural? If he has, and means that "faith" when denying it to Mr. Bradlaugh, and "infidels," generally, he is certainly right in his *denial*, but at least more unjust

in his implied *censure*. Neither Mr. Bradlaugh nor any "infidel" will, however, dispute or envy him his "faith." They are so well contented with, and feel so much consolation in, their "faith in humanity," that they can very well dispense with that fanciful "religious faith" of Mr. Frothingham. They think and believe, even, that he would be much less inconsistent with himself, and would appear to much better advantage, if he had less of that sort of "faith" and less "religion"; and that even Free Religion would not be any the less attractive, but more true in name and to its real aim as "Free Humanity" than as "Free Religion."

Mr. Frothingham, in his "Liberal Bigotry," in THE INDEX of Dec. 2, is somewhat irritated against "infidels" for criticising him for the above and other flings at "infidels," with which he seems to me rather a little *too liberal*—in either sense of this word. We are wont to get them often enough from the Orthodox, and then don't mind them much; but when coming from such a radical, such a generally esteemed man, as Mr. Frothingham, they are—well! rather unlooked for.

Your infidel, but faithful, friend,
MORRIS EINHSTEIN.

TITUSVILLE, Pa., Dec. 12, 1875.

THE SABBATH OF CHRISTIANITY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—With regard to the Sunday and Sabbath questions alluded to in my French hymn, and in your short note introductory to it (INDEX, Jan. 6), your readers may perhaps feel interested in learning what the Church thinks upon it from her authoritative documents rather than from me.

The only absolutely authoritative documents of the whole Christian Church are the books of the Old and New Testament, the Nicene Creed, and the Canons of the seven Ecumenical Councils, or rather of five of them, as the Fifth and Sixth made no Canons.

1. With regard to the Bible itself, I refer your readers to it, not objecting, for this particular purpose, even to King James' version. Any man making a thorough study of it with the help of a concordance will be able to convince himself that, while it teaches that the Jewish Sabbath is abolished under the Christian dispensation, it says not a word about the first day of the week, or any other day, having been substituted for the seventh as a Christian Sabbath.

2. Nor does the Nicene Creed breathe a word about it, as your readers may convince themselves by reading that creed in the text contained in the Episcopal prayer-book, to which text, however faulty in so far as it contains the unwarranted addition *Filioque*, I do not require to object for the present purpose.

3. As to the Canons of the Ecumenical Councils, the only two which make mention of either the Lord's day or the Sabbath are the Twentieth Canon of the First Council, and the Eighth Canon of the Seventh Council, both of which I will give in full.

THE TWENTIETH CANON OF THE FIRST COUNCIL OF NICEA (FIRST ECUMENICAL): A.D. 325.

"Whereas there are some who kneel on the Lord's day and on the days of the Pentecost: in order that all things should be observed in every parish, it has seemed right to the holy Synod that they should offer their prayers to God standing."

THE EIGHTH CANON OF THE SECOND COUNCIL OF NICEA (LAST ECUMENICAL): A.D. 783.

"Whereas some deceived persons, coming from the religion of the Hebrews, have appeared to deride Christ our God, feigning to become Christians, but denying him in secret, and secretly observing the Sabbath and doing other Judaic actions; we define that these be received neither to communion, nor to prayer, nor to the Church; but be, according to their own religion, Hebrews openly, and neither baptize their children, nor buy or possess a bondman. But if any of them should convert himself through sincere faith, and make confession from his whole heart, triumphing over their customs and practices for the confutation and correction of others, let that one be received and have his children baptized, and give assurance that he will separate himself from Hebrew pursuits. And if they be not so disposed, let them by no means be received."

For the full understanding of this last Canon it is necessary to observe that the imperial laws had forbidden Jews from owning Christian slaves.

Your readers have now in their hands the whole of the legislation of the Universal Christian Church on the Sabbath and on the Sunday questions, and I leave them judges whether it is fair to make the Bible or the Church responsible for such a gross superstition as the Protestant Sabbath.

I remain, dear sir, truly yours,
JULIUS FERRETTE.

CAMBRIDGE, Jan. 8, 1876.

THE ENGLISH PAPERS give interesting summaries of the lecture delivered by Dr. Moffatt, in Westminster Abbey, upon the day of prayer for missions. Dr. Moffatt said, in the course of the lecture, that "when he arrived in the Bechuana country, early in the present century, he found the people sunk in the densest ignorance. Unlike most heathen tribes, they had no idea of a God, and no notion of a hereafter. There was not an idol to be found in all their province, and one which the lecturer's daughter once showed to an intelligent leader of the people excited his liveliest astonishment. He was, indeed, so hopelessly removed from a state of civilization that he ridiculed the notion of any one worshipping a thing he had made with his own hands."

Sanctuary of Superstition.

THE GOLDEN VIALS.—"Cold prayers won't do. It is only fervent, agonizing prayers that go up into the golden vials, from which the blessing is to be poured out. We cannot hope for a revival here unless Christians are in an agony. The golden vials are not yet ready!"—A. B. Earle, 1868.

HELL.—"I have been talking to you about heaven; now to-night I am going to say a few words about hell. A good many people say that they don't believe these ministers who preach about hell. But this is Jesus Christ himself who is talking in these verses. I don't want any one to say that I preached for three weeks in Philadelphia without saying anything about hell."—Dwight L. Moody, the Revivalist.

THE HEART OF ST. JOSEPH CALASANCTIUS.—His tongue and heart, which were found after nearly a century to be whole, when the body was disinterred before his canonization, are still preserved in a glass case, and after two centuries the heart is still whole. When the French troops came to Rome, and when Pius VII. was carried away prisoner, blood dropped from it.—Written in a book published in New York in 1858, by Rev. William H. Nelligan, LL.D., M.A., Trinity College, Dublin, Member of the Archaeological Society of Great Britain: (quoted by Mark Twain in "Innocents Abroad").

SALVATION BY SUBSTITUTE.—"How then can I hope to be saved?"

"Your hope must be in the mercy of God through Christ Jesus. Salvation is of pure grace. No mortal deserves it."

"But God is a holy and righteous judge, and he is angry with sin."

"Yes, but he loves the sinner, and in order that the sinner might be saved, he has sent his only-begotten Son into the world to die—'The Just for the unjust.' God has judged, condemned, and punished sin in the person of our Substitute, so that he can now, in his infinite goodness, freely pardon and receive us."—"A Plain Question." Am. Tract Society.

FIRE!—"All these flames in Brooklyn, in Chicago, and in Boston are only prefigurations of the great day of fire which you and I will see as sure as you sit there and I sit here. Before it beasts will dash from the rocks in a wild leap. Coming over the precipices it will be a Niagara of fire. The continents of earth will wrap themselves in a winding sheet of flame, and the mountains will cry to the plain, 'Fire!' and the plain will cry to the sea, 'Fire!' and the sea will cry to the sky, 'Fire!' and heaven will answer back to earth; the caverns will groan it and the winds will shriek it, the thunders will toll it and the storms will wail it, and the nations will cry it—'Fire! Fire!'"—Rev. T. De Witt Talmage, of Brooklyn, N. Y., after the burning of his Tabernacle.

PAID WITH BLOOD.—"Look you, John," continued Mr. Chambers, "if you get a bill as long as from this to the turnpike, two long miles, with thousands of items amounting to thousands of pounds, and you owe it all, what will become of you?"

"I must be a ruined man."

"And if your creditor puts his name, and marks 'PAID' at the bottom of the bill, after all, what will that do for you, John?"

"Then I'm saved."

"That's what God does. He writes 'paid' with the red blood of Christ at the foot of all you have been counting up, and a great deal more besides; and if the list of your iniquities reached up to heaven and down to hell, you can be saved through Christ 'after all.'"—"After All." Am. Tract Society.

THE ATONEMENT.—We will open the glorious well of the atonement. It is nearly filled up with the chips and debris of old philosophies that were worn out in the time of Confucius and Zeno, but which smart men in our day unwrap from their mummy-bandages, and try to make us believe are original with themselves. I plunge the shovel to the very bottom of the well, and I find the clear water starting. Glorious well of the atonement! Perhaps there are people here who do not know what "atonement" means. It is so long since you have heard the definition. The word itself, if you give it a peculiar pronunciation, will show you the meaning,—at-one-ment. Man is a sinner and deserves to die. Jesus comes in and bears his punishments and weeps his griefs. I was lost once, but now I am found. I deserved to die, but Jesus took the lances into his own heart until he had strength only to say, "It is finished." The boat swung round into the trough of the sea, and would have been swamped, but Jesus took hold of the oar. I was set in the battle, and must have been cut to pieces had not, at nightfall, he who rideth on the white horse come into the fray. The law tried me for high treason against God, and found me guilty. The angels of God were the jurors empanelled in the case, and they found me guilty. I was asked what I had to say why sentence of eternal death should not be pronounced upon me, and I had nothing to say. I stood on the scaffold of God's justice; the black cap of eternal death was about to be drawn over my eyes, when from the hill of Calvary One came. He dashed through the ranks of earth, and heaven, and hell. He rode swiftly. His garments were dyed with blood, his face was bleeding, his feet were dabbled with gore, and he cried out, "Save that man from going down to the pit. I am the ransom." And he threw back the coat from his heart, and that heart burst into a crimson fountain, and he dropped dead at my feet.—Talmage.

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(This pamphlet has not been on sale for a number of years, and many persons who have all of the Annual Reports succeeding do not possess this.) Price 50 cents.

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FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT.

EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS:

O. B. FROTHINGHAM, New York City.
W. J. POTTER, New Bedford, Mass.
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5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fairs shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

- ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be **THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF —**.
- ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in —, and thereby to effect the total separation of Church and State in fact as well as in theory.
- Also to send delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League, when organized, and to cooperate heartily with all the liberals of the country in furtherance of the above-named object.
- ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.
- ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.
- ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.
- ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League.
- ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

"If we are to have another contest in the near future of our national existence, I predict that the dividing line will not be Mason and Dixon's, but between patriotism and intelligence on the one side, and superstition, ambition, and ignorance on the other. Now, the centennial year of our national existence, I believe, is a good time to begin the work of strengthening the foundations of the structure commenced by our patriotic forefathers one hundred years ago at Lexington. Let us all labor to add all needful guarantees for the security of free thought, free speech, a free press, pure morals, unfettered religious sentiments, and of equal rights and privileges to all men, irrespective of nationality, color, or religion. Encourage free schools, and resolve that not one dollar appropriated for their support shall be appropriated to the support of any sectarian schools. Resolve that neither State or Nation, nor both combined, shall support institutions of learning other than those sufficient to afford to every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common school education, unmingled with sectarian, pagan, or atheistical dogmas. Leave the matter of religion to the family altar, the Church, and the private school supported entirely by private contributions. Keep the Church and the State forever separate."—PRESIDENT GRANT, at Des Moines, Sept. 29, 1875.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE
FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever in any State be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious practices shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

A NEW Liberal League was organized at Coopersville, Michigan, on Jan. 29. Mr. George A. Farr was elected President, and Mr. H. Potts (editor of the *Coopersville Courier*) was elected Secretary.

MR. MORSE's bust of Thomas Paine was on the platform at Horticultural Hall when Mr. Chadwick gave his lecture on Paine; but by inadvertence attention was not called to it. It can yet be seen at Mr. Morse's studio, 25 Bromfield Street. He will send a copy in plaster to the Centennial Exhibition next summer.

It is a good sign to see that some of the leading Methodist journals, such as *Zion's Herald*, the *New York Christian Advocate* and its Pittsburgh namesake, speak out boldly for strictly secular schools. This fact increases the reasonableness of supposing that the President, himself a Methodist, meant in his Message to take the same ground.

A PROVIDENCE despatch dated Feb. 1 says: "The House of Representatives this afternoon passed, without division, a bill providing that land occupied or owned by churches, schools, colleges, and charitable institutions shall no longer be exempt from taxation. Buildings actually used for religious, educational or charitable purposes are still exempt. Buildings owned by incorporated libraries and free public libraries are exempted by the bill."

THE BOSTON *Commonwealth* has the following notice of Mr. S. H. Morse's new bust: "S. H. Morse has in his studio, room 13, 25 Bromfield street, a life-size marble bust of Theodore Parker, modelled from existing portraits, representing him without a beard. The likeness, in feature and expression, is regarded as excellent. This bust has been purchased by gentlemen who propose to give it to the town of Lexington, Parker's birthplace, where it will be placed in an appropriate position in the town library. It is by far the best of all the busts made of the great preacher."

THE "Religious Freedom Amendment," at the suggestion of an earnest friend of that measure, has been printed on half-sheets, for the use of all who are willing to interest themselves in getting it fairly before the people. Space is left below the Amendment for writing; and those who are willing to do a little unselfish work for their country at this crisis can use these half-sheets very effectively by sending them to the editors of daily papers, with a written

request to publish the Amendment as a matter of common interest. Copies of this printed Amendment will be sent cheerfully to any address on application at this office.

THOSE WHO wish to see the Centennial Exposition opened on Sundays may perhaps contribute to this result by writing personally to Mr. A. T. Goshorn, Director General of the United States Centennial Commission, 903 Walnut Street, Philadelphia. This excellent suggestion is made by a subscriber to whom we are indebted for many clippings of interest from the New York papers, and for various acts of disinterested assistance in carrying on our public work. The Exposition ought to be open on Sundays for the accommodation of thousands of citizens who will find that day most convenient for visiting it; and there is no valid reason for closing it, especially if the Centennial Bill passes and the whole country is thereby taxed \$1,500,000 for the support of the exhibition.

WE ARE ALWAYS glad to correct any error into which we have inadvertently fallen—a species of disaster impossible to be avoided by an editor, who must frequently rely on statements in other journals which he cannot verify. A subscriber in Yorkshire, England, thus corrects an error of this sort: "I much regret to see that you say Lord Fitzwilliam refused to reopen his pit at Low Stubbin, saying he was rich enough to do without it. I do not know the earl at all, but I know that his refusal to reopen the pit arose from his having such enormous sums in the pit, and, in consequence of strikes, his capital having been simply wasted. The last strike was on account of his insisting on the men observing regulations with their lamps which were necessary for safety. The men struck sooner than comply. Now that they see their folly, they want him to spend more money in opening the pit again. But with a very large family besides his heir, I do not suppose the earl can afford to waste such large sums, with no guarantee for the proper use of the capital, and wilful caprice on the part of the men likely at any time to make him a loser. He has suffered enough already, the pit having been closed two or three times before."

A DESPATCH from Washington to the *New York Tribune*, dated January 30, says: "A secret organization has recently been started, and has already a membership of fifteen thousand. It is called the Free School Guard. Its headquarters are in Washington. The rules for government are similar to those of the Patrons of Husbandry. Its objects are as follows: The Union and the Constitution. 'Liberty and Union forever.' The preservation of our public institutions. Free schools, free speech, and a free press. Public schools to be free from sectarian influence and control. No sectarian school to receive State or National aid. The State or National government to provide for the education of every capable child. Education shall be compulsory. No education—no franchise. One term of six years for the President of the United States. Loyalty to the government. Church property to be taxed. The President of the United States to be elected by a direct vote of the people. The declaration of principles is political, but not partisan. Its motto is 'Intelligence, freedom, and union,' and its watchword, 'Preach a crusade against ignorance.' We are sorry to see secret organizations formed for any object. What is right and true never needs secrecy to advance its cause, but rather publicity. Sensible minds will always suspect and distrust any movement, however fair its professions, which has to work in the dark. But such secret organizations as the Free School Guard, the Order of the American Union, and so forth, are the direct result of the neglect of educated Americans to form an organization which shall work openly and above board for substantially the same ends."

LIST OF LIBERAL LEAGUES.

ST. LOUIS, MO.—M. A. McCord, President; P. A. Lofgreen, L. La Grille, Secretaries.
 BOSTON, MASS.—F. E. Abbot, President; J. P. Titcomb, G. A. Bacon, Secretaries.
 JEFFERSON, OHIO.—W. H. Crowell, President; A. Giddings, Secretary.
 SAN JOSE, CAL.—A. J. Spencer, President; J. L. Hatch, Secretary.
 TOLEDO, IOWA.—J. Reedy, President; E. S. Beckley, Secretary.
 VINELAND, N. J.—John Gage, President; Sue M. Cinto, Secretary.
 JUNCTIONVILLE, N.E.—J. W. Eastman, President; B. L. Masley, Secretary.
 OLATHE, KAN.—S. B. S. Wilson, President; H. A. Griffin, Secretary.
 DETROIT, MICH.—W. R. Hill, President; A. T. Garretson, Secretary.
 BENDSVILLE, MICH.—A. G. Eastman, President; F. R. Knowles, Secretary.
 OSCEOLA, MO.—R. F. Thompson, President; M. Roderick, Secretary.
 BATH, ME.—F. G. Barker, President; C. Rhodes, Secretary.
 BERLIN, WIS.—President, J. D. Walter; Secretary, J. D. Kruschke.
 WASHINGTON, D.C.—George M. Wood, President; J. E. Crawford, Secretary.
 AUBURN, OHIO.—John Fish, President; G. W. Barnes, Treasurer.
 MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—S. C. Gale, President; S. G. Rollins, Secretary.
 NEW YORK, N.Y.—J. K. Brown, President; D. M. Bennett, Secretary.
 ST. JOSEPH, MO.—P. V. Wise, President; T. H. Kennedy, Secretary.
 LAU CLAIRE, WIS.—President, S. J. Dickson; Secretary, W. Kennedy.
 BALBOO, IND.—President, T. Gray; Secretary, W. Allen.
 NEW ORLEANS, LA.—President, E. Vorster; Secretary, J. E. Wallace.
 BAY CITY, MICH.—President, S. M. Green; Secretary, S. M. Johnson.
 CLARKFIELD, PA.—S. Widemire, President; H. Hoover, Secretary.
 SAUK CITY, WIS.—Chr. Spiehr, President; Robert Cunradi, Secretary.
 AUGUSTA, WIS.—Davis Jackson, President; George P. Vaux, Secretary.
 WATERTOWN, N.Y.—L. D. Olney, President; W. A. Howland, L. M. Delano, Secretaries.
 PHILADELPHIA, PA.—Carrie S. Burnham, President; John S. Dye, Secretary.
 MILWAUKEE.—Theodore Fritz, President; D. C. Zünig, Secretary.
 MILWAUKEE (Second League).—R. C. Spencer, President; R. Boyd, Secretary.
 NORTHUMBERLAND, PA.—M. B. Priestley, President; Chas. Collins, Secretary.
 NORTHAMPTON, MASS.—E. E. Denniston, President; M. A. Dewey, Secretary.
 MEDINA, MINN.—Allen Grave, President; Taylor Archibald, Secretary.
 COOPERSVILLE, MICH.—George A. Farr, President; H. Fotts, Secretary.

[For THE INDEX.]

Almost a Minister's Wife.

BY "EX."

Charlie Allen was, by all odds, the smartest preacher we had in Clinton that summer, when Parson Clarke was sick, and the most of a man every way. We girls all said he was the handsomest and pleasantest young man in the town,—at least all of us said so who were not engaged already.

The old people, too, liked his sermons, and Dr. Brown's little wife spoke the general feeling of the parish pretty well when she said, "Oh, I do so wish Parson Clarke would get better or worse right away! You know, if he should get well enough to preach again, it would be such a mercy to us; and if he should die or have to resign, why, we could get Mr. Allen."

He was a third or fourth cousin of mother's, and so he stopped with us most of the time, and father was very fond of walking about the farm with him. Indeed, father said to mother once, "There's a first-rate farmer spoilt in that young chap. It's a real pity."

Then when mother and I were sewing, he would read us such books as opened a new world to me. I had never read any poetry but Scott and Campbell, and those I had got thoroughly tired of; but now, when I heard him read Tennyson, Mrs. Browning, and Longfellow, so many new thoughts and feelings came to me, that I felt, as I went through the old round of work again, as if I were a different person from what I had been. He read us Ruskin, too, and showed me new beauties in the leaves and the clouds, whenever we walked out together.

He used to talk to me, too, about the good he meant to do when he was a minister; how he wanted to teach his people to read better books and have better amusements. Then he was going to bring all the poor neglected children into his Sunday-school, and have an evening school for young men and women who had never had any teaching. He was going to start a lodge of Good Templars, too, and have it do real work for drunken people, and not be merely a place to have a good time in.

The girls used to tease me about him, but I did not think he cared for me, till one afternoon, when I came in from berrying, and just as I put my hand on the door-latch, I heard father say, "No, Allen, Katie shan't be a minister's wife. It's no use talking about it. I like you well enough, and, if you were anything but a minister, I should say right off, 'What suits her suits me.' But I won't have Katie run up and down, week in and week out, about everybody's business all over town, as Parson Clarke's wife has to. It's well enough to have to honor and obey you; but to have to honor and obey all the people in town is altogether too much."

I know I should not have listened, but I could not go away. Then Charlie Allen said, "But, Mr. Whipple, is it the worst thing we can do to work for other people? Don't you feel happy yourself when you're doing it?"

"Well, yes; but I shouldn't like to make a trade of it. And then the work isn't half so bad as the fault-finding. Why, Mrs. Clarke never buys a dress that

somebody don't find fault with. Isn't it so, mother?"

"Yes," said mother; "but then Mrs. Clarke hasn't half so good taste as Katie has. Why, that last dress of hers, that she wears to meeting, is an awful sight too gay for her, especially with her husband so sick. And the one before it! Let me think—was it that black gingham that made her look as old as the hills, or that brown calico with the ugly pattern I couldn't take my eyes off of?"

"You hear," said father; "do you want a hundred women or so talking about Katie like that?"

"Still, compared with the good a minister's wife can do, that's a little thing, after all."

"I don't feel so sure of the good as I do of the hard time. Now just think what it'll be for a girl who has had a good home all her life, to have to keep moving about from one town to another every year or two, sometimes boarding with all sorts of people, and sometimes cooped up in a little pigeon-box of a hired house, and never daring to feel at home anywhere, because you can't tell how soon you may have to pull up stakes again."

"It is a hard life, I know; but I've thought it my duty to take it, and, if Katie is willing to bear her share of it, is it quite right for you to stand in our way?"

"That's so, father. Katie is old enough to speak for herself, and I think she'd be happier with him than any body else."

"May be. But then there's one thing more. I've heard Parson Clarke, and other preachers, too, say it's more than any man can do to bring up a family on his salary, unless he has something besides. You've nothing, as you told me. Well, I don't think any the less of you for it—only the more of you for telling me. But the worst of it is, I haven't much myself either, besides the old farm, and I can't sell that. You see I've been all my life here. I'm getting too old to work it much longer, but I don't want to have to leave it. I'd like right well to have you, or any other good man Katie likes, take it and live here with us; but I can't well give it up, no, nor her either."

"I only want her, not the farm. We shall have a hard time; but I think we can bear it."

"But what says the Good Book? 'If any man provide not for his own, and especially for those that be of his own house, he hath denied the faith and is worse than an infidel.' Are you sure you can provide for Katie?"

"Yes, I am. The Good Book says, 'The laborer is worthy of his hire.'"

"He don't always get what he's worthy of in your business. You can't deny that. But it's no use talking. This is a difficult job, and we mustn't be hasty. You did like a man in speaking to us instead of her. Now just go on and do the same way. You can come here and see her just as often as you like, but there mustn't be any courting, or writing, or anything of that kind."

"I give you my word of honor—"

"Yes—yes. I know you're just as good as you say, or you shouldn't have stopped so long here. Go on and get your parish, and try how you like it a year or two. Mind, I don't promise anything. I don't say you shall ever have Katie any way, and I don't say you shan't. And meantime, if you come across a girl that's richer and prettier—"

"Now, father."

"And that you like better—"

"I never shall."

"Well—if you do, why it'll be all right with us. That's all. There, let's say no more about it. And, mother, don't worry Katie about it. Come out with me and see if you can tell what's the matter with the old Chester White. There's something wrong with her."

I made out to run round the house to the other door, set my berry-tin on the kitchen-table, hung up my sun-bonnet, crept up stairs, and lay down on the bed, where I had a good hard cry. By-and-by mother came up and kissed me, and said:—

"Don't cry, Katie. Father means right. Only be patient. It'll all come out right at last. I'm sure he likes you, and that's the main thing. Now just lie still till I call you to supper. You'd better come down then, if you can. I guess he won't stay much longer."

This made me feel enough better to come down to supper. And sure enough he said he must go back to the seminary the next morning, and let somebody else take his turn here. He gave me some real good advice about my reading that evening, and would have lent me lots of books, but I knew father would not let me take them. So I wrote down the names, and father bought them that fall. He did not say a word of love to me, but I heard it in every word he said, and wondered I had never heard it before.

And so he went away, and it was dull enough on the old farm. At last he sent father a paper with a notice of his having had a call in Jackson, and Parson Clarke told us it was a very good parish, with some of the richest people in the city in it, a large salary, and a splendid new meeting-house. Oh, how I wished I could see him ordained, or hear him preach again! Father went down to Jackson that fall, about some business, he said, though we could not guess what. When he came back, he said: "Well, he's working like a horse, and they think a sight of him. I guess I must make Parson Clarke change work with him."

Mother caught at the idea, and Mrs. Brown heard of it, and gave the poor old man no peace until the exchange was agreed upon.

He stopped at Parson Clarke's this time, came late Saturday night, and said he must go back early Monday morning, but would come to supper with us.

He preached that morning on Philippians iii, 13: "Forgetting those things which are behind, and

reaching forth unto those things which are before." Such a sermon! It made me feel ashamed of all my past life, and determined to be a different girl ever after. I knew now what it was to be a Christian, and all my soul was roused up to be one. I thought everybody must feel just as I did, and, when he came down from the pulpit and walked away with Mrs. Clarke, and we all sat down together to spend the nooning, I thought nobody would speak of anything but how good the sermon was, and how much it had taught them.

But the old people began to talk about how bad the roads were, and how poorly potatoes and apples were keeping, and how much sickness there was, just as usual. Pretty soon Mrs. Brown, who never will come home at noon, much as her husband wants to, broke in with:—

"Oh, how can you talk about such things after hearing such a beautiful sermon? Why, it was just as good as going to the theatre in Boston. Wasn't it, doctor?"

"It was, my dear, a remarkably fine specimen of pulpit eloquence, especially the closing exordium," replied the doctor. "His voice has deepened and mellowed, too, and I think his gestures have a more graceful flow than when he last occupied our desk. Is not that your opinion, Deacon Spaulding?"

"Well, it was a pretty smart sermon," said the deacon. "I guess we ought to be well enough satisfied with it."

"Oh, if I could only hear him preach all the time!" said Susie Smith. "He's so handsome."

"He certainly does look well," said Moulton, the store-keeper, who always agrees with Susie. "His coat and pants are real heavy beaver, and that great-coat of his must have cost him fifty dollars, at least."

"Now I call that sinful extravagance," said old Squire Skinner, the one they call Skinfint Skinner. "It's wrong for the brethren in Jackson to allow it."

"Oh, well," said Moulton, "they like to see their minister well-dressed, and make him lots of presents. I think I heard that great-coat was a wedding-fee, when I was in Jackson last week."

"I had rather buy my own clothes, as our minister does," said Deacon Rogers. "I don't like this fancy dressing, no, nor this fancy preaching, neither. Why, there was hardly a word about any of the good old gospel doctrines in either his sermon or his prayers. Can't stand such preaching no ways."

"Why, deacon," says father, "he did say a good deal about one of the best of all the gospel doctrines, and he said it pretty well, too."

"Which one? You don't mean endless misery, for he didn't say a word about that any more than if he'd been a Universalist, and he didn't say anything to amount to anything about the Atonement, neither."

"Perhaps not; but he spoke right strong for 'doing to others as you would have them do to you,' and there's nothing better than the Golden Rule in the gospel, I take it."

"Oh, well, that's well enough for mere morality; but a minister ought to preach religion. Ain't that so, Brother Spaulding?"

"Yes, I know that," said good old Deacon Spaulding. "Perhaps he'll give us something better this afternoon. I suppose we must take what we can get, in this world any way. Sold all your cider yet, Brother Rogers?"

And so they went on until the nooning was over, and the second service began.

He preached that afternoon about the next verse to his text in the morning: "I press toward the mark, for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus."

I did not like his sermon so well this time, for I felt that the people were only thinking of his clothes and his gestures. A good deal of what he said, too, had too much theology in it for me to understand. I looked round at the deacons to see whether they agreed with it, but they were both sound asleep. Towards the end of his sermon, however, he drew such a grand picture of "Our One Great Pattern" that I forgot everything else in listening to him.

When he came back with us that night, he told us that his people did everything they could think of for him; that there was more work in Jackson than ten ministers could do. Father questioned him very closely about the success of his plans for poor people, and he owned that he found it hard to get such teachers as he wanted for his evening school, and that his poor children were not so welcome in his Sabbath-school as he thought they ought to be. Still he hoped that in time the people would see the importance of such work better. The lodge of Good Templars was doing more than he had ever hoped. A number of drunkards had been reformed, and some of them would, he hoped, join his church. His congregations, too, were as large as he could wish, he said, and he thought he had some influence over them for good. All this he told us very modestly in reply to our questions. He told me, too, what new books he had read, and what father had better get me, as we all sat around the stove together that cold spring evening. We had no chance to see each other alone, and I felt it was best. On the whole it was a very pleasant visit, but I felt rather provoked at father for not telling us what he thought of his sermons and of his prospects in Jackson.

When Parson Clarke came next to our place, he said: "That young man has got an excellent opportunity; but I am afraid he'll throw it all away. If he only would preach more on popular subjects, and go round more among his own people, and let those beggars and drunkards take care of themselves, he might fill every pew in that great church, and have all the salary he wants."

"Well, I suppose some one has to look after poor people," said father.

"Oh, yes," said the parson; "there is a minister-

at-large in Jackson, a very worthy man of long experience in the ministry. He complains that Brother Allen is getting some of his best hearers away. A minister ought to stick to his own parish."

"Just as the apostles did," said father.

"Now those reformed drunkards would be a great deal better off in Father Blanchard's church than in Brother Allen's. I don't wonder his people don't like to take men fresh from the gutter into communion with them."

"Well, I don't know anything about the Church, nor what it is for," said father.

"I wish you did, Brother Whipple. You and I must have a talk together in private about that some time. Then that fire-scape of Brother Allen's will hurt him."

"What was that?" I asked.

"Why, he insists on boarding in the meanest part of Jackson, away from all his own people, and a fire broke out there one evening in a row of Irish tenement-houses, and he ran right out of his room in his dressing-gown and slippers, just as he was, and raced down to the fire, as if he had been a little boy. And there he worked half the night getting out those miserable creatures and their old, filthy duds. Why, he was so knocked up that he couldn't preach the next Sunday, and had to get a divinity student to supply for him. He spoils his clothes, too, and came back to his lodgings all covered with mud from head to foot, looking, they said, worse than any Irish laborer. And then the papers said a great deal about it, and made reflections on the other ministers, who had something better to do than making firemen of themselves. But the worst of it was that a rich infidel heard of it, and insisted on giving him a new suit of very extravagant clothes in place of that he ruined, and he took it and preaches in it. And then that dressing-gown! You see it wasn't clerical at all."

"Too much like the Good Samaritan," said father; but Parson Clarke changed the subject, and soon took his leave.

Month after month passed, and we heard nothing more. I hoped he might come to Clinton in his summer vacation; but a chance item in the *Gospel Envooy*, which father had just begun taking, said that the society had voted to keep the church open all summer, and I knew what that meant. The *Envooy* spoke often that fall of his being at different conventions and councils, and quoted good things that he said. Oh, how I missed the paper when our railroad was blocked up by the great snow-storm that December! At last father brought it up, and, as soon as I opened it, I saw at the head of the "Religious Intelligence":—

"Rev. Charles Allen has resigned the charge of the First Church, in Jackson."

This, and nothing more.

We could not imagine why he left. Father asked Parson Clarke, but he could only say that he supposed Brother Allen was tired of writing so much, and wanted to go where he could use his old sermons, or else he had got into some sort of quarrel. Pretty soon Susele came back from her wedding-trip as Mrs. Moulton, and spread all over town the story that he had resigned his parish because he was engaged to the richest young lady in it,—Miss Burton. Parson Clarke thought this very likely, but mother and I could not believe it. I had a very dull time that winter, though, and a cold I caught hung on week after week, as no cold of mine ever did before. At last Moulton's new partner, Harria, came up from Jackson, and said that after all it was the minister of the Second Church who was to marry Miss Burton; but why Mr. Allen went away he did not know, unless he wanted more salary. I felt more puzzled than ever, but winter broke up at last, and so did my cold. I heard nothing about him, and supposed he was still looking for another parish. At last I saw he was going to be a minister-at-large, and hoped it was to take such a place that he had left his wealthy society. I felt sure he would be happy, and tried not to think much about him. The *Envooy* had very little to say about him now, or Parson Clarke either. Another year passed by in this way, but I was getting more patient than I used to be.

Early the next spring, father had to go down to New York as witness in a lawsuit, and I hoped we might have some news when he came back. He stayed so long that mother was troubled enough about him, and we sat up together, night after night, long after the cars had gone by, waiting for him. At last, late one stormy evening, we heard the tavern-stage come rattling along our road and stop at our gate. What could it mean? Father always used to walk. Had anything happened? We rushed out in the rain, but as soon as father saw the door open he shouted, "Here I am, all right! Keep in-doors. I've company with me, that's all." And by his side was a figure I knew, though the gait was slower than it used to be.

"There, I've brought you home a sick man to nurse up. Get his old room ready, and we'll make ourselves at home by the fire here. There, there, Charlie, you're too tired to talk to-night. Just sit down here and rest. I'll tell them all about it."

Charlie Allen it was, sure enough, but very pale and thin, and dressed much plainer than father.

Father would not let him say a word, but got him into bed just as soon as he could. Then he sat down by the stove, and laughed until the tears came into his eyes, and indeed into mine, too.

"Now I do think that's a shame," said mother; "with that poor young man ready to die, to go on in that way."

"Die!" shouted father; "not he. He'll be all right enough in a day or two. He's just worn out and run down. That's all."

"Has he resigned again, father?" asked I.

"No. He's done better than that. He's just given

up the whole beggarly business. He's done his part of it—more than any man ought to do, either."

"What do you mean, father?" asked mother. "He hasn't left the ministry, has he?"

"Well, I take it the ministry left him,—up pretty high and dry, too. You see I wasn't so far wrong about Katie. He told me I'd done just the right thing about it, and I knew so all along."

"But he is so sick," said mother.

"Don't worry. We've had a hard day's ride of it, and I guess I'd better just turn in myself."

"Oh, father!" said I.

"Well, I may as well tell you to-night as any time, only I hardly know where to begin."

"Why did he leave Jackson?"

"Well, it wasn't Miss Burton to begin with, and it wasn't the salary, nor the old sermons, either."

"I knew that, but was there a quarrel?"

"Yes. The old parson just hit it. There was a quarrel, and a mighty mean one, too. You see all those people wanted was to have their pews all let to fancy-looking people. So when he brought poor people in, they just gave them the cold shoulder until they went away again. Then those drunkards he got into the church—"

"Why, they took them in, of course, father?"

"Yes, they couldn't help doing that, but they were mighty unwilling to, and there was nobody that would sit next them at the communion, or speak a good word to them in the church or out of it. Why, some of them would have clubbed together and hired a pew, but they couldn't find a decent one. So they got to staying away from church, and no wonder. Some of them went over to the Universalists, and I don't blame them for going where the best Christians were,—no, nor he didn't, either. One or two got back into the old way again, and he was mad enough about it. He told his folks that if the rich members weren't a-going to act brotherly and sisterly-like towards the poor ones, the church was just good for nothing at all. And I may as well tell you, mother, that's why I never joined it, and never will. Human nature's pretty much the same everywhere."

"Oh, father, don't now."

"Well, to go back to Jackson. It was the same way about everything. It was mighty hard to get teachers for his night-school, or the poor Sabbath-school classes, as they called them. And the poor children never got fairly taken care of. But what brought things to a point was that he had to move the night-school, and he could not hire another room for it any where, not even of his own deacons. They all said that the floor'd get dirty, and the building be set on fire, and all that. So he tried to get the basement of his own church for it, and he asked the trustees, but they hemmed and hawed and kept putting him off, till at last one of them told him that if he'd make a written request for it he'd have to have it; but they'd a great deal rather he wouldn't ask it, for the church built the vestry, as they call it, for themselves, and didn't want it littered up by outsiders. And then Allen tried to find out how the others thought about it, and he found they almost all thought he was doing too much for the poor people. They didn't find any fault about what he was doing for themselves, only they didn't like to have him do any thing for any body else."

"I hope it wasn't quite so bad as that."

"Well, he made up his mind he'd find out. So he wrote them that he was willing to stay with them, and do the best he could for them, but he couldn't do that, unless they'd help him work for the poor people, too, for a living church must be a working one; and if they didn't agree with him about that, they'd better let him go. They tried hard to make him see it their way, but he couldn't do it. So at last he left, and went up and down candidating, as he calls it."

"What's that?"

"Trying to hire out somewhere's else. He says there's so many wanting a place that it's a regular scramble,—just as bad as politics. And the deacons were all shy of him, because he'd taken the bit in his teeth once, and he might do it again. All the old parsons told him it wouldn't do for a minister to try to be independent, or to work for anybody but his own folks. And what he knew were his best sermons were the very ones that took the poorest. He was nearly ready to give the whole thing up last spring when he got this place of minister-at-large. It was precious poor pay, not much more to be made after paying his board than Ned earned here last summer, and you see how he's worn himself out at it."

"But why did he give it up?"

"Oh, he didn't. They gave up him. They turned him off much as old Skindint Skinner did Ned's brother last fall, when he'd worried and starved all the strength out of him."

"Why, father, how you do talk!"

"It's the fact, though. You see he found the people he preached to couldn't understand his theology, so he went to work and told them, as plain and strong as he could, not to cheat, or tell lies, or get drunk, or throw their money away, or quarrel together; but just be neat and good-natured and steady."

"That must have done them good."

"He says he thinks it did, though some of them cared more for the clothes and groceries he gave them than they did for his preaching. Still, he was getting something about their duties into their heads, when the rich people of the other churches, that kept up his, came down on him, just as Deacon Rogers did when he was here last, because he was preaching morality instead of religion. And they insisted on his getting up a revival right away. Their ministers told him that would do a great deal more good than all his schooling and moralizing. Well, he told them he was ready enough to go to

work in a revival whenever heaven sent it, but he didn't think home-made revivals were worth much; and so they up and told him that if he wouldn't do as they'd have him, he shouldn't have a cent more of their money. But they couldn't turn him out for that, and he said he'd go on and keep himself, out of some money he'd laid by in Jackson, and so run the machine out of his own pocket."

"How noble!"

"Well, it was. Some of the people went off, though, when he got out of stores for them, but most of them stood by him pretty well. But the first thing he knew, they just sprung a council on him of their own ministers and a lot more, who knew which side their bread was buttered on, and they found him guilty of heresy mighty quick. I forget what they called it, but it was some mighty hard name or other. They all agreed he wasn't sound, and that was as much as to say that he wasn't good for anything at all. You see an unsound minister's worth less than even an unsound horse. I can get a sight of work out of a horse that's a little shaky, by managing him right; but when a minister gets shaky, he's just good for no kind of work at all."

"But when was the council?"

"Why, they're scarcely through with it yet. He fought 'em just as long as he could stand it, but his health broke down at last, and so he sent in his resignation and his letter of fellowship last week, and preached his farewell sermon last Sunday. I heard it. Lord, how they cried!"

"It was a real shame!"

"Just that; but I don't feel free to say what I think, for I wouldn't use hard words before you and Katie. So I had a long talk with him. He hardly knew what to do. He said he couldn't preach any more in our churches, and he'd no heart for trying any of the other ones, and his voice was most gone, too. So I urged him to come back with me and work the old farm for me."

"Did you urge him, father?"

"That I did; and it was because I saw he wanted to bad enough, only he felt ashamed because he said he'd made such a failure. And I told him he'd done first-rate. Then he said he'd no strength and no money; but I told him I had enough for him and us too, and he'd soon get his strength back with us to take care of him. So he gave in, and I've sold all his theology books at second-hand, and his sermons for waste-paper."

"What a pity!"

"Well, I made him pick out some of the best of them for you, Katie. But you and he can settle the rest of it to-morrow."

And we did!

SET THE TUB ON ITS OWN BOTTOM.

One of the speakers at the recent meeting of the Free Religious Association, discussing the question of Church and State, and the need in our country of a more complete divorce of the two, is reported in THE INDEX to have spoken as follows:—

"In this contest we have the Catholic party, the Protestant party, and the Liberal party, including in the latter all who, in any sect or any party, stand faithfully by the secular principle. The Catholics are completely organized, with a recognized head, with an army of priests and bishops to carry on the work. The Protestants are slowly coming together, and organizing for a bold and decided stand. The Liberals are without organization, relying on the purity of their motives, and appealing to reason for support. The Catholics have one purpose to accomplish: it is to gain control of the government, and establish the Pope as the virtual ruler of this nation, politically as well as spiritually. . . . The battle-field is now the schools. The Protestants are at work in their way; they concede that the State must not recognize the CHURCH, but insist that it shall recognize CHRISTIANITY. Protestants and Catholics alike claim to make the State Christian, and education Christian: their principle is the same. But Liberals demand to make the State secular, and education secular. . . . If the Protestant Christian Amendment should prevail, it would carry the nation back to the Middle Ages. This Protestant plan points to Rome, and Rome means a state of affairs of which we of to-day have little conception."

We have italicized the affirmations in the above extract to which we ask particular attention. Are they just and fair? To be more specific, is it true that the Protestants of this country, in regard to public education, stand on "the same principle" with the Catholics, and that they are "slowly coming together and organizing for a bold and decided stand" in favor of the recognition of Christianity as the religion of the State, and to resist the secularization of the schools? Is it true that the proposed religious amendment to the Constitution of the United States is a Protestant amendment in any sense which would involve Protestants, as such, in responsibility for the same? That a small class of Protestants, embracing some men eminent alike for ability and piety, occupy the position and are working for the ends described, we frankly admit; but this fact is far from justifying the broad statements of the speaker above quoted. The association organized to promote the religious amendment of the Constitution is indeed composed of Protestants; and so also is it composed of Americans; but Protestants as such, no more than Americans as such, are responsible for its acts. The Free Religious Association is also composed of Protestants; are the Protestants of the country therefore committed to its principles and objects? We say nay; let the tub of a few Protestant reactionaries, and that also of a few extreme radicals, be set each upon its own bottom. The great mass of Protestants are in no way

or manner responsible for either. The small segment of Protestantism represented in the "National Reform Association" has authority to speak only for itself. The movement in which it is engaged is disapproved and discountenanced by the great body of Protestants, among whom the tide of opinion in favor of leaving the Constitution as it is, and of the complete secularization of the schools, is running with irresistible and constantly augmenting force. That the "National Reform Association" is not met by a counter organization among Protestants is owing to the conviction that that association has no more prospect or chance of securing its end than it would have of putting the Pope at the head of the national government. The mass of Protestants are content with the severance of the Church from the State as ordained in the Constitution, and if they are indifferent to the movement for changing that instrument it is because they think any formal or organized opposition thereto is wholly unnecessary.

The speaker above quoted says there are three parties to the controversy; namely, the Catholic party and the Protestant party, the first completely organized, the second "working in their way," and "slowly coming together and organizing for a bold and decided stand" in behalf of "the same principle" maintained by the first; and lastly the "Liberal party," which he makes to "include all who, in any sect or any party, stand faithfully by the secular principle." Now the term "Liberal," as popularly understood, designates a party opposed not merely to a union of Church and State, but to Christianity itself; consequently Christians do not choose to wear it as an appellation. They may be entirely willing to cooperate with "Liberals" and all others on a common platform of opposition to the union of Church and State, but not under a name and a leadership which imply a renunciation of Christianity. The assumption of "Liberals" that they lead the resistance to the scheme of the "National Reform Association," and may properly count as belonging to their party all those who agree with them on this one question, is not over-modest, to say the least. We venture to say that the Evangelical Protestants alone who are ready to fight this battle with religious Bourboisism, so far as there is any need of fighting, are fifty times as numerous as the whole body of so-called "Liberals." The attempt to monopolize the movement in the interest of the "Liberal" opposition to Christianity is alike unfair and mischievous. —*Christian Union*, Dec. 8, 1875.

THE TAXATION OF CHURCH PROPERTY.

The most conclusive reply, considered from a merely controversial point of view, that has been made to General Grant's proposal to tax church property, is contained in the letters on the subject written by Tax-Commissioner Andrews, and now appearing in the *Times*. The President in his message announces the "accumulation of vast amounts of untaxed church property" as an evil that, "if permitted to continue, will probably lead to great trouble in our land before the close of the nineteenth century." He estimates the amount of this untaxed property to have been, in 1850, \$83,000,000; declares that in 1860 it had doubled; estimates the present amount at \$1,000,000,000, and predicts that by 1900 this property, "without check," will reach a sum "exceeding \$3,000,000,000"; and, solemnly assuring us that such accumulations will not be looked upon "acquiescently" by the tax-payers, but may lead to "sequestration through blood," advises the taxation of all property equally, "exempting only the last resting-place of the dead, and possibly, with proper restrictions, church-edifices."

In reply to this gloomy warning, Mr. Andrews shows, first, that New York (and there is no material difference of law on this subject throughout the country) defines "church property," which the President says is growing at such a fearful rate, as simply "every building for public worship"—in other words, the churches and meeting-houses—and "the several lots upon which such buildings are situated," and the "furniture" belonging to them. Secondly, as to his suggestion that the "last resting-place of the dead" be exempted, Mr. Andrews shows that cemeteries, at any rate many of the most important of them, lying near cities which prohibit burials within the municipal limits, are mere stock companies "earning and declaring dividends," and "just as fairly subject to taxation as a bank of discount." In the third place, Mr. Andrews shows very conclusively that the figures given by the President—except those taken from the census for past years—are mere guesswork. Any one who looks at them will see that the President assumes that because the value of church property doubled in ten years between 1850 and 1860, therefore it has done the same and much more ever since. On the same principle it can be shown that the population of any thriving village in the United States will, in a given number of years, equal that of New York. Finally, even admitting the President's wild figures, there would still be no danger of "sequestration through blood," for the simple reason that the whole vast \$3,000,000,000 would in 1900 not belong to one privileged church, but would be divided among forty or fifty, none of which could be united against the others in a communistic raid, except on grounds which would prove fatal to its own possessions, while no possible division of forces into the churches on one side and the tax-payers on the other is possible, since it is the tax-payers who compose the churches, and therefore any movement to "sequester through blood" would be a movement of property-owners to destroy their own property for their own benefit.

But though Mr. Andrews thus conclusively disposes of the President's feeble attempt to put forward a church policy, the facts and arguments which he

has thus far adduced do not touch the general question of church exemption at all. The main, and indeed only, ground on which the exemption of church property from taxation in modern times can be made to rest is a moral one. Church possessions stand, it is said, on a different footing from all other kinds of property from the fact that they are devoted to higher uses—to uses which it is peculiarly the interest of the State to foster. Differing as they all do from one another in points of creed and dogma, the churches are at one in their general aim of keeping alive and elevating the moral tone of the community, of setting before it lofty standards of purity, of right, and noble examples of self-devotion and sacrifice, and of applying to human action ethical sanctions of a higher order than those of the courts of justice or even of worldly opinion. Churches are, in fact, corporations which perform a very essential, difficult, and praiseworthy office, without pay or reward in this world. So meritorious and necessary has this service seemed to be in other countries that the State has taken the Church under its protection in various ways. In this country, however, it has been left to take care of itself; it gets no State support, or countenance, or honor, and is left to struggle for existence as best it may. In a peculiarly commercial society like our own, this places it at a positive disadvantage. Other "institutions" have for their support the universal desire of mankind to earn a livelihood and to save a competence. Law or medicine will never suffer for want of State support, simply because all people will pay lawyers to save their property from damage, or doctors to save their bodies from disease. The Church, however, has no such motives to appeal to. It does not teach men to be economical, prudent, or thrifty; it teaches generosity, forgiveness, self-sacrifice, and a number of other virtues not at all calculated to help a man in "getting on" in the world. Is it fair to suppose that such an institution as this will pay its way, and are we not bound to do what we can for it by exempting it from the usual burdens of property? In other words, the Church is an institution of the highest possible utility to the State, for its object and practice is to spread abroad voluntarily a love of truth, justice, and right, on which the well-being of the State depends. To foster such a public object as this by a small grant (for this is what an exemption amounts to) seems little enough.

If the modern church were what this argument represents it to be, there might be nothing to say in reply; but as it is, the advocate of the taxation of church property might fairly object. Your picture of the modern church is a fancy sketch. You have brought forward as a description of the existing church a collection of ideal views which bear no resemblance to the reality. The modern church is no doubt, so far as the men who unselfishly devote their lives to it in the pulpit and in missions are concerned, an institution aiming at the noble object you mention; but so far as it consists of a number of associations with the right to take and own property, to sell pews, to buy organs, to hire ministers and organists, to erect costly buildings on expensive corner lots, it resolves itself into corporations of a purely business character, conducted on purely business principles. When we examine the reasons why in any thriving modern community a man owns a pew, or becomes a shareholder in a religious corporation, in nine cases out of ten it turns out to be that he expects to get back, in social consideration and other solid advantages, every cent that he puts into it. On Sundays, indeed, he and his family get returns for the investment a good deal like those which a club-man derives from his club on week-days. His church is to him a sort of Sunday club, out of which the family gets society, social consideration, some good music, and the "privileges of the house." The money which he and his friends put in, if spent in accordance with the principles which are preached from every pulpit every Sunday morning, would go first to the erection of a modest, unostentatious house of worship, which would be put up on a side street and not a "corner lot"; and, second, to bringing within the reach of the poor (i. e., the class especially in need of help and enlightenment) the benefits of religious and moral teaching. Instead of anything of the kind, the money goes first to the purchase of the most expensive lot that can be got for the money at command; second, to the erection of a gorgeous church a little bigger and higher than any put up before; third, to what we may call a band of music, a little more skillful than any other in the neighborhood; and fourth, if possible, to the salary of a minister who will, by striking preaching, attract more money. Every thing, from the corner-stone up, is based on money, and the result is, as we say, a Sunday club, from which those most in need of religious help are rigidly excluded; in other words, the main object of the State subsidy is wholly frustrated. It would only be a little step further if churches were carried on like a railroad or bank, with "puts" and "calls" on the stock sold in Wall Street, and an occasional "gobble" of one church by its wealthy neighbor further "up the avenue." Indeed, as a curious illustration of the effect of this business system on church morality and decency, take the story which has been recently published without contradiction in this city with regard to a well-known church that is practically bankrupt, that the stockholders, feeling that the church was "good" for the first mortgage, but for no more, were going to let the second mortgagees foreclose, so that the church might be "bought in" at the price of the first mortgage. The pastor himself is reported to have said coolly in an "interview" that the second mortgagees will have to be "left out in the cold," or, in other words, that the church will be reorganized, as a broken-down railroad or an insolvent bank might be. That there is a great deal of truth in this cannot

be denied, and it all points necessarily to taxation of those branches of the Church to which it applies. So long as the Church was an organization which did a noble and necessary work, which nobody else would or could do, and among those who could not do it for themselves, there was the same (or a greater) reason for exempting it from taxation that there is still for exempting schools and colleges; but in certain quarters, as is the fact, the grant of the subsidy has simply resulted in the abandonment of this work, and the conversion of the Church into a collection of Sunday clubs for wealthy people who manage them with an eye to the main chance, the reason for the grant, or the exemption, is so far gone. It is hardly necessary to say that the church organizations to which this applies are the wealthy churches of the cities. The country churches—or, in other words, the Church at large—stand on a different footing. But the accumulations of property in the shape of churches in the cities are pretty sure to use the name of "church" as a cover to a good many social objects which are not elevated and have a distinct money value. There is still one church, it is true, which does keep up its proper work among the poor and unenlightened, and which is, if any Church is, entitled to exemption on that ground. But, on the other hand, the Catholic Church in this country is, perhaps, in as little need of assistance from the State as any, for it has a firmer hold than any other on the affections, veneration, and superstition of its members. There is no church which is able to obtain more money than it, from both rich and poor. It is, indeed, now building in this city a cathedral far surpassing in expense any edifice for church purposes previously put up in this country. The effect of a tax on city church property hereafter acquired would, in the case of the Catholic Church, amount to little more than putting it on a level with the Protestants, while in the case of the latter it would simply be the withdrawal of a bonus to real estate and social speculations of a most demoralizing kind. —*N. Y. Nation*, Jan. 13, 1876.

THE DISPERSION OF THE JEWS.

BY WILLIAM DENTON.

The present condition of the Jews is generally considered as being a fulfilment, to the very letter, of prophecies made respecting them thousands of years ago; they are confidently referred to, triumphantly pointed out, and there is hardly a church in the land but has rung with the account of this wonderful fulfilment of prophecy—this "standing miracle which has nothing parallel to it in the phenomena of Nature."

With regard to these prophecies, in the first place it may be said they are quite indefinite as to time. They do not say that the dispersion of the Jews should take place in one hundred, one thousand, or ten thousand years after the prediction, and, if it had not taken place yet, Bible believers would simply say: "Well, the time is not yet come; the Lord will do it in his own due time." Again they are made contingent. Moses says: "It shall come to pass, if thou wilt not hearken to the voice of the Lord thy God to observe to do all his commandments and his statutes which I command thee *this day*, that all these curses shall come upon thee and overtake thee."

If there had been nothing that looked like a fulfilment of these curses, how easy it would have been to say: "The greater part of the Jews do keep the commandments which Moses gave them that day, and therefore God has not allowed the curses to fall upon them." Only a part of these prophecies has been fulfilled, and the part which has been is neither astonishing nor remarkable, much less miraculous. The prophecy-fulfiller, writing for the American Tract Society, quotes two verses in Leviticus, and, skipping sixteen verses, dovetails them into two more, takes one from Deuteronomy, two from Jeremiah, and ends with one from Hosea; making altogether a most miraculous prophecy.

Suppose that I was to prophecy all the things that I thought were likely to happen to the United States, if they adopted a certain line of policy say, for instance, continue to uphold slavery, is it not likely that some part of my prophecy would be fulfilled? Would there be anything miraculous in its being so? Would anybody conclude that a large book containing the writings of Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, and Adams, in which my prophecy was recorded, was the word of God in consequence of it?

In the prophecy contained in the twenty-sixth chapter of Leviticus we read: "I will even appoint over you terror, consumption, and the burning ague, that shall consume the eyes and cause sorrow at the heart." Are Jews more liable to consumption and ague than other people? Are Jews afflicted with consumption and ague at all, where the diseases are unknown to other people? If so, it would be well to let such facts be known.

In the twenty-eighth chapter of Deuteronomy we read: "And the Lord shall scatter thee among all the people, from one end of the earth to another; and there thou shalt serve other gods which neither thou nor thy fathers have known, even wood and stone. And among these nations thou shalt find no ease; neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest, but the Lord shall give thee there a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and sorrow of mind. And thy life shall hang in doubt before thee, and thou shalt fear day and night, and shalt have none assurance of thy life." Do the Jews serve other gods—gods of wood and stone? Do they fear day and night, and have they no assurance of their lives? You know these things are not so.

We read in the twenty-fourth verse: "The Lord shall make the rain of thy land powder and dust; from heaven it shall come down upon thee, until

thou be destroyed." When was this prophecy fulfilled? When did powder and dust rain from heaven, and destroy the Jews? "Thou shalt not prosper in thy ways, and thou shalt be only oppressed and spoiled evermore." Is it true that they never prosper in their ways? "As rich as a Jew" has become a proverb. Who ever saw a Jew begging? They seem to have inherited the money-making propensity of their father Jacob. It is true they are scattered through all nations; but is there anything wonderful in that? Americans are found in every nation; so are Englishmen, Scotch, Irish, and French.

Had the negroes been the people referred to, how literally then would the prophecy have been fulfilled! They are cursed in the city and in the field; they "betroth wives and other men lie with them"; they "build houses and other men dwell in them"; they "beget sons and daughters but enjoy them not, for they go into captivity"; they "serve their enemies in hunger and in thirst, and in meekness, and in want of all things"; "he puts a yoke of iron upon their necks and destroys them."

Read the twenty-eighth chapter of Deuteronomy with the negroes in your mind instead of the Jews, and you will find that it applies with ten-fold more force than to the Jews, though many parts are quite inapplicable to either. I am told that they remain a distinct nation, though they possess no national domain. And why so? Simply because they are, as a nation, a religious sect. Let a Jew renounce his religion, and he is no longer a member of the nation—no longer a Jew. Let any nation do so, and they would retain their nationality as long as the sect should exist. In America, in consequence of religious toleration, they bid fair to become amalgamated and lost—merged into the Anglo-Saxon race.

The curses pronounced upon the Jews were to come in consequence of disobedience to Mosaic Law; but prophecy-fulfillers of the present day tell us that it is in consequence of a disbelief in Jesus, as the Messiah, and that they can never be restored till they "bow in adoration at the foot of the cross."

In foretelling the dispersion of the Jews, as they loved their own country with intense fervor, what would be more likely to induce them to act in a certain manner than to tell them, if they did not, they would be scattered among the nations of the earth, and their lands pass into the hands of strangers? This the prophet accordingly did, and, among a multitude of prophecies which never came to pass, this single item was fulfilled, and hence the "living miracle" among us at the present day.

WOMEN'S CLUBS.

Twenty-five years ago women found they had a tongue which could be used in public, and since then have celebrated the discovery. But the era of talk is fast giving way to that of work. Women have found that fine words butter no parsnips, and, having shown men that they can lecture, and plead, and preach, and even lobby quite as successfully as their brothers, are now turning their attention to other things. When it was proposed to form a women's club, the idea was pronounced absurd. Men declared that woman was not a clubbable creature. She could never associate with her sisters on terms of equality. She had no tact for management, and no talent for affairs. She must stay at home and tend babies, and receive calls, and try to entice her husband to forsake his club and spend the evenings with her, by the spells her loveliness might throw over his wayward inclinations.

The Woman's Club was organized, and all the more quickly because men said it could not live, and must not be. Experience has proved that men were mistaken. Woman has shown that she is a clubbable person. She not only enjoys the social and intellectual stimulus that comes from intercourse with her kind, but she has developed an unsuspected capacity for conducting her club with discretion and economy. While most of the men's clubs in this city are heavily in debt, the Woman's Club, which was a target for ridicule for years, has over \$1,500 in its treasury. The Brooklyn Woman's Club is also financially prosperous, and that in Chicago is notably successful. The men's clubs are convivial, but the women manage to make their club sufficiently attractive with intellectual stimulants, and the charms of conversation and music, varied with a little delicious gossip now and then. There is no intoxication, though there is a little wholesome excitement occasionally over an election, or an engagement, or some social event. Their entertainments are certainly delightful, and are always inexpensive. They have displayed a conservatism in their management which quite surprises those who looked on woman as a bundle of erratic impulses and unreasoning whims. Their personal attachments are strong, and they hold to those who have served them faithfully with something of the tenacity with which they cling to husband and child. Mrs. Severance was at the head of the New England Woman's Club for years, and Mrs. Howe is likely to hold the office as long as she can fill it. Miss Kate Hillard has been re-elected so many times that the members feel that the office belongs to her of right. Alice Cary, the first President of the New York Club, was unfortunately too ill to keep the office she seemed made on purpose to fill. The conservatism which is one of the strong elements in woman's character is one reason of the success of these associations. It has kept them from introducing questionable topics for discussion, or sanctioning crude and loose social theories, or admitting persons of doubtful reputation to membership; and, perhaps, were woman to take part in politics she would be a conservative rather than a reforming or innovating force, and possibly, judging by the way she reflects officers, might advocate a third term. The Radical Club in Boston owes its

success very largely to the conservative instinct, tact, and discretion of Mrs. Sargent, at whose house it now holds its sessions. It is a purely literary and intellectual association, and has shown what the organizing capacity of one woman can accomplish in that direction. The club in Dubuque has something of the same character and influence. In short, the Woman's Club is a demonstrated success. It has survived opposition and answered criticism by what it has become. And while the clubs of the other sex are entirely for social interchange and conviviality, the Woman's Club has ventured in more than one instance to render needed and useful service in philanthropic fields. The Brooklyn Club has set a fine example in this direction, and its members have surprised themselves quite as much as they have astonished and delighted others by what has been achieved. The next ten years will doubtless witness a large increase of these institutions, which will have an important influence in forming public opinion and directing social movements to the best ends.—*N. Y. Graphic*, Jan. 18.

THE ROMAN CATHOLICS AND THE SCHOOLS.

The question of tolerating sectarian control over a portion of the public schools is one which will not down at the bidding of Democratic politicians. In fact it is to this class of politicians that the whole trouble is due, as it is only by their consent in various places that the entering wedge has been inserted, which threatens, if not checked, to divide and destroy the free-school system. The course of procedure is in nearly every case the same as that now proposed in Jersey City, notwithstanding the recent constitutional amendment. The Rev. Father Hennessey, of that place, is the principal of a parochial school of six hundred pupils, which has been in existence for six years. The support of the school he finds a burden in these hard times, and he follows the customary programme in offering to unload. In a letter to the city Board of Education he offers to place the school nominally under their control, asking no rent, and agreeing to keep the building in order, and provide fuel. The only right reserved is in the appointment of the teachers, and these are to be subject to examination by the Board. He even goes so far as to agree that the Bible shall be read in the school, and the Lord's Prayer recited. On the face of it this seems like a favorable proposition, but it is to be hoped that the Jersey City Board of Education will not hesitate to reject it. The State of New Jersey is not so poor as not to be able to furnish to all its children the same educational facilities. If Jersey City has not at present enough school-houses, it is able to provide the additional number required, and to equip them all with teachers without assistance from any ecclesiastical source. It should give to the Roman Catholics precisely the same privileges which it gives to the Presbyterians, or Methodists, or Jews. No more, no less. If it allows one sect to appoint or nominate the teachers for one school, it must in justice allow the same privileges to every other sect. It should refuse all alike, and provide alike for all.

A very bad precedent has been set in this matter in New York, Connecticut, and a few other States. Offers like this of Father Hennessey have been made and accepted, and parochial schools are now in full blast under the pretended supervision of the local Boards of Education. The Roman Catholics are not to be especially blamed in the matter. They are following a definite policy under shrewd leaders, and have reason to congratulate themselves over every success. The blame and the responsibility rest with the local school boards which, from supposed reasons of economy or policy, have given their sanction to the dangerous innovation. It is full time to call a halt.—*Hartford Courant*, Dec. 30, 1875.

THE PLEASANT INQUISITION.

We look out upon many objects of interest from the dome of St. Peter's; and last of all, almost at our feet, our eyes rest upon the building which was once the Inquisition. How times changed between the older ages and the new! Some seventeen or eighteen centuries ago the ignorant men of Rome were wont to put Christians in the arena of the Coliseum yonder, and turn the wild beasts in upon them for a show. It was for a lesson as well. It was to teach the people to abhor and fear the new doctrine the followers of Christ were teaching. The beasts tore the victims limb from limb, and made poor mangled corpses of them in the twinkling of an eye. But when the Christians came into power, when the holy Mother Church became mistress of the barbarians, she taught them the error of their ways by no such means.

No; she put them in this pleasant Inquisition and pointed to the Blessed Redeemer, who was so gentle and so merciful to all men, and urged the barbarians to love him; and she did all she could to persuade them to love and honor him—first by twisting their thumbs out of joint with a screw; then by nipping their flesh with pincers—red-hot ones, because they are the most comfortable in cold weather; then by skinning them alive a little; and finally by roasting them in public.

She always convinced those barbarians. The true religion properly administered, as the good Mother Church used to administer it, is very, very soothing. It is wonderfully persuasive, also. There is a great difference between feeding parties to wild beasts and stirring up their finer feelings in an Inquisition. One is the system of degraded barbarians; the other of enlightened, civilized people. It is a great pity the Inquisition is no more.—*"Innocents Abroad,"* by Mark Twain.

M. J. E. MARTIN gives in the *Monde* the following curious answer to the often asked question, "Was Lincoln a Catholic?" He was once holding a conversation with the late Mgr. Lefevre, Bishop of Detroit. "We came to speak of political events, and of the assassination of President Lincoln, and we were not a little surprised to hear Mgr. Lefevre say with sadness, 'Ah! poor Lincoln; if he had remembered my advice his end would not have been so deplorable; why did he not remain at home on Good Friday, and why did he not continue to say his beads?' 'His beads!' we exclaimed; 'but Lincoln was not a Catholic?' 'He was not so latterly; you say rightly,—he had become an infidel. But in his youth he was baptized by a Catholic missionary of Illinois, and I myself heard his confession many times. I frequently celebrated holy mass in the house of his parents. Later in life he aspired to honors; he married a Presbyterian, and he became a member of the Masonic society. We felt it a duty to break off our relations.' We confess," says M. Martin, "that we did not at all expect this revelation, the authenticity of which we guarantee upon the testimony of Mgr. Lefevre, and Americans need not have the least doubt that they have nominated a Catholic for President. But Lincoln did as many others have done, he abandoned a religion he had freely embraced upon serious examination, and to arrive at fortune and position he became an apostate and an infidel."—*Catholic Review*.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

WINDOWS.

"Words are windows," so I said,
As I read
Authors two (and neither dead):
Words they parried, each intent,
With purpose bent
On saying straightly what he meant.
Words are windows: some are stained,
Or frosty-paned;
Others clear as ether strained.
Each its honors! When my mind,
Faith-enshrined,
In its narrow halls confined,
Court comfort, cares for naught
But the thought
For its present pastime wrought,
Let the sunlight pictured fall
On the wall,
With its rainbows over all:
If I turn an eager eye
Toward the sky,
For its word of prophecy,
Leave the windows broad and fair,
Clear and bare;
I would read my heavens there.

E. M.

GROTON, N. Y.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 5.

W. W. Spalding, \$3; A. A. Knight, \$3; G. A. & S. Hill, \$3.20; M. Pfau, \$6.40; J. S. Hill, \$2; American News Co., \$3.75; N. L. Hall, \$6.45; A. Werner, \$3.20; H. Fletcher, 36 cents; T. G. Hovey, \$3.20; M. B. Sherwin, \$3; J. Wilson, \$1; M. M. Ballou, \$3.20; Leo Schiertz, \$3.20; T. L. Smith, \$3.20; J. C. Michener, \$1; Mrs. Sarah S. Russell, \$60; O. Ditson & Co., \$20; J. Eddy, \$1.60; N. D. Street, 10 cents; W. F. Jamieson, 40 cents; J. S. Perry, \$3.20; Mrs. A. Lawton, \$3.20; B. F. Horton, \$3.20; Lorenzo Stone, \$3.20; George Lewis, \$2.15; Z. Hockett, \$10; J. Helstand, \$1.50; E. H. Hinton, \$3.25; G. Iles, 65 cents; W. C. Gannett, 10 cents; O. C. Clogston, 10 cents; A. H. Roffe & Co., \$2.70; R. C. Bassett, \$5; J. H. Elliott, \$3.20; R. W. Love, \$3.20; N. M. Hatch, \$3.20; David Prince, \$3.20; H. Watkeys, \$6.65; Thos. Davis, \$10; V. H. Seaman, \$6.40; J. T. S. Smith, \$6.65; Mrs. H. F. Angel, \$3.20; C. Lenk, \$6.40; Mrs. H. Colt, \$3.20; G. Hagemayer, \$3.20; A. A. Vaughan, 25 cents; S. R. Koehler, \$3.20; Mrs. W. J. Rotch, \$3.20; Geo. W. Wood, \$3.50; John Albright, \$3.20; L. G. Feich, \$3; Jas. Mackenzie, 25 cents; F. Chase, \$3.25; J. C. Fargo, \$1.60; A. D. Straight, \$3.20; A. N. Alcott, \$3.70; G. E. Corbin, \$3.80; R. R. Atchison, 25 cents; Wm. V. Wannington, \$2; Henry James, \$1.35; Cash, \$5; Mrs. C. B. Richmond, 40 cents; O. Monroe, \$1.10; Wm. H. Hamlen, \$3.20; John Buntin, \$3.20; T. G. Tuft, \$3.20; Mrs. H. B. Champion, \$3.20; N. Littlefield, \$3.41; D. Y. Kilgore, \$2; A. Williams & Co., \$3.60; L. B. Tuller, 10 cents; L. Hawthorne, \$2; A. O. Simpson, 25 cents.

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are not on hand will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

THE LAWS CONCERNING NEWSPAPERS.

1. Subscribers who do not give express notice to the contrary, considered as wishing to continue the subscription.
2. If subscribers wish their papers discontinued, publishers may continue to send them until all arrearages are paid.
3. If subscribers move to other places without informing the publisher, and the paper is sent to the former direction, they are held responsible. Notice should always be given of the removal.
4. If subscribers neglect or refuse to take their papers from the office or place to which they are sent, they are held responsible until they settle bills and give notice to discontinue.
5. The courts have decided that refusing to take a paper from the office, or removing and leaving it uncalled for, is *prima facie* evidence of intentional fraud.
6. Any person who receives a newspaper and makes use of it, whether he has ordered it or not, will be held in law to be a subscriber.
7. If subscribers pay in advance, they are bound to give notice to the publisher at the end of their time if they do not wish to continue taking it; otherwise the publisher is authorized to continue to send it, and the subscribers will be responsible until an express notice, with payment of all arrears, is sent to the publisher.

The Index.

BOSTON, FEBRUARY 10, 1876.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 1, TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street; J. T. FAY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENNEY, REV. CHARLES
VOYSEY (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England),
DAVID H. CLARK, Editorial Contributors.

A PHILADELPHIA lady writes glowing accounts of Mr. Cephas B. Lynn's eloquence and success in that city as a lecturer on behalf of the secularization of the State. Mr. Lynn is one of the Spiritualists who do not limit their sympathies to their own number or their own peculiar belief, but speak a brave word for all that would make this life nobler, freer, and sweeter.

THIS is what a Kansas correspondent writes about THE INDEX: "I am glad you did not stop the paper, as I cannot get along without it. Have read it since the twentieth number, and admire it more and more every year. It is, in my judgement, a better literary paper than the *Nation*. It has more solid reading in keeping with the spirit of the time than any other journal printed in America, that I have any knowledge of, unless I might except the *Popular Science Monthly*. It has the mature culture of the magazine, with an aim and purpose infinitely more practical and useful. I could select from the first-page essays a half-dozen worth more than a year's subscription. For example, Wendell Phillips' 'O'Connell,' the 'Church and State' by Wasson, 'Atomism in Religion' by the editor, and the incomparable essay by Weiss in a recent number. The latter disappointed me only by its brevity. Give us Weiss as often as possible. He can't be prosy if he tries. Then there is O. B. F., whose 'poetic fancy' is such a thorn in the side of the sensitive men of the *Investigator*: one never tires or sleeps over his sermons. But I have spun out unconsciously, and must not detain you longer."

WE CONFESS that the following paragraph from the Brooklyn *Catholic Review* of January 11 has staggered us: "The *Liberal Christian* clothes a true thought in an apt phrase when it says of the free-thinkers, with no doubt a side glance in the direction of Mr. Francis Abbot: 'The few deeply earnest men in the free religious movement owe whatever power they have to a remorseless creed of a highly dogmatic character, a reverence for truth to which they would sacrifice life, and do sacrifice fortune, and ease, and outward success; a faith in private intuition which is more solemn than the infallibility of the Church, a creed of self-denial and resistance to the Church (which is their world, and flesh, and devil) which makes them strong to do, and bear, and speak, and command. There is something truly heroic and apostolic in this dogmatic narrowness which presses against all the world with the force of a hydraulic ram. But free religion, without this basis of dogmatic conviction (be it false or true), is as weak as marsh water—too feeble to run in any direction, and equally ready to go in all.'" That a Catholic writer should identify all moral earnestness with devotion to a "dogmatic creed" is a quite intelligible, though mistaken, opinion; but that any Catholic writer should concede "reverence for truth" to any one who deliberately rejects "Catholic truth" as scientific error, and who openly opposes the Church which teaches it as a sincere but dangerous foe to the world's liberty and highest welfare, utterly confounds us. We have always supposed that every consistent Catholic must necessarily condemn such disbelief as ours as involving wilful and malignant hatred of the truth: how is it possible for him to concede "reverence for truth" to such as we are? Or have we misconstrued the tenor of the above extract? If it is possible for any Catholic who will not sacrifice his religious faith in his creed to a good-natured but illogical sentiment (and he is just the Catholic whom we most respect) to concede *sincere love of truth* to any determined "errorist," we shall have to reconsider our whole estimate of Catholicism. Will the *Catholic Review* please answer our question as seriously and frankly as we put it?

THE "PROTESTANT CHRISTIAN" PARTY IN POLITICS.

An editorial article published in the New York *Christian Union* over two months ago will be found copied in another column of this issue. So many other matters have been clamoring for attention that we have not been able to notice it as it deserves until this week; but "better late than never." It quotes certain remarks of ours at the late Worcester Convention of the Free Religious Association, and thinks that they were neither "just" nor "fair." We should be sorry to believe that such strictures were deserved, and therefore feel unwilling to let the matter pass by without such an explanation as will satisfy at least the unprejudiced and the candid that what we said was true.

Alluding to the tendencies of the time on the question of State Secularization, we pointed out that three great parties are forming on this issue; namely, the Catholic, Protestant, and Liberal parties. The Catholics, representing the subordination of the State to the Church, are thoroughly organized and substantially united; if they ever gain political supremacy, they will make Roman Catholicism the State religion, establish the Roman Catholic Church as a national institution, and place the public schools under the control of their own bishops and priests. The Liberals, representing the complete independence of the State and the absolute non-recognition of religion (as commonly conceived) in all political action, are as yet wholly unorganized as a whole; but they will, if they carry the day, complete the divorce of Church and State, abolish the last vestiges of their political union, and thoroughly and consistently secularize both the State and the schools. These two parties represent opposite principles which are unmistakable, logical, and incapable of compromise. The defeat of either must be the victory of the other. But the victory of the Catholics will be the bitter persecution and grinding slavery of all non-Catholics, while the victory of the Liberals will be the religious liberty of all whose religion does not consist in enslaving and oppressing those who differ from themselves.

Between these two great parties, however, there is a large body of Protestants which occupies a half-and-half, inconsistent, and in the end untenable position. They are equally opposed to "Romanism and Infidelity"—the latter being their designation of all forms of rationalism. They are bred to a traditional, not intelligent, acceptance of the verbal proposition that Church and State ought to be separate; but they stultify themselves by holding that the State ought to recognize what they call "unsectarian Christianity"—as if Christianity itself were not self-evidently a sect in a country containing a vast multitude of citizens of various non-Christian beliefs. They uphold the existing practices and laws by which Christianity is really, though indirectly, recognized by the State, and in virtue of which there is "some show of reason for claiming that this is a 'Christian country.'" They keep in force the laws which virtually recognize Sunday as the "Christian Sabbath," exempt from taxation the "Christian Church," and retain the Bible in the public schools as a mere flag of the civil supremacy of "Protestant Christianity." Chiefly by the sufferance of the indifferent majority (for they do not themselves constitute a majority of the population), they thus violate the principle of non-union of Church and State by making the State officially recognize the Church's sacred day and the Church's sacred book. To retain their unjust privileges and advantages, they cherish a fixed and dogged determination to uphold the present laws in their own favor. This is manifest by the action of their ecclesiastical bodies, which are everywhere adopting resolutions to this effect, and from which alone the real drift of opinion in this Protestant party can be wisely inferred; for the talented "Liberal Orthodox" preachers who are reported so widely in a few cities are outnumbered hundreds to one by their less brilliant but far more conservative brethren throughout the country whose names scarcely ever get into the papers, and the few "Liberal Orthodox" journals, like the *Christian Union* and *Independent*, represent only the more intelligent minds which are scattered thinly through the thousands of stiff Orthodox parishes of the land. He is a very credulous radical who catches at these comparatively isolated voices as representing the sentiments of the bulk of the Protestant population. Men are always prone to fancy their own opinions as on the point of sweeping away all opposition before them; but the emphatic declarations of ecclesiastical bodies on behalf of Sabbath and Bible laws, which

are published almost daily by the press, ought to show that the great, sincere, powerful convictions of the Protestant community are enlisted on the side of the political recognition of "unsectarian Christianity," and not on the side of the secularization of the State. If it were not so, these laws would have been abolished long ago; and the gathering storm, when it bursts, will satisfy every doubter that it is not the part of wisdom to assume that the great mass of Protestant Christians hold their own professed creeds in utter insincerity. There is enough faith in these old creeds still left to make the impending conflict a desperately and formidably earnest one.

Now this Protestant party, which is daily intensifying its own purpose to defend the Bible in the schools at all hazards, cannot possibly succeed without the help of the Christian Amendment. They must adopt that measure and carry it through, or they will be beaten off the field. The *Christian Union* may protest as much as it pleases, but it cannot affect this iron necessity of the case. Either the growing pressure of American principles and American precedents will thoroughly secularize the State and the school, or else the reaction of the churches will plant in the Constitution new guarantees of Protestant Christian supremacy. Disbelieve it who may, we state the truth and appeal to time for proof of it.

The Protestants and the Catholics stand substantially for one principle—that government and public education shall be Christian, not secular; but the latter alone represent this principle in all its logical force and completeness, declaring (what is evident enough) that "unsectarian Christianity" is an absurdity, and that you cannot recognize Christianity at all without thereby recognizing the Church, whence all knowledge of Christianity is necessarily derived. This many Protestants perceive, and, recoiling from the Roman principle with alarm and horror, are prepared to adopt the full secular programme. All such are "Liberals," and must, in spite of all the squeamishness of the *Christian Union*, act with those who share the same convictions. But the *Christian Union* is wide of the mark, when it says that "the Evangelical Protestants alone who are ready to fight this battle with religious Bourbonism, so far as there is any need of fighting, are fifty times as numerous as the whole body of so-called 'Liberals.'" There is no little squad that can monopolize that name, which simply denotes all who will faithfully stand by the principle of religious liberty and a secular State, as opposed to the principle of religious usurpation and a government that is Christianized according either to the Catholic or Protestant plan. Is the *Christian Union* ignorant of the fact that not half the population of the United States go to church on Sunday? That, if all the churches of the land were crowded to their utmost seating capacity, they could only hold a little over one half of it? It is this vast body of the unchurched, not the handful of Protestant Evangelicals who think with THE INDEX and the *Christian Union* on this subject, that constitutes the strength of the Liberal party; and, whenever this party comes to self-consciousness as the great army of religious liberty and the protector of man's dearest hopes in this Western World, there will be no danger at all. The only danger lies in the apathy, the indecision, the jealousies, dissensions and timidities, of the Liberals themselves.

REASSURANCE.

A farmer, as a storm was rolling up black and furious, and he was making haste to get everything under cover from the tempest, recollected having heard that the cause of these uproars in Nature was the sun. Thereupon, in his impulse of vexation at the prostration of his corn, the frightening of his cattle, and the threatened devastation of his fields, he was disposed to hurl malediction at the heart of the solar system. Soon the tempest had spent its rage, the wind subsided, the clouds rolled away, the trees and fields smiled in the sunlight, the meadows were radiant in freshly-renewed green, the cattle came happy from their sheds and coverts, the farmer's heart was glad, and he blessed the sun for what seemed to him a new creation.

The apologue is an old one, but venerable as well as old. The sun is the regenerator; the farmer is the timid person who lives on its light and yet dreads the effect of its constancy to the laws of light. He would have the sun shine gently, in proper places, and on fitting times—shine benignantly, so as to keep the fields in excellent condition for the husbandman,—with an even and well-appointed temper-

ature, of which he should not be disposed to complain. He hates disturbance of all kinds, especially tornadoes.

But the experienced know that they must take the solar system as it is, and be grateful so long as it continues running. If the sun will only keep on shining, the laws of its shining may be left to themselves; since to alter them for our convenience might extinguish the luminary altogether. The agitation of the slavery question by Mr. Garrison and his friends occasioned dreadful commotion, and, without doubt, was the indirect though not unremote cause of the civil war. Thousands of people cursed the abolitionists, and said that slavery would die if it were but let alone. The war actually put an end to it; and now the timid conservatives of peace and social tranquillity are coming out of their snuggeries, and claiming the credit of having been original abolitionists.

The moral is plain. If a principle is just, its pressure is imperative; consequences must not be construed according to the apprehensions of the timid, but according to the presentiments of the brave. Great social movements are in a sense predestined. They come in their time, according to fixed laws of the social and moral world. The men who start them are their servants rather than their masters, their followers rather than their leaders, their creatures as truly as their originators. The hour comes, and with the hour the man. The demand for the secularization of the government is in order at this juncture, and timely. The development of our institutions has reached the point when the next step is clearly indicated. The evils of the old, mixed system are glaring, and call for remedy. No remedy offers but a complete adjustment of institutions to ideas. Even, therefore, if the new agitators had taken the initiative, and raised their cry of alarm when all was apparently tranquil, they would be justified, as Garrison was. The volcano slumbered yesterday; it slumbers to-day; but there it is, gathering force for an eruption, and the villagers on its slopes must guard against to-morrow.

But the agitators have probably not raised the cry of alarm too soon. Ideas hasten to realize themselves as soon as their strength permits. The Church of Rome, which has been gaining of late years with considerable steadiness, cannot help pushing its theory of Church and State to its logical conclusions. The Protestant sects, which have also been gaining, inevitably drive at the conclusions to which their principles point. It is not so much a deliberate policy as it is a necessary and a logical impulse, which the influential men and controlling bodies could not check if they would, and have no power of willing to check. If the impulse that bears them on should prove more masterful than the impulse that impels the liberals, the result must be a perpetuation of the present system, with additional guarantees of its permanency and additional pledges of its power. The best chance of checkmating any such move seems to be the timely and earnest insistence on the principle of absolute secularization. These hints are thrown out in the hope that they may be of some use in removing the scruples we gave expression to week before last.

O. B. F.

MR. WASSON'S LECTURE.

Mr. D. A. Wasson's recent lecture at Horticultural Hall on "Radical Formalism" touched the key-note of the American situation, and the hearty response it met with from the audience showed that his genius spoke the word longed for by many hearts. The wider observation of men and governments, and the historic studies of his late residence in Europe, showed their value in the broad generalizations he made, in the condensed force of his statements, and in the good taste and aptness of his illustrations. The long lecture was listened to with undivided attention by the fine audience who braved the stormiest day of the winter to hear the words of this honest and careful thinker.

The *Advertiser* responded to his generous defence of the press by giving an unusually full and good report.

Only one exception had to be made to the lecture. Alas! that there is one class who long in this Centennial year to join in the general jubilee, to change the sword into a pruning-hook, to cease from the work of agitation, and devote themselves to the far more congenial duties of construction and culture, but who dare not do it, because their rights are not yet placed under the safeguard of law, their individuality is not recognized, and their work is degraded and nullified by the contempt thrown upon them.

Mr. Wasson said that to this century belonged the

work of emancipation; but it closed with the abolition of negro slavery. But one-half of the human race yet stand in America without the rights of citizenship, without equal privileges of education; and for them the ungracious demand for personal rights and liberty is still a duty which stands in the way of the moral and intellectual work which they are longing to do. There is yet emancipation which must be accomplished before edification can go on.

"Let us take hold of this question of woman suffrage and settle it," said one of the noblest workers of Boston, "that we may be rid of it and go on to other work."

She knew that it could be settled only by going straight through with it, and having the right secured. Then, with our good friend Mr. Wasson, we will say, Now that the whole moral and intellectual force of the community is free to work, let us all work together to organize justice, truth, and wisdom.

Many a woman's life has been given to the woman's suffrage cause, during the last decade, that is wanted, sorely wanted, for science, education, art, philanthropy, the better development of domestic and social economies, and the direct influence upon vice and crime. But as Washington must leave the culture of Mt. Vernon, which he loved so well, to fight the battle of independence, so have Lucy Stone and Julia Ward Howe been forced by conscience to quit the fair gardens which they would gladly dress and till, to engage in the wearisome duties of the convention and the lecture-field. Do not say it was heroism in the man and love of notoriety in the women; it was the same motive in both. There are times when fighting is the first duty and must be done; and for women the war for liberty is not yet ended.

E. D. C.

FREETHOUGHT NOTES.

No. XI.

THE ATTWOODS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

A short time ago we lost a man of singular powers, Mr. Charles Attwood. He died at Wolsingham, in the north of England. When he was seventy years of age he built himself a large and commodious mansion in that great iron-stone district. He had barely completed it when I last visited him. Self-reliant in all things, he was his own architect; and, though the solid structure was not beautiful, the great rooms in the interior were simple, complete, convenient, healthy, and comfortable. He lived many years enjoying it. He had a brother, little known to the public, who, like the rest of the family, had great accumulative capacity. For seventy weeks before his death he sent anonymously every seven days a bank-note for \$5,000 to some hospital or charity which he thought deserved assistance. He had lying by him an odd sum of \$2,800, which he at last gave away, and then died. His remaining fortune, said to amount to \$20,000,000, he left to his brother Charles, whom I have mentioned, and who had more than \$5,000,000 of his own, and who died himself a year after receiving it. I am giving only the newspaper statements of their fortunes, not being able now to examine records. I have not seen his will, which is of course accessible.

The eldest brother of this remarkable family was Thomas Attwood, no doubt known in America to many students of modern political history as the founder of the famous Birmingham Political Union, which mainly carried our Reform Bill of forty-five years ago. Thomas Attwood was a banker, familiar with money as well as politics. Charles Attwood, whom I first mentioned, was a great coal and iron-master, acquainted with science, though it was little cultivated in those days by manufacturers. He knew thoroughly, and better than any other man, the mineral geology of England. It was he who first predicted the spot where the great iron-stone treasures of Cleveland would be discovered, which was the same thing as seeing in some disregarded spot a thousand koh-i-noors where no one else saw anything. When a young man, he engaged in a colossal lawsuit involving enormous claims, famous and profitable to lawyers during two generations. During the well-known trial of Queen Caroline he wrote a letter of remarkable power to the *Times* newspaper in the year 1821, displaying such profound constitutional knowledge that it arrested the attention of the State, and prevented the divorce of the queen. Nearly half a century later he was desirous of recovering a copy of this letter which he had not preserved. I searched a file of the *Times* in the British Museum, and sent him a transcript of it. As the letter did not bear his

name, but the initials which he had adopted, it was a work of difficulty to discover it.

When we last met, our conversation was upon questions of theological dubiety, to which his powerful mind had been directed, as it had been to most subjects of human interest. Neither his riches nor his capacity had placed him above the prejudices which is created by rumor; but he had a way of judging most things for himself. He consented to receive me in company with a valued friend, who had the double merit in his eyes of being a man of political capacity and an iron-master also. I was very much struck with his appearance. He was a tall, slim man, of commanding air, his shoulders somewhat bent with years. His profuse grey hair seemed part of the machinery of his head, where manifestly all his power lay. His nose was as aquiline as that of an eagle. His eyes were the most piercing I had ever seen in human head. He addressed me at once by a phrase which showed that he imagined me to be related to a subterranean family. In writing afterwards to his friend, he said:—

"I am very sensible of Mr. Holyoake's kind feeling, which accompanied the transcript of my article in the *Times*, and, 'Son of Perdition' as you know I then called him, I remember with pleasure that I found him so candid and sincere as to listen with attention and interest to the words which I had occasion to use against his own 'Naturalism, or Cosmical Religion.' It was the scope of his argument to attribute to the merely verbal entity which he called 'Nature' that power of creating and arranging the world of matter and of life which involves intelligence as expressive and ubiquitous as others ascribe to God. The power of arranging the world can be nothing else than the complex of qualities belonging to that effect, the world, which cannot therefore be its own designing, arranging, and creating cause. His error arises solely from a misnomer; but nothing can be more irrational or more fatal than misnomers in such matters as involve those most destructive consequences which result from the conclusion that there can be any other cause of things created or existing than some power which has conceived, designed, and given existence to them.

"It is one thing as to reality and truth of doctrine to take the statue or simulacrum of a man or other being for a veritable God, and another to understand it as, to the mind's eye of the beholder, exhibiting only an image intended and adapted to excite the mental idea of him.

"I do not know that I can in anything so well convey the impression that Mr. Holyoake has in him—that which ought to make him something else than what he is in these respects—than by thus reminding him of the views which I recollect having really endeavored to awaken him to the perception of."

Though said in good humor, I did not quite admire being addressed as a "Son of Perdition," since I did not see how a person taking a view of Nature different from my own was entitled to describe me so. The term might as reasonably pertain to him as to me. I dismissed it from my mind, however, as one of those eruptions of spiritual egotism which even a gentleman of education does not always succeed in repressing. I quoted his argument as one exhibiting great closeness of thought in a man of his years, and as one having in it some instruction as a purely theistic statement. Of course the term Nature is a verbal entity, expressing the aggregate of life and force. There is something known and actual connoted by that term, which is more than can be said of the term which theists employ on their side.

Yours ever faithfully,

GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.

22 ESSEX STREET, Temple Bar, London.

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY R. C.

The most important measure brought before Congress thus far during the present session is, without doubt, the new Tariff Bill introduced by Mr. Morrison, chairman of the House Committee of Ways and Means. The bill is said to have been framed with the assistance of Mr. David A. Wells, Mr. Moore, the "Parsee" writer on the tariff, and other gentlemen of ability. Some of the Republicans, as well as some of the Democratic papers, are attempting to throw discredit upon the bill as a free-trade measure; but even the *Boston Journal*, which is nothing if not Republican, is obliged to admit its general excellence. It changes mixed into specific duties, restores the tariff on tea and coffee, places more articles on the free list, and simplifies our present cumbrous and complicated tariff. That the bill, taken altogether, is, as asserted, a step toward free-trade is doubtless correct, for the sufficient

reason that any improvement upon our present bungling tariff would have to be a step in this direction. There is, however, but little probability that the bill will pass without essential modifications.

The United States has received a deserved snubbing from England and Germany, the facts regarding which are briefly as follows: Some time ago Secretary Fish addressed a circular letter to the leading European governments, telling a long story about the sufferings endured by the people of the United States in consequence of the continuance of the insurrection in Cuba; complaining of the non-fulfilment of the promise of Spain to bring Captain Burriel to trial; suggesting intervention by this country in Cuban affairs; respectfully requesting the opinion of European nations upon the present condition of Cuba; and asking them to suggest to Spain the necessity of putting an end to the insurrection so that the United States need not be forced to interfere. England and Germany are the first to reply to this remarkable letter, and state, in substance, that they see no necessity for intervention in Cuban affairs, and suggest, moreover, that Spain be given time to settle her difficulty with the Carlists before being troubled about other matters. If this quiet intimation that we had better mind our own business and let Spain alone should result in putting an end to the Cuban humbug, we shall strive to endure the snub with resignation. We have really nothing to do with the way in which Spain manages Cuba; our commerce with Cuba is steadily increasing in spite of the insurrection; Spain has always professed a willingness to give redress for injury done to American subjects or their property in consequence of Cuban troubles, and even a little delay in some things is pardonable in a country which has so recently passed through severe political changes. With the exception of a few scatterbrains who bought the Bonds of the Cuban Republic in New York, no one in this country is at all affected by the condition of Cuba. Let us pay Japan the \$1,000,000 or more which rightfully belong to her, settle a few other just claims of a similar character, and put an end to the existing insurrections in a few of our own States. When these things have been fully attended to, it will be time enough to talk about the tardiness and inefficiency of Spain.

When last week we referred to Winslow as only a somewhat intensified specimen of ordinary American rascality, we did not know that the *Advertiser* had already published an article asserting that forged paper is very common in banking circles in this city, and that some bankers even prefer to discount paper known to contain forged names because of the greater certainty that the issuer of the note will take it up at maturity, as otherwise his forgery would become public and he would be sent to jail. This assertion has since been disputed by some of our papers, and reaffirmed, with modifications, by others. Whether it be true or false we do not know; but recent events go far to show that in all probability it is true in part at least. When Duncan, Sherman & Co. failed, and it was ascertained that one of their clerks had been employed to draw bills upon them which they accepted, and afterwards by the aid of various brokers sold to the banks, some of us learned for the first time that this was a common method of business, and was not considered dishonorable. The other day two firms failed in our city; and after the failures it was learned that they had long been in the habit of giving one another blank acceptances, upon which any desired, or at least any obtainable, amount might be filled in; and now we are told that this also is a common method of business. Time was when these last methods would have been considered dishonest, and classed with forgery and defalcation, and the fact that they are not so considered to-day is a sad sign of the present degeneracy of commercial honor.

From the numerous illustrations of American dishonesty which press upon us from almost every direction, it is refreshing to turn and contemplate a genuine case of commercial honor just reported from England. It will be remembered that Senator Boutwell, when Secretary of the Treasury, took the banking business of the United States from the Barings, and gave it to a new firm (since gone to pieces) known as Clews, Habicht & Co. The Barings at one time were interested in the bonds of the Eastern Railroad of Massachusetts, and advised their depositors to invest in these bonds. The Eastern Railroad, as our readers well know, after years of bad management, and systematic falsehoods told at the annual meetings of stockholders, has virtually failed. The Barings have now issued a circular in which they state that they were deceived with regard to the condition of the Eastern Railroad, but having given the above mentioned advice in good faith they will themselves pay the interest upon the bonds for the coming year to those who bought them in consequence of their advice. Is it possible to imagine a like standard of honor among us? Imagine, for instance, the editor of the *Independent* sending a circular to the confiding country church-members who bought Northern Pacific Railroad bonds in consequence of his advice, offering to pay the interest on the bonds to those whom he unintentionally deceived!

The sphinx has spoken; in other words, the long-silent Bowen declares, in answer to charges brought against him by Deacon White of Plymouth Church, that he has been silent long enough, and that he has been gonged at last into opening his mouth. And now that he has opened his mouth, there are probably some people ready to wish that he had continued to keep silent. He declares that, in his opinion, the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher is "an adulterer, a perjurer, and a hypocrite." Moreover, he affirms that

he knew the said Henry Ward Beecher to be an adulterer years before the confiding Tilton became aware of his pastor's misdeeds. And lastly, he asserts his ability and readiness to furnish all needed proofs in support of his opinion before any appropriate tribunal. He has already been cited to furnish proofs of his statements before a committee of Plymouth Church, and before this paragraph reaches our readers they may have learned something of the nature of his proofs. What effect Bowen's revelations may have upon Beecher we do not know; but what shall be said of Bowen's character, in the light of what is already revealed by Bowen? For years Bowen has been one of the prominent members of Beecher's church, outbidding others in the annual contest for choice of seats, and doing all in his power to bolster up, and foist upon the confidence of religious people, a man whom he knew, upon his own statement, to be an adulterer and a hypocrite. And Bowen is to-day editor and proprietor of one of the most influential religious newspapers in the country; and good, pious ministers and college professors all over the land are writing articles for Bowen's paper, and paying some of their bills with Bowen's checks, and are helping Bowen to coin the money which makes him an influential man. And yet the majority of people in America are stupid enough to fancy that there should be some connection between religion and morality.

The State Legislature has refused to pass a bill forbidding railroad companies to furnish free passes to members of the Legislature, or to any State officer. It was maintained by some who favored the bill that the railroads would not annually furnish each member of the Legislature with a pass, equivalent upon an average to a gift of \$100 in money, unless the amount so expended was regarded as a paying investment, and that the pass was therefore an indirect bribe intended to influence the action of legislation. This is undoubtedly true, and even if it were not true the free-pass system has become an enormous abuse, as is evident, for instance, in the case of the Eastern Railroad, which is said to have issued three thousand free passes annually. Nevertheless we are glad the bill failed, not only because of the ridiculous penalties affixed to it in the present instance, but because we regard the evil as one which cannot be reached by legislative enactment. The evil is one which can be corrected only by a change in public sentiment. A few years ago a solitary member of the Legislature of a Western State refused a free pass, on the ground that he would be called upon to legislate upon matters affecting the interests of the road which offered it, and his name was printed in all the newspapers with derisive epithets and jeering remarks. Since then, like refusals have become common; the newspapers have ceased to ridicule, and are already beginning to intimate that the example is worthy of imitation. A few years hence the legislator who accepts a free pass may come to be looked upon with suspicion; but not, we suppose, so long as forged notes and blank acceptances are regarded as legitimate belongings of honorable business.

Whenever the incipient millennium indicated in the last sentence fairly sets in, the President of the United States will not be the principal guest at an evening reception given by a man who has acquired the title of "Boss," even if he possess all the money of the notorious "Boss" Shepherd of Washington, at whose house General Grant was publicly welcomed last week. Nor shall we have a foreign minister who has pleaded his "privileges" as a bar to criminal prosecution, as General Schenck is reported to have done last week. Nor shall we have a President's private Secretary on trial for defrauding the United States Treasury by conspiring with whiskey distillers, as General Babcock is this week. The utter lack of any nice sense of the conduct due to official position on the part of public officers of high station testifies, even more than many examples of fraud and dishonesty, to the general toning up needed by our politics before we can look for the maintenance of any high standard of official integrity.

The conduct of General Chamberlain ever since he was chosen Governor of South Carolina has been meritorious in the highest degree. No State in the Union was in a more deplorable condition than was South Carolina at the time of his election, and inasmuch as General Chamberlain, when occupying his former official position, had been suspected of knowing more about the practices of the corrupt set into whose hands South Carolina had fallen than any honest man had any right to know, no great faith could be given to his promises of reform. Nevertheless his promises seem to have been fully, faithfully, and courageously kept, in the face of strong and bitter opposition. When Moses and Whipper, ignorant men of vile character, were elected to Judgeships by the Legislature, he prevented them from taking their seats by refusing to sign their commissions, and he has now prevailed upon the same Legislature to expunge from the official record, by a very large vote, a disgraceful speech recently made by the negro-gambler and Judge-elect Whipper. He has also brought about a reduction of one-third in the appropriations for public expenditure, and in other ways is at least attempting to do the things which must be done if South Carolina is to be saved from utter ruin.

As Dr. ECKERMANN was quoting to a few friends assembled in an adjoining room these last two lines of *Faust* :—

"The traces of my earthly days
Cannot be lost in the depth of ages,"—
Goethe expired.

Communications.

DELIVERANCE FROM OUR FINITENESS.

SALEM, Ohio, Jan. 29, 1876.

MR. ABBOT:

Dear Sir,—The communication from Mr. Henry James, entitled "Deliverance, not Perfection, the Aim of Religion," in your issue of Jan. 20th, and your reply in the same number, interested me very much; but while I incline more to your side of the argument than his, I can agree wholly to neither, and think there is truth on both sides.

Your definition of religion does not appear to me satisfactory. I think "the effort, or aspiration, of man towards the infinite" would better express the meaning as felt by the mass of mankind. I do not consider any amount of human perfection, either in bodily presence or in the ideal, however grand and beautiful, could wholly satisfy this want; we should reach beyond it to the great, first cause from which we came, and towards which we are evermore tending.

Neither do I believe that the desire for perfection has anything to do with our religious aspirations. It is more, as Mr. James says, that we seek to be delivered from ourselves,—that is, from our finiteness and its limitations,—and merge ourselves in the infinite and unfathomable. By intercourse with what is so far above us, our natures are elevated and purified; but that is a result, not the cause.

Truly yours, M. E. S.

[We think our definition will never be understood, until it is seen to embrace all types of religion, from that which aims at the highest development of individuality to that which would surrender all individuality through absorption into the infinite. Each soul seeks the perfection it craves, one by intensifying its own being and another by pouring it back into the eternal ocean; both aim at what seems to be their own higher good, and so both come under our definition.]

But let us understand each other. This "deliverance from our finiteness and its limitations," if it means anything, means deliverance from our very existence; for we can exist only as finite beings. Do we really mean that? Is non-being a higher state than being? Is annihilation really better than finite existence? Let us say yes, if yes is the true answer. But do not let us delude ourselves with a form of words. We can never be "delivered from our finiteness" so long as we exist at all; and if we do not aspire to the absolute extinction of our necessarily finite being, let us not pass meaningless phrases from mouth to mouth.—Ed.]

A PLEA FOR THE UNCONVERTED.

MR. EDITOR:—

While the churches are now inspecting their armories, drilling their forces, and devising "ways and means" for prosecuting a vigorous campaign in the interest of sectarian creeds, should not those who are rejoicing in religious freedom put forth some special effort in the interest of truth, and in behalf of those who are suffering for more light?

Whatever may be the views of Free Religionists concerning the danger of souls hereafter, I think we must all agree that there are many in this life who "are ready to perish," and that the word "conversion," as applied to their necessities, is no unmeaning term. In view of the crushing effect which a superstitious religious excitement is sure to bring upon the community, is it not time, the time, in all possible ways, to make the religious atmosphere so healthy that it will not be possible for the epidemic to spread, or at least to ameliorate the condition of those who are brought under its influence? It is the observation of the writer that effort in behalf of reforms, and for a higher religious attainment, is exceedingly fruitless after excitements of this kind, and the cause of truth gains but little by waiting for the reaction which is sure to follow. Such reaction may, nay, will, reduce the churches to their common level in point of numbers, and far below that level in religious vitality; but the Free Religionists will gain nothing thereby. Those who have become exhausted by chasing shadows are ill prepared to grapple with substance, and coin true ideas into vigorous, consistent life and character.

If this be true, the work of the philanthropist is especially called for at the present time. What that effort shall be, or how this work can be done, needs combined wisdom to tell.

In looking over the instrumentalities used by the Free Religionists for the conversion or enlightenment of the world, it seems to the writer that there is one class in the community which is not sufficiently reached by them—a class composed largely of church-members, who, to all outward appearance, are loyal to the popular creed, but who possess sufficient light to cause them to live in conflict with reason and conscience,—too timid to be seen among the exponents of a more liberal faith, too fearful of self-condemnation or of outside censure to go far in any direction to gain the relief which in their very souls they are hoping sometime will come. For this class do I desire in a few words to enter a plea. The effort required in their case must be of the most gentle, inductive character. No iconoclastic labor for them will have the desired result; images before which they stand, with questionable faith perhaps, must not yet be rudely broken, but with friendly

heart, word, and hand, gently transformed into rudimentary helps to higher and more vigorous truths.

Those who have been reared in a religious atmosphere comparatively free can, I think, scarcely conceive the depth of mental obscurity which surrounds those into whose very life has been woven the teachings of the Evangelical Church; and still harder perhaps, while dealing hard blows against such teaching, to discriminate justly between the error and its victim; but labor in behalf of the class in question will be fruitless when such discrimination is wanting.

The writer, having been "plucked as a brand from the burning," knows well what the rescuing cost, and knows also the value of that timely and kindly human sympathy which came amid the struggles and conflicts, and which imparted that strength which was as the strength of angels.

The battles which are met on the road to mental and spiritual freedom by him whose conscience has kept pace with his religious teachings are no mere skirmishes, as all can testify who have, point by point, conquered their way up from the popular Church.

THE INDEX, the writer rejoices to know, by its consideration and fairness, is doing much for the sincere inquirer. It finds its way into hands and places which make it appear like a stranger. Although I find my numbers properly folded and returned to their place, we know they are quietly doing missionary work. No persons visiting my store wait so patiently for attention as those who can take up THE INDEX; and those readers most likely to forget the ostensible object of their visit are still considered by their brethren in the Church as loyal to the popular faith. But more work is needed for this class than THE INDEX can stop to do. It has demands upon it of a different character. It was not "ordained" to do such rudimentary work.

What, then, can be devised as instruments for this work which shall have the wide-spread influence demanded at this time? Tracts have from time to time been issued which no doubt have done good; while some have been sent out from so-called liberal sources which have been like dashes of water from the Polar Sea, and, in the opinion of the writer, have done little more than close the pores of the mind and heart, and cause the timid reader to retreat to his inner sectarian chambers, take council of past experience, and buckle on his life-preserver tighter than ever.

The churches, with all their professed faith in tracts and their other publications, rely mainly upon "the preached word," as is indicated by their prayers, which are largely spent upon that effort which they have learned by experience needs them the least: that of the "living preacher." Would that Free Religion had such power in that department of effort in point of numbers as would give it a fair chance with the churches! While acknowledging with thankfulness all the strength the liberal cause has in the field, it is the opinion of the writer that there is one place which is peculiarly fitted to do, is doing (according to the means given it) much, and is anxious to do more, of the work so loudly called for at this time. Would that more who are seeking light had the courage to avail themselves of the means to that end which are provided at the "Parker Memorial" every Sunday morning; and would that all these, also, who are strong in their religious freedom, felt it their privilege and their duty to add, by their presence and all other means, to the strength of the few who are struggling not to maintain a shrine at which to worship the name or creed of any man or sect, but to keep alive those ideas which the nineteenth century has indicated to be the best means to elevate the human race.

Men and women discourse there who have arrived at that platform over the route which eminently qualifies them as teachers of those who are striving for a clearer mental and spiritual atmosphere; and those, also, who think they have fought and conquered most of the battles, will in some discourses heard there meet questions which will make them feel that reinforcements are required for farther advancements. There we feel we have turned the leaf on which can be read the great duty of the hour for the Free Religious community to consider and discharge: that of concentrating the influence of their presence, and by all other means so to strengthen this enterprise, that it shall be beyond a peradventure that this legacy of Theodore Parker, of a few men and women, shall never be crippled in their efforts to maintain, as they ever have done, not only a free platform, but one from which can be heard discourses of the highest order this world affords.

There never was a time so favorable for intelligent, considerate radical work, as the present. Speaking after the manner of the Church, the people everywhere "are in a very hopeful state of mind." Look at the crowded seats in front of the so-called Liberal Evangelical preachers, who are popular, not so much by what they preach as from what they leave unpreached. So anxious are these crowds of prisoners (mostly from other evangelical churches) for a little religious freedom, that it is eagerly taken in this negative form, and thankfully received, even from hands of doubtful honesty. But let us all remember that above all preaching and all combined effort, stands this great individual power, which is continually used for or against any cause we may wish to help, namely: that of character. If any class of people at this time should more than any other possess all the graces which bless and perfect human life, that class is the Free Religious.

The Christian name is fast losing its weight in the world. The merchant, the mechanic, and men generally, are loosening their grasp from that which they have found, by sad experience, gives no guarantee for safety when the trying hours come, and

with great hope, mingled with curiosity, are watching the daily lives of those who profess to walk without the crutches which the Church insists upon furnishing, as the only means to consistent life here and safety hereafter. May all radicals be equal to the position given them, and fully realize that the exhibition on their part of any of those defects which mar the character in any relation of life is not only fatal to influence for good, but a discouragement to those who are seeking refuge from the inconsistencies and intolerance of the Christian sects. May we all in our daily living keep in mind the great need of the present day—that of religious, political, and commercial honesty.

What power is given to the work of Theodore Parker, what safety in his ideas and teachings is promised to those who are timidly striving for a more rational faith, by the consistent, unblemished character which he maintained through all his earthly career! Such blameless lives, these garments without seams, are always found to have been worn by the saviors of the race, revered by all the good, and the roughest of mankind "cast lots" for them, that they may be preserved in their wholeness.

BOSTON.

[We add our mite of hearty recommendation to our correspondent's plea for a better support of the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society, which still perpetuates Theodore Parker's noble work in the Parker Memorial Hall. It is one of the institutions of which Boston should be most proud; and all liberals who live in the city should help sustain it by presence and purse. A few are carrying a heavy burden, which would be easy to bear if all did their part; we wish that all our city readers would determine to do what they can to keep this lighthouse of free-thought bright and radiant with its cheerful beams, which have guided many a weary mariner already to the safe harbor of a rational and ennobling view of human life.—ED.]

THE CHESTNUT STREET CLUB.

AMHERST, Jan. 24, 1876.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—I cannot refrain from giving you a specimen, which has recently come to my notice, of the way in which the Orthodox endeavor to assure themselves that their cause is not declining.

Rev. Mr. Joseph Cook, of Boston or vicinity, drew and interested large audiences at the College church yesterday. To substantiate his statement that free-thought is on the wane in "the Hub," he asserted that the Radical Club of that city had recently changed its name to "Chestnut Street Club," because so many of its members had come to accept the Thirty-nine Articles that they were unwilling to be known as radicals. The gentleman has recently published an article in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* to prove that rational criticism is declining in Germany. His assertion with reference to Boston gives us a valuable suggestion as to how much allowance we ought to make for his statements in other matters.

Yours very truly,

HENRY DOTY MAXSON.

AMHERST COLLEGE, Amherst, Mass.

DR. BARTOL'S REPORTED CENSURE OF THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

EDITOR INDEX:—

In a recent number of the *Universalist*, in which the editor indulges in his customary fling at the Free Religious Association, I noticed the following statement: "Even Dr. Bartol, who used to be considered one of their patriarchs, does not scruple to say that he finds them more intolerant than the Essex Unitarian Conference."

As this has been going the rounds of the press for some time, and as I have seen no denial by Dr. Bartol of having made this statement, I should like to know if it be true.

If Dr. Bartol has any charge of intolerance to bring against the Free Religious Association, I should say he is in duty bound to make his specifications; and I trust the columns of THE INDEX are open to him for that purpose.

A STORY not unlike one that everybody has heard already, is related by a German correspondent as being a true account of an incident that occurred after the late imperial hunt at Hubertusstock. The Emperor William feeling unwell, proposed to return to the castle on foot in company with the King of Saxony and the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg. But tiring on the way, the party got a peasant to give them a lift in his cart. Presently the man's curiosity being excited by the appearance of his passengers, he said, turning to one of them, "And who may you be?" "I am the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg," "Oh, indeed!" replied the peasant, with a wink; "then who may you be?" he inquired of the next. "I am the King of Saxony." "Better and better," cried the carter. "And you?" accosting the third member of the party. "I am the Emperor of Germany." "Well, then," said the countryman, in high good humor, "I will tell you who I am; I am the Shah of Persia, and can hoax people as well as you can." But when he drove up to the castle of Hubertusstock, the honest fellow found that of all the potentates in the cart he was the only one whose claim could not be substantiated.

NEW IDEAS do not gain ground at once, and there is a tendency in our mind to resist new convictions as long as we can.—*Maz Müller.*

Sanctuary of Superstition.

HELD TO HIS WORD.—"While I was on my knees in my room this morning, Jesus promised me that he would grant the prayers now to be offered in Park Street Church!"—*Rev. A. B. Earle, in Boston, 1866.*

ON HIS KNEES.—I have lately been reading much of the New Testament on my knees, and I mean to read the whole of it so, if God spares my life long enough.—*Rev. A. B. Earle, the Revivalist, in Boston, 1866.*

BLOOD REQUIRED.—We desire to ask short-sighted parents who send their children to the Sunday-school and keep them from church, if they ever stop and inquire how these children are employing God's holy day? Sunday is a period of time set apart for God's more peculiar worship. This being so, are your children engaged in worshipping God, or are they amusing themselves? The child is father of the man. If your children do not attend church in their youth, put it down as a fixed fact, they will not attend church when they grow to man's estate, "and their blood will be required at your hands."—*Church Journal.*

HOW THE CATHOLICS RAISE MONEY.—The bearer, —, is a member of the Association of Our Lady of Perpetual Help. The object of this association is to raise funds to pay the debt of the Redemptorist Church and Convent at Boston, Mass.

In order to become a MEMBER of this association you have to contribute twenty-five cents a month. In consideration of this small contribution of three dollars, to be paid in the course of the year, or all at once, the Redemptorist Fathers will enroll you among the number of their benefactors and as a member of the Association of OUR LADY OF PERPETUAL HELP.

ADVANTAGES.

1. The holy sacrifice of Mass will be offered up for you ONCE A WEEK as long as charitable contributions will be made toward the object stated above.

2. The litany of the Blessed Virgin, together with two other prayers to the Mother of God, will be DAILY recited for you by all the members of the society, which counts at present over 1,300 members.

3. Every member of the society will say for you, EVERY DAY, ONE OUR FATHER and ONE HAIL MARY, so that 1,300 Our Fathers and Hail Marys are said for you every day.

4. ALL OUR STUDENTS, and NOVICES, and BROTHERS, 638 in number at present, will hear Mass on EVERY SATURDAY for our benefactors, and ALL THE FATHERS of the Society, 664 in number, will offer up for them the good work of saying Mass, of hearing confession, of preaching, and of giving instructions to the people at home, in their mission, or on other occasion; besides every FATHER STUDENT and BROTHER of the society will say the Beads on every Saturday for our benefactors, and also offer up for them on that day more than thirty other good works and prayers prescribed by their rules.

5. Besides these prayers, every member of the Society is obliged to recite TWICE A DAY the Psalm DE PROFUNDIS, "Out of the depth," together with two other prayers for the deceased benefactors.

6. During the Octave of All Saints, there is a SOLEMN REQUIEM MASS to be offered up in every Church of the Redemptorist Fathers for their DECEASED BENEFACTORS, and as the society has at present seventy-two churches, it follows that every year, during the Octave of All-Saints, seventy-two solemn requiem masses are offered up for their deceased benefactors.

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Boston, Mass.

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NOTE 2. These Masses and Prayers may also be applied to your deceased parents and friends, if you have them enrolled as members.

NOTE 3. The Proverb "OUT OF SIGHT OUT OF MIND" may become true in your regard after death; but by contributing 25 cents every month towards the object stated above, you will make sure of having the above prayers and good works offered up for the repose of your soul.

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FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT.

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Property is impossible, because it demands something for Nothing.

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Property is impossible, because, wherever it exists, Production costs more than it is worth.

Third Proposition.
Property is impossible, because, with a

given Capital, Production is proportional to Labor, not to Property.

Fourth Proposition.
Property is impossible, because it is Homelike.

Fifth Proposition.
Property is impossible, because, if it exists, Society devours itself.

Sixth Proposition.
Property is impossible, because it is the Mother of Tyranny.

Seventh Proposition.
Property is impossible, because in consuming its Receipts, it loses them; in hoarding them, it nullifies them; and in using them as Capital, it turns them against Production.

Eighth Proposition.
Property is impossible, because its Power of Accumulation is infinite, and is exercised only over Finite Quantities.

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FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever in any State be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious practices shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

WHAT SHAME is felt by every honorable citizen that the American Minister to England can only escape prosecution as a swindler by pleading his official privilege, and that the private secretary of the President should be on trial for conspiracy to defraud the Government!

REV. DR. SPEAR, of Brooklyn, is writing an admirable series of articles in the *New York Independent*, in defence of the secular view of the school question. He is proving himself a "Liberal" in the true and best sense of the word, by showing himself to be a faithful friend to the principle of religious liberty.

THE ABLE LECTURE of Bishop McQuaid last Sunday on the school question will be published in full in THE INDEX, to be followed by our own lecture on the same subject. A large audience listened to the Bishop, whose views were received with the respect to which his dignified treatment of the subject justly entitled him.

THE CABLE informs us that, "by order of the Spanish Bishops, the bodies of all persons dead prior to the ninth of July, 1875, who were only civilly married, are to be exhumed and removed from consecrated ground." If their only offence was being civilly married, why should they now be so very uncivilly treated?

THE POPE has "threatened the whole Imperial family" of Russia with "the chastisement of the Lord," on account of the alleged persecution of Catholics in that Empire, and "recommends the Czar to the judgment of God." This fact is chiefly important as showing the inevitable tendency of the Vatican Decrees of 1870 upon the political independence of nations.

AS AN argument against a property qualification for the suffrage, ex-Governor Hoffman, of New York, lately said: "The daily developments of the times do not show that the possession of property affords a guaranty of public or private virtue, or of fidelity even to the ordinary duties of citizenship; but experience does show that some of the most faithful and efficient men in public or private life live poor and die poor."

A QUAIN old story is told (if we remember rightly, by Boccaccio) of a miser who, being forced in time of war to bury his treasure in a field, set up a cross over it to mark the spot; and, to give the place all the

semblance and sanctity of a grave, he inscribed upon the cross—"Resurgam [I shall rise again]." A shrewd soldier, knowing the man and suspecting his trick, dug up the supposed corpse and appropriated the treasure; but, in order to carry out the joke, he put a new inscription on the cross—"Resurrexit [He has risen]."

THE PHILADELPHIA Liberal League is so well attended that, in the language of a correspondent, "hundreds of people are obliged to stand up in our meetings for want of room to seat them." And why? Because that League is in earnest, and, by its bold action in petitioning the Board of Education for the removal of the Bible from the schools, has commanded that respect of the community which always follows in the wake of genuine pluck. The time for mere talk is over; the friends of liberty must now gird themselves for action.

IT IS ONE of the more pleasing signs of the time, forming a happy contrast to the indications in so many quarters of intensifying bigotry on the school question, that a Jewish Rabbi should be invited to occupy a Methodist pulpit at New Haven. The day will yet come, we trust, when Christians will treat the believers in other religions or in no religion with at least respect and common justice; and the way to hasten its advent is to render the State absolutely oblivious to all distinctions of religious belief. Equality is the precursor of good will.

WE INVITE special attention to the resolution of the San Francisco Liberal League, published in the department of "Communications," and proposing a memorial bust or statue of Thomas Paine. Not only do we cordially favor this proposal, as embodied in the resolution, but we would help it on by suggesting that Mr. S. H. Morse, 25 Bromfield Street, Boston, be at once engaged to prepare a copy in marble of his fine bust of Paine for the purpose indicated. If the money can be raised, and if the Philadelphia League will accept the trust proposed, the project is as feasible as it is timely and appropriate to the Centennial Year.

AT A business meeting of the Free Congregational [Unitarian] Society of Baraboo, Wisconsin, on Jan. 17, a resolution to convert the church into a public hall was, as we are informed, passed without a dissenting vote. "Our town," writes our informant, "has always felt the want of a good hall, and this our society now supplies. Next summer it is proposed to add ante-rooms, and it is confidently expected that our facilities for social, humanitarian, and religious work will be largely increased. At the same meeting a resolution favoring the taxation of all church property was passed unanimously; and, had it included Bible-reading in the public schools, it would doubtless have been equally acceptable." Such movements as this are symptomatic and significant.

THE *Christian Union* thinks a quartette is preferable to a duet: "Bishop McQuaid, of Rochester, has been invited by the Free Religious Association to present the Catholic view of the school question in Boston, on a Sunday afternoon in February, and has consented to do so. On the following Sunday, Mr. Francis E. Abbot, editor of THE INDEX, will present an argument for the 'Liberals,' in favor of the complete secularization of the public schools. This question, like every other in this country, can be permanently settled only after a fair hearing of all the parties interested. If the Association would next invite a champion of Bible-reading in the schools to make an argument for that view, and then ask some Orthodox Christian to give his reasons for demanding the secularization of the schools, the quartette would be complete, and the four discourses might be printed together as a complete presentation of the subject in all its bearings."

LIST OF LIBERAL LEAGUES.

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 BOSTON, MASS.—F. E. Abbot, President; J. P. Titcomb, G. A. Bacon, Secretaries.
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Society versus Selfhood.

A THIRD LETTER FROM HENRY JAMES.

MY DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

Let me, since so it must be, prepare my pathway to your understanding by distinctly rejecting the doctrine of annihilation which you charge upon me. I have no need of this doctrine, because I hold the selfhood to be a sheer illusion in man, without a corresponding reality, and we don't annihilate illusions, but are content to correct them by letting in upon them the light of a higher truth. The misery of every illusion is that it is already without reality, already a mere nothing, and therefore does not require to be reduced to nothing, but only to be substituted by a better intelligence upon the subject. For truth alone is capable of dispelling illusions; and if I replace the illusion of selfhood in your mind by the truth of a spiritual Divine creation, which means the truth of a perfect Divine society, fellowship, or equality of all men with each, and of each with all, I can't for the life of me see what you lose that is worth preserving, while your gain seems literally immense. You simply lose a mistaken principle of action, which may sooner or later vitiate every title you now possess to men's regard. And you gain a freedom and breadth of intercourse with all mankind, arising from the identity of your material interests with theirs, which would seem to me, I confess, infinitely exhilarating. Do you not see that it is not my thought, then, so much as your interpretation of my thought, which is contradictory, in attributing to my remedial ideas any such gross designs as uncreation or annihilation?

Let me next reject the doctrine of a depraved nature in man which you attribute to my ideas, inasmuch as I ascribe all our evil to an insane personal illusion on our part—which, however, we are historically competent to correct in the amplest manner,—and so leave our nature not only uncontaminated, but actually informed with all Divine sanctity. I not only attribute no manner of depravity, but all manner of righteousness, to human nature, and even consider the private selfhood depraved only when it survives the uses which primarily led to its inflation, and so impedes rather than furthers the majestic social ends for which alone it has been allowed to exist. The private selfhood has been an illusion of the Divine benignity to the evolution of our present growing unitary consciousness, inasmuch as the manifestation of the endless evils wrapped up in ourselves is the only solid ground we have in experience for our rising appreciation of society as the sole true form of human life.

And finally I distinctly reject the doctrine of moral culture which you yourself espouse and advocate, inasmuch as it sets a directly false issue before the mind as the true problem of human destiny. The meaning of human history has never been to make man self-righteous, but to invest him with the righteousness of God, by developing in him a real or race-consciousness fatal to his isolated or phenomenal

one. The practical voice of God throughout all human vicissitudes has been: He that findeth his life in himself shall lose it; he that loseth his life in society, or fellowship with his kind, shall save it. You obviously conceive that our veritable life or being is constituted by selfhood or personality. This to my conviction is utterly untrue. Our true human life or being is wholly constituted by the sentiment of unity we cherish with our kind; and we have no distinctively human life or consciousness until we experience that sentiment. We may severally have the life of the rat, or the tiger, or the sheep, or the fox, or the dove, or the serpent, until then; but we have no properly human life, and we ought to be ashamed of claiming such a thing. The more we disown all private ends of action, accordingly, and cultivate only public ends—which is only saying, in other words, that the more we renounce selfhood and acknowledge society as the beginning, the middle, and the end of our aspiration,—the more we come into our true life or being.

No doubt our true life or being is conditioned for its development upon our experience of a thoroughly finite existence, a thoroughly corrupt and fallacious selfhood; just as the life or being of the chick is conditioned for its development upon its undergoing the hideous decay of the egg. But the chick, unlike us moralists, does not feel its life to be constituted by the conditions of its development. On the contrary, it instinctively struggles away from its environment in the egg until finally a higher or freer life is gained. The chick has none of our scientific dread of extinction in leaving the egg, because the instinct of a higher life impels it so to do. And so no man, in whom the instinct of a higher life in his nature than he realizes in himself has not been sophistically reasoned down, would ever dread the extinction of his proper life or consciousness in rejecting the addled egg of his earthly maternity—selfhood,—and soaring away to the free ineffable heaven of society.

You and I have absolutely no life-consciousness at present, with all our cultivation, save what we derive from the social sentiment. What we enjoy at present is really a death-consciousness which we mistake for life only because, being densely ignorant of our true being in God, we have yet a fallacious sense of independence grounded in our physical existence. I call this sense of independent existence fallacious, because we ourselves do not even exist, let alone live. What alone exists in our callid personalities is the creative substance of the world—the infinite love and wisdom—working out under the subtle mask of our personal imbecility his gracious will towards universal man. The one needful condition, then, of our realizing life-consciousness (and not by any means of our losing it, as you conceive) is to give over cultivating or improving our selves, and devote all our energies to the promotion of human society, fellowship, equality. We simply cannot attain to life-consciousness in the way of self-consciousness, however that consciousness may be tamed out of its aboriginal savagery by the specious arts of culture or concealment. We attain to it only by inwardly dying to ourselves, only by feeling that the life of selfhood in us is sham life, and so getting spiritually swallowed up in the sentiment of a hallowed and perfect unity with our kind in God. Thus alone shall we ever be able to feel ourselves both instinct and armed with all the goodness and truth and power of an emancipated Divine nature. It is preposterous to suppose that the chick has a gleam of its proper life while undergoing incubation, but only when it is empowered to reject the egg existence from it, and feels the larger substances of earth and air hardening its tender organs, and winging and pluming it to the busy commerce of its species. So you and I, boast ourselves as we may of our culture and accomplishments, have as yet no proper consciousness of life, the life that belongs by God's greatness to humanity, so long as we are shut up to the process of spiritual incubation named selfhood, or the interests of an isolated existence in space and time, but only in so far as these trumpery walls of selfhood crumble down, and so admit us for the first time to our true Divine inheritance, the freedom of universal man.

I have now, I think, met all your doubts very amply, and shall at once draw nearer my subject by stating what my idea of selfhood is, and in what the evil of it consists.

Selfhood, then, is a strictly subjective illusion in man—an illusion primarily in the sphere of feeling and thence of thought—which leads him actively or passively to deem himself his own sole substance or reality: first, in the compass of his physical organization, or the realm of sense; next, in the family sphere, or the realm of emotion; and, finally, in the civic and political sphere which is the realm of his moral and rational culture, or his voluntary activity.

The reason why I call it an illusion in man to deem himself his own substance or reality, or attribute to himself anything but a phenomenal or shadowy existence, either in the realm of sense, in the realm of sentiment, or in the moral and rational realm, is simply because he is eminently a creature of God, and hence is not only void of life in himself, but is actually incapable of receiving and enjoying life save through such a discipline of heart and understanding as leads him cordially to acknowledge the truth of his absolute divine dependence, and so confess the life of selfhood to be purely factitious. It is open to you to deny all this by rejecting man's creatureship, or maintaining that he is and exists in himself alone; but not otherwise. And as you hold to creation, I doubt not, quite as sincerely as I do, I have no need to anticipate any such cavil on your part here.

The ground of this superb illusion in us—the illusion of selfhood—lies in the fact that man is essentially, or in virtue of the creative perfection, a rigidly SOCIAL form of life or consciousness; and society, we

know, becomes constituted not by any arbitrary methods or methods of outward force, but by a free marriage between self and the neighbor, or a hearty frank union of man's private or particular interests with his public or universal interests. Now marriage is always a work of time, involving a previous acquaintance between the parties to it, and an opportunity to learn and estimate each other's worth, together with a subsequent wooing or courtship, and a more or less protracted engagement. But the marriage in question involves in itself all time both before and after, for the parties to it are each man in all the conceivable minuteness of his microcosmic personality, and all men in all the magnitude of their macrocosmic personality; and it requires, accordingly, a comparative infinitude of opportunities for parties so excessively antagonistic to recognize each other's existence even, much more to make each other's frank undisguised acquaintance, and much more still to come into each other's hearty fellowship. What wonder, then, in this state of things that the public and private, or universal and particular interest in humanity should have been so long in becoming reconciled! What wonder is it that we each one of us, on the one hand, profoundly ignorant as we are meanwhile of our social nature and destiny in God, should look upon our neighbor, or the interests of public justice among men, as inimical to ourselves, or the interests of private freedom; and so hug the principle of selfhood to our bosoms, as veritable flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone! And what wonder, on the other hand, that the public life of the world, profoundly ignorant as it has been of the spontaneous subordination it is destined to undergo to the private life of men in our coming social enfranchisement, should look upon freedom or selfhood in man as the sole evil it was bound to antagonize in compelling the wealth of human relations into the limits of an inflexible outward order!

Such has been the providential scope of selfhood in human affairs: gradually to call forth or develop by its fierce libidinousness (or instinct of unlimited freedom) a conception of order in human life, or a public consciousness of man, which should not only foster and promote his private freedom, but should eventually bloom into a social consciousness, and so constitute human destiny. The uses of selfhood, accordingly, in the past, have been unquestionably Divine, since they have been inextricably interwoven with the gradual development of our public consciousness and the coming consequent acknowledgment of a purely associated life in man as the true beginning and end of human discipline.

What, now, is the evil of selfhood? It is, that it has ceased to be a working force in humanity, and become almost wholly a luxurious, idle, and ostentatious one. The public life of the world—the distinctively universal interest in humanity as opposed to men's isolated and contrarious interests—has become clear and palpable to every man's recognition, and there is no longer, as a general thing, any intelligent person amongst us who does not find every man's private or personal pretension, whether physical, emotional, or moral, inexplicably frivolous, tiresome, and revolting. The evil of selfhood, in short, is that, having forfeited by the advance of a public conscience in humanity its original *raison d'être*, or that Divine instinct of battle which led it to champion human freedom *à outrance*, it looks upon itself no longer as a transient providential means to a great social end, but as a strictly providential end in itself; and so spends its imbecile days in tentatively pirouetting by poem, or essay, or novel, before the looking-glass of men's idle opinion or worthless convention.

It must be palpable enough by this time, I conceive, that our disagreement in regard to the meaning and evil of selfhood is mainly due to the fact that I am bent upon viewing selfhood as a great historic phenomenon of the mind, having only universal issues; while you contemplate it as a fact of mere biographic interest, of purely private science, a mere chronic experience of some particular memory. I regard it, in short, philosophically, or as a generic fact; you scientifically, or as a specific fact. This difference in our point of view—I regarding it as a living or spiritual experience of the mind wholly, you regarding it at most as a possession of the dead or reflective memory—must be fatal to any final good understanding betwixt us, unless we can manage to put it away. I, for example, am perfectly free to admit that it is not scientifically demonstrable—or possibly will never under the light of our earthly day become verified to sensible observation or experience,—that selfhood is illusory, and hence the sole existing source of evil and falsity known to man; while yet, at the same time you yourself cannot doubt that myriads of human beings unaffectedly feel their inmost Divine peace and joy perpetually slain by it. Here, then, is a chance for agreement between us. For we may thus fairly conclude that the evil I assert is a subjective evil exclusively, an evil known only to one's inward sense, without having at the moment any necessary ground in the sphere of objective or sensible fact. It is true my subjective conviction in the premises may receive its original quickening from some casual act or acts of wrong-doing on my part—some special act or acts of false witness, theft, adultery, or violence; but the precise sting to my conscience of all my evil-doing is that I see it to proceed from a root in me of evil-being; that is, see it to inhere unmistakably in my self. I would gladly refer my faulty morals to some outward cause, if I could—some pressure of outward circumstances; for I unfeignedly love my self, and abhor to recognize any blemish in it. But the bane of my vicious morality to my conscience is that it refuses to affiliate itself to any foreign cause, any outlying tyranny of circumstance, and claims a strictly domestic

genesis. The whole legitimate effect of it, in short, is to impress me with a conviction that the deepest evil I shall ever know is spiritual or subjective, as being inherent in my very self, and not the least natural or objective, as inherent in other men.

I don't know whether you have ever considered it, but acts of false-witness, theft, adultery, and murder are wholly unknown to human nature, as that nature stands Divinely formed and avouched only in a perfect society or brotherhood of man with man; they are acts known and noticeable only to statutory law, which reigns only while human society is still in abeyance. False-witness, theft, adultery, murder, are none of them things: that is, they are none of them offences estimable by sense, which yet is the criterion of real or objective existence. On the contrary, they are terms, all of them, of an interior or invisible Divine relationship between man and man, deriving their sole and entire *raison d'être* from each particular man's living or spiritual disjunction with all other men, or his habitual tendency to make self and not society his end of action. They are, in short, mere surface manifestations of a universal, spiritual, or subjective evil in man, the evil of selfhood, and will be ineradicable from our manners so long as we find our life and hope in it. And what we need to get rid of, accordingly, is just this evil selfhood, source of all the minor moral evils known to human intercourse. We need not think we are ever going to abate moral evil by direct diatribes against lying and all the rest of it. All men know even to nausea, know better, probably, than the preacher, the evil of lying, and fraud, and treachery, and violence. What we want now to know is the insane root of these evils, or what makes them irresistibly sweet to their subject; namely, the pride of selfhood, and so cut them off in their source. Our civic righteousness, engendered by the existing concubinage of Church and State, has become, in fact, so fly-blown in recent years, that our courts seldom open without more or less depravation to the public sense. I cannot persuade myself that God's justice is not exquisitely outraged every day by the obscene perquisitions—at once so foul, so frivolous, and so voracious—which we continue to make into men's private lives. Can any interest even of earthly justice be promoted by a judicial process, which, under the skilled manipulation of mercenary attorneys, deluges the public atmosphere with the most fetid odors of hell? If I myself chanced to be a breaker of law and not a keeper of it, and found myself suddenly confronted by its vengeful hand—not with an enlightened judge solely, and an honest jury, both alike disposed in the fear of God to judge wise and dispassionate judgment between us, but rather with a foul and ignorant public rabble, habitually pastured upon the coarsest newspaper-garbage until it itches to find every decent man guilty,—I should at once, as it seems to me, and whatever might be my legal guilt, feel myself so inwardly succored and upborne in the unequal strife by the inflowing Divine sympathy and that of all good men, as to look down with hearty contempt upon the godless crew that thirsted for my disgrace. But this by the way.

If, then, the deepest evil I know is spiritual or subjective evil, or an evil inherent in my self, can you wonder that my most intimate blessedness lies to my own conviction in getting rid of selfhood? I am not so silly as to contrive getting rid of it by suicide, as many a tried heart and mind is driven to do. I have no such gross notion of selfhood as to suppose that it can be got rid of by violence, much less by tagging at my own moral suspenders. On the contrary, it is an evil so subtle, so sinuous, and serpentine as to be really strengthened by every direct effort to overcome it, and so confess itself corrigible only by the advent of a universal righteousness in humanity, or the inward operation of God's spiritual infinitude in man's social form. If selfhood be not properly confined to the absence of society in men—if it will always be a breathing of the Divine Spirit in me to prize my self, or value in me what makes me to differ from my fellow-man,—you take away all my hope and joy in God, which are absolutely contingent upon my finding Him infinitely opposite to my self, because infinitely at one with my nature or kind alone. But if, on the other, you admit the selfhood in man to be a signal unreality—if you allow that it is only a gross fallacy of judgment in me operated by the tyranny of sense, and having absolutely no foundation in *rerum natura*,—you leave my hope and joy and peace in God unimpaired, since you show me to myself unidentified with my wretched perishable self, and alive only in my imperishable race or nature.

Do you continue to say nay to all this? Do you continue to say there is no rat-hole mean enough to house the man who is so base as to condemn himself? Don't misunderstand me. I certainly feel no contempt for my self relatively to that of other men; my contempt for myself is an equal contempt for selfhood in your bosom and in that of all other men put together, from the highest angel in heaven to the lowest devil in hell. But why "rat-hole" any way? I am a little curious on this point. For, although my zoological lore is not profound, I still am led to believe that there is no more active servitor of the instinct of selfhood on earth or under the earth than that robust little vermin. I am told, indeed, that when, in spite of all the prudence he brings to bear upon this instinct, he gets fairly nabbed at last, his grief and desperation invest the trap with a sadness touchingly human. Why, then, I repeat, should any man's self-contempt consign him above all things to rat-holes, if only rat-holes were not too good for him? In fact, what are we already—all or any of us dainty moralists—but so many vicious old rodents, burrowing in the meal of the creative substance and appropriating it to our private greed or lust,

as if it had never been meant for any higher human use?

I am sincerely sorry to have gone on at such length; but I have not time to be shorter, and so sign myself, as ever,

Truly yours,
CAMBRIDGE, Feb. 5th.

HENRY JAMES.

[For THE INDEX.]

THE GOOD AND THE EVIL IN ORTHODOXY.

BY CHARLES E. WHIPPLE.

The form of religion commonly called "Orthodox" has one very great merit; namely, its energetic hostility to "sin"; its persistency in maintaining the doctrine set forth by a Scripture writer, that sin is "exceeding sinful." Orthodoxy often misjudges in its estimate of what is sin; often departs, both by allowance and prohibition, from the Scriptural view of what acts are sinful; sometimes stigmatizes as wicked things perfectly authorized by its "infallible and sufficient rule," the Bible; and sometimes enjoins as indispensable duties acts in nowise enjoined by that rule. But, nevertheless, it does this great service to its generation of holding up sin as always dangerous, always unjustifiable, always to be resisted and avoided.

The danger and evil of Orthodoxy lie chiefly on the other side. Its specially dangerous and evil influence comes from its doctrine concerning "righteousness." With the best intentions towards God and man, it utterly misrepresents both in the attempt to describe the relation of each to this quality, "righteousness."

For themselves, the professors of Orthodoxy, utterly disclaim righteousness. Though many of them are plainly seen to be honest and worthy people, doing the very things that men ought to do, and seeming to be actuated by good motives, playing well their parts as husbands, fathers, friends, tradesmen, citizens, philanthropists, they persistently call their best actions filthy rags, and declare their hearts to be corrupt and depraved. I barely mention this in passing, having intended to speak mainly of their misrepresentation of the righteousness of God.

Claiming for God in the gross, as everybody else does, absolute perfection of character, and also specifically claiming for Him justice, mercy, wisdom, goodness, love, pity, true friendliness, and fatherly feeling towards all his human creatures, and unchangeableness in the exercise of all these perfections, the professors of Orthodoxy make in detail such representations of every one of these as to neutralize or even to reverse them. Although they never intend to speak of the Deity but in terms of praise and honor, the details of their account of his relation to the human race in its origin and destiny are so framed as to attribute to justice things plainly unjust, to mercy a course decidedly unmerciful, to wisdom obvious defects of plan and failures in execution, to goodness deliberate allowance of an ultimate triumph of evil, to love characteristics not only unlovely but repulsive, to pity the extreme of relentlessness, to fatherhood, as shown in the Divine Being, a serene and unmoved contemplation of the permanent misery and ruin of vast numbers of his children.

No doubt, many Orthodox people are utterly unconscious that their system makes such representations as these. I will therefore note down some instances, beginning with the attribute called justice.

Orthodoxy adopts Paul's representation (Rom. ix., 21) that from a mass of unconscious clay God does make and may rightfully make "vessels of wrath fitted to destruction," knowing that a destiny of conscious suffering throughout eternity awaits them. And it also adopts Paul's horrible conclusion (v. 20) that the human sufferers thus doomed before their birth have no right of remonstrance. Its professors thus (let us hope, unconsciously) attribute to God something positively unjust, an act and a purpose essentially evil.

Orthodoxy also attributes to God another act of enormous injustice; namely, making the salvation of men depend upon their "belief" in a certain doctrine, quite irrespective of the evidence for or against that doctrine; or, to come nearer to the case in hand, quite irrespective of the absence of evidence for it, and an accumulation of the strongest reasons against it.

We must believe, on peril of damnation, Orthodoxy tells us, that Jesus of Nazareth is Christ, the Messiah of Old Testament prophecy and Jewish expectation. Our welfare throughout eternity must depend on our acceptance of this theory, although whoever reads the two Testaments may see that, in fact, Jesus fulfilled neither the prophecy nor the expectation. The prophecy announced a Messiah, descended from David, who should be "the Lord's anointed" as David was, who should rule as king in the land of Palestine with full acceptance of the Hebrew people, as David did, and who should continue to rule in that land forever, making that nation supreme, overthrowing its oppressors, and bringing all other nations into permanent subjection to it. The Jews expected precisely the thing thus predicted, and rejected Jesus because he did not fulfil it. He never either ruled the Jews, nor was accepted by them in any manner, either literally or spiritually. He was not even a son of David unless he was the son of Joseph; a supposition which, however probable, Orthodoxy vehemently rejects. He was the teacher of a doctrine far better than Judaism; but he was not, in any sense, the predicted and expected "King of the Jews."

Yet, assuming him to be "Christ," Orthodoxy further requires that he be acknowledged as "Lord" by all who live, have lived, or are to live in this world. It might suffice to say, in reply to this demand,

that we need and desire only one Lord, our Creator and Preserver, the Father of all mankind; and that, belonging already to God, we cannot honestly "give ourselves to Jesus," as the propagandists of Orthodoxy require that we should do. But there is also another reason. Sundry errors of doctrine and judgment into which Jesus fell, if we may trust the evangelists, his biographers, make it plain that his statements should not be taken as authoritative. His predictions, no doubt, expressed his genuine opinion of what was to take place, but events have shown the erroneous character of sundry of them. He assumed, if the evangelists have given us his words, that the end of the world, and a final judgment forever separating the righteous from the wicked, would occur within the lifetime of the generation to whom he preached. Some of his precepts can be accounted for and justified only on the supposition of such speedy ending of this world, and its business and pleasure. But these predicted wonders did not occur, and nearly nineteen hundred years have passed since their failure was made manifest. And, though many nations during that period have called themselves Christian, assuming to adopt the religion taught by Jesus, not one of them has pretended to practice his precepts of non-resistance, of unlimited and indiscriminate giving and lending, of refusal to lay up treasures on earth, of neglect of provision for food and clothing, and of abstinence from oaths and from public prayer, etc., etc. The people who most loudly claim to be followers of Jesus do not follow him in all respects, nor is it well that they should do so. His doctrine of everlasting misery for a considerable proportion of mankind (if the biographers represent him rightly upon that point) has unfortunately met with very wide acceptance. That dogma alone, if he taught it, should suffice to prevent our taking his teaching as authoritative.

Since, then, the particular beliefs demanded by Orthodoxy not only fail of evidence, but are counterpoised and overbalanced by opposing reasons, we may conclude them to be not only unessential to our future welfare, but destitute of all basis of truth or justice. Belief must follow evidence, and to require it without or against evidence is unjust. Let us pass to the next item.

Orthodoxy attributes to God a character and an attitude of loving kindness to men in this world, quite irrespective of their state of penitence or impenitence for the sinfulness common to all. He loves all men, even the worst in act and the worst in purpose (the upholders of Orthodoxy say), until their bodies die. After that time (they say) he will not only cease to love and begin to hate a certain portion of them, but he has arranged that from that time onward forever, neither repentance nor reformation shall be of the least avail to improve their condition.

Orthodoxy, theoretically claiming God as the perfection of goodness and excellence, demands equally belief in Satan, the enemy of man and the embodiment of all evil. Yet, after the death of the body, it represents God as holding, to that large proportion of mankind which it calls "the impenitent," not only the same relation of implacable spite and vengeance which Satan holds, but union with Satan in the work of tormenting them forever. Orthodoxy frowns upon those people who, in careless talk, say that this or that was done "like the devil"; but its own deliberate representation of God's future relation to millions of men and women paints him as precisely "like the devil" in spirit and in action; it affirms that he will laugh at the calamity of a portion of his human creatures, and mock when their fear cometh.

Orthodoxy claims God to be the perfection of wisdom, and joins Isaiah in saying:—

"Who hath directed the Spirit of the Lord, or being his counsellor hath taught him? With whom took he counsel? and who instructed him, and taught him in the path of judgment, and taught him knowledge, and showed to him the way of understanding?"

But, unfortunately for the consistency of Orthodoxy, two other passages of the book which it calls "The Word of God," give "Moses" as their infallibly inspired answer to all the specifications of the above inquiry. If that collection of early Hebrew and Christian literature be really "God's Word," observe what was divinely dictated to the writers of Exodus and Numbers, as follows:—

"And the Lord said unto Moses, I have seen this people, and behold, it is a stiff-necked people; now, therefore, let me alone, that my wrath may wax hot against them, and that I may consume them; and I will make of thee a great nation. And Moses besought the Lord his God, and said, Lord, why doth thy wrath wax hot against thy people, which thou hast brought forth out of the land of Egypt, with great power, and with a mighty hand? Wherefore should the Egyptians speak and say, For mischief did he bring them out, to slay them in the mountains, and to consume them from the face of the earth. Turn from thy fierce wrath, and repent of this evil against thy people. Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel thy servants, to whom thou swarest by thine own self, and saidst unto them, I will multiply your seed as the stars of heaven, and all this land that I have spoken of will I give unto your seed, and they shall inherit it forever.

"And the Lord repented of the evil which he thought to do unto his people."—Ex. xxxii., 9-14.

"And the Lord said unto Moses, How long will this people provoke me? And how long will it be ere they believe me, for all the signs which I have showed among them? I will smite them with the pestilence, and disinherit them, and will make of thee a greater nation and mightier than they. And Moses said unto the Lord, Then the Egyptians shall hear it (for thou broughtest up this people in thy

might from among them), and they will tell it to the inhabitants of this land; for they have heard that thou, Lord, art among this people, that thou, Lord, art seen face to face, and that thy cloud standeth over them, and that thou goest before them by day-time in a pillar of cloud, and in a pillar of fire by night. Now, if thou shalt kill all this people as one man, then the nations which have heard the fame of thee will speak, saying, Because the Lord was not able to bring this people into the land which he swore unto them, therefore he hath slain them in the wilderness. And now, I beseech thee, let the power of my Lord be great, according as thou hast spoken, saying, The Lord is long-suffering and of great mercy, forgiving iniquity and transgression, and by no means clearing the guilty, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation. Pardon, I beseech thee, the iniquity of this people, according to the greatness of thy mercy, and as thou hast forgiven this people from Egypt even until now.

"And the Lord said, I have pardoned according to thy word."—Numb. xiv., 11-20.

According to these passages, MOSES was the counsellor of the Lord, teaching him in the path of judgment, showing to him the way of understanding, and even availing, by prudent counsel, to change the determination which he had formed and expressed!

Orthodoxy requires that these two narratives shall be received as "the Word of God," equally with those opposite declarations in the same volume which impute to God perfect wisdom.

Orthodoxy attributes to God pity, mercy, goodness, and love, each perfect in quality, and each unchangeable. Yet, regardless of the absolute self-contradiction therein expressed, it specifies a time (the death-hour of the "impenitent sinner") when, to him or her, God will at once and forever cease from the exercise of these kind affections, and take on, in their stead, the extreme of implacable vengeance throughout eternity. Towards these condemned ones God, according to the Orthodox creed, will then feel and act, and will forever continue to feel and act, just as that same creed represents Satan as feeling and wishing to act now.

It must be remembered, moreover, that the expression "impenitent sinner," in the dialect of Orthodoxy, means not only specially corrupt men and women, practised and hardened evil-doers, but all who have not "believed" and accepted the chief theological dogmas of that system. With its advocates, "mere morality" is a term of reprobation, differing in degree only, not in kind, from theft and drunkenness. With that system, exemplary life in man or woman, loveliness of character, the exercise of the sweetest human affections, a life devoted to perfect fulfilment of the duties of spouse, parent, friend, citizen, philanthropist, as far as human eye can distinguish, avail nothing to secure acceptance with God. Without the special "belief," these go for nothing, in his view, as Orthodoxy interprets him; with the special belief, Divine acceptance is sure, even to a life utterly destitute of these best traits of humanity. Belief, in the very act of death, saves the ruffian who suffers strangulation once, after meriting it a hundred times; "mere morality," or what Jesus and James specified as the main requisition which God makes of men, will neither save nor help. On the contrary, he or she who has only led a noble life, pure within, and helpful to the family, the neighbor and the community, if without this special belief, must not only be rejected and condemned by the judge, but must be cleared thenceforth forever to associate with the vilest and most corrupt of human beings!

Let us look at a few of the details of this classification.

*Forty-seven years ago, a young man of Massachusetts, with only the average of worldly advantages, awoke to recognition of the fact that a poor and despised minority of his nation were suffering the most cruel oppression at the hands of the majority, and that this oppression had become so fortified and systematized by accomplices of the functionaries of law and religion with its perpetrators, that both State and Church combined actively to uphold it. This system of oppression was so dominant and triumphant that even to speak against it was to incur odium from the officers of government, the bench of judges, the reverend clergy and the members of their various churches, the mercantile and manufacturing interests, and the periodical press, not only the secular, but that which called itself "religious." To oppose the tyranny in question was not only to excite the rage of its perpetrators and their partisans in these various classes, but to risk the failure of one's own means of living. Nevertheless, the young man of whom I speak trusted so thoroughly in God, and saw so clearly that duty led in the path of justice and righteousness, that he espoused the cause of the black sufferers, the least, the lowest, and the weakest of his human brethren, and never ceased speaking and striving in their behalf until their yoke was broken. From the beginning of this struggle the clergy set themselves against him, and threw every discouragement in the way of the accomplishment of his object; and the majority of them stigmatized him also as an infidel, holding his practical maintenance of righteousness as nothing while he withheld his assent from their theological dogmas. The most amazing feature of their position, however, was this: that, claiming Jesus, the great teacher of righteousness and exemplar of self-sacrifice, as the final judge of men, they assumed that he would class Garrison with tyrants and oppressors for condemnation. This judgment was not merely the spite of such partisans of slavery as Blagden and South-side Adams, President Lord, and Bishops Soule and Hedding, but the deliberate verdict of the theological system

they taught. Orthodoxy spoke through their mouths in that decision.

Let us look at another instance. A man of good character, pure morals, and keen sensibilities, seeing the ruin wrought among his fellow-men by intemperance, devotes his life to the work of rescuing from it as many as possible, and of warning those yet uncontaminated against the beginnings which tend towards such an end. He spends years of assiduous labor and self-sacrifice in these efforts, and dies as he lived. But, as he had merely loved and helped his brethren without acknowledging Jesus as either Christ, or Lord, or vicarious sacrifice, Orthodoxy classes him with drunkards and drunkard-makers, and condemns him to partnership with them in sin and suffering throughout eternity.

Take one case more. A good and pure woman applies herself to seek and to save those of her sisters who are emphatically called "lost." She follows them in their wanderings, and counsels, helps, and saves such of them as do not refuse her good offices. Her life is crowned with the blessings of those who were ready to perish. Reclaimed wanderers, reunited families, follow her memory with honor, gratitude, and love. But as she had never believed in purification by "blood," as she had never applied for God's favor through an "atoning sacrifice," Orthodoxy assumes that God will class her with prostitutes and seducers, removing from her, at the same time, all possibility of benefiting or reforming them!

Such are some of the absurdities resulting from the Orthodox dogma that men, on the death of the body, are permanently to take place in one of only two classes, and that the dividing line will be, not character, but redemption by blood.

Orthodoxy, claiming that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men," necessarily claims Fatherhood for God, and brotherhood for the human race, with the duties and responsibilities belonging to those relations. A father is bound in duty to love and benefit his children; brethren are bound in duty to love and help one another.

By men these duties, however obvious, are often violated. Many cases have been known in which a brother has first hated and then killed his brother. If, however, on examination of such a case, the murderer should be found to have acted by instigation and direction of the father himself, this would intensify the horror and the crime. Yet precisely this, the direction of brothers in very many cases to kill brothers, and in one case the command to a human father to kill his son, is what Orthodoxy attributes to the Universal Father.

Orthodoxy, through its dogma of the infallible inspiration of the Old Testament, teaches that God, by the mouth of Moses, commanded the sons of Levi to kill great numbers of their brethren the children of Israel. Here is the record:—

"Then Moses stood in the gate of the camp, and said, Who is on the Lord's side? Let him come unto me. And all the sons of Levi gathered themselves together unto him. And he said unto them, Thus saith the Lord God of Israel: Put every man his sword by his side, and go in and out from gate to gate throughout the camp, and slay every man his brother, and every man his companion, and every man his neighbor. And the children of Levi did according to the word of Moses; and there fell of the people that day about three thousand men. For Moses had said, Consecrate yourselves to-day to the Lord, even every man upon his son and upon his brother; that he may bestow upon you a blessing this day."—Ex. xxxii., 20-29.

Again, Orthodoxy teaches that God, by the mouth of Moses, gave to the Hebrew nation the command here following:—

"Of the cities of these people which the Lord thy God doth give thee for an inheritance, thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth; but thou shalt utterly destroy them; namely, the Hittites and the Amorites, the Canaanites and the Perizzites, the Hivites and the Jebusites, as the Lord thy God hath commanded thee."—Deut. xx., 16, 17.

And one small portion of the execution of this command, after the taking of the city of Jericho, is thus recorded:—

"And they utterly destroyed all that was in the city, both man and woman, young and old, and ox, and sheep, and ass, with the edge of the sword."—Josh. vi., 21.

Thus, according to portions of the Old Testament history, God himself has abused and violated the relation of fatherhood equally with the very worst of those inhuman fathers whom men imprison and hang for violence done to their own children. According to that history, he has many times enjoined his human children to kill their brothers and sisters, expressly forbidding the exercise of pity or compassion, even to women and babes. That a semi-barbarous people should have imagined a deity capable of giving such orders, is conceivable. The wonder is that Christians, sharing the civilization, the intellectual culture, and the enlarged humanity of the nineteenth century, should take these notions for reality, and take the belief of the semi-barbarians for proof of such reality.

Then there is the story of Abraham and Isaac, too well known to need rehearsal. That the grand old Arab sheik should not have philosophized enough to distinguish that the God who had put paternal love into his heart could not undo and reverse his own work by the command here in question, is conceivable. It is even conceivable that Paul, educated a Jew and a Pharisee, and living only in the dawn of Christianity and civilization, should have spoken of Abraham's purpose to cut his son's throat as a specimen of meritorious faith. The wonder is that sharers in the present grade of English and American intelligence should continue to think thus un-

worthily of the Universal Father, and content themselves with Abraham's poor idea of him.

But Orthodoxy calumniate God, and misleads its hearers in regard to him, by a doctrine even worse than the above. That system teaches:—

1. That God will forever inflict unspeakable torments upon millions of the men and women he has created here.

2. That this doom will be inflicted upon these persons as a punishment for living in accordance with the inclinations and propensities with which they were born.

3. That, throughout the eternity which is to follow this short mortal life, God has provided that these sufferers shall receive no benefit from repentance and reformation, and shall have no encouragement from him in the attempt to do right rather than wrong.

We hold the deliberate killing of a child by its father to be one of the greatest of crimes. To kill him by slow torture would excite our highest indignation. To wish to keep him alive to suffer unending torture would be the extreme of fiendishness. Yet precisely this is what Orthodoxy represents its God as not only wishing, but as actually doing, after elaborate preparation before the human race was created!

Such is the Orthodox view of the attitude of God's Fatherhood to sinners; but one feature of its action upon saints is equally noteworthy, and hardly less repulsive.

It is regarded as the crowning excellence of Jesus that he came to seek and to save the lost, and that his life was actually spent in such seeking and saving. Men have ranked also as worthy of the highest honor and applause his followers in later times, men and women who, out of affectionate solicitude for their kind, devoted their lives to the help of the suffering and needy. Howard and Florence Nightingale, Clarkson and Garrison, applied themselves to the relief of material suffering; Mrs. Fry, Henry Martyn, and Harriet Newell went out as preachers of repentance and reformation. These felt impelled by the mental and spiritual nature which God had given them to choose and pursue this work. In it they found their highest satisfaction. If, in the next world, they retain the characteristic excellences which distinguished them here, their predominant desire will be still to seek and save the lost; and, according to Orthodoxy, "the lost," by thousands of millions, will be there, suffering far more than they ever did on earth. Orthodoxy assures us, however, that the souls of missionaries and other philanthropists will not be allowed to enter upon this ministry of love in the future world. Will God make them miserable by forcibly preventing the exercise of this strongest impulse of the nature he gave them? Or will he obliterate this divinest of their faculties, crush out from their souls all desire to relieve the suffering, and reform the sinful, and make them morally inferior in heaven to what they were on earth? Let Orthodoxy choose between the horns of this dilemma.

The system of Orthodoxy, including, as it does, tenets unjust and dishonoring both to God and man, does not furnish a solid basis, either of direction for the present life or hope for the future. Its Gospel, providing for damnation not less thoroughly than for salvation, is not "glad tidings"; its Bible, a vain attempt to unite Judaism and Christianity into a single rule of life obligatory upon all men, contains such inconsistencies, self-contradictions, imperfections, and errors mingled promiscuously with its truth and wisdom, as to prove it neither an "infallible" nor a "sufficient" rule; its heaven is a fabrication childish in its irrationality and absurdity; and its hell is a libel upon God not surpassed by the worst imaginations of heathen mythologists. This system, I say, does not furnish a solid basis for our trust.

Where shall those look for a guide who have heretofore thoughtlessly accepted this system?

First of all, we must content ourselves with such guides and such lights as God has provided. He has given us reason and conscience, but has not chosen to make either of them infallible. He has put into our hearts expectation of, and aspiration towards, a future life, but has told us nothing of its place, manner or form, of its occupations or its capabilities. He has bestowed various powers, physical, mental, and spiritual, for the ordering of our earthly life, with the means of knowing that these are of different grades, and that the lower should be subject to the higher. He has provided that conscious wrongdoing shall be followed by self-reproach, and by the impulse to turn away from the evil and turn to the good; and he has given us hope and perseverance, the impulse to seek further light, and the stimulus to rise and press forward after every fall.

Such are the materials and the instruments of welfare which God has placed in our hands. Nevertheless, as the ignorant and uncultivated, that is to say, the majority of mankind, prefer happiness to welfare, and desire a short and easy road to it, there have always been persons or parties offering to furnish the commodity thus sought for. Just as there have always been empirical practitioners, offering "infallible" remedies for the ills that flesh is heir to, just so the Catholic and Protestant churches undertake to insure future happiness for you, if you will trustingly submit yourself to their manipulation. The Jew, the Mohammedan, and the Brahmin offer a similar prize as the result of following their infallible systems. These all undertake to give what God, in his wisdom, has chosen to withhold. Infallibility is not to be found among men, and those who trust to men's assumption of it will be disappointed.

For best use of this world, and best preparation for the next, a faithful employment of God's methods, above indicated, seems most reverent, most rational, and most promising.

CATHOLICISM IN CANADA.

The priests of the Catholic Seminary of St. Sulpice, immediately on the heels of the Guilford affair, have precipitated on themselves another difficulty, due, as previously, to an adherence to the letter of the law rather than that generous equity which might be expected of a wealthy religious order.

Two centuries ago they were appointed seigniors of this island of Montreal, and of the Indian district of the Lake of Two Mountains, distant thirty-three miles from this city. The Indians were to enjoy the use of the land, while the Sulpicians were to own it, and instruct and have a general fatherly care over the red men. The treatment of the Indians has latterly been such as to wear about half of them from Romanism to Methodism, which change has made the Sulpicians very indignant. The Indians were notified about two years ago that their little Methodist chapel, at Oka, must be removed by a certain time, or the ground it occupied paid for in the sum of \$300.

This was resented, and suit was brought; and, as the defending attorney neglected to appear, the case went by default, and in due legal course the little chapel was razed to the ground by the sheriff.

Instantly a storm of indignation and sympathy filled the land. The technicalities of law were on the side of the priests, but the stronger claims of equity and humanity were emphatically with the Indians, who at the first settlement of Canada were the powerful and efficient allies of the very order which in its wealth and strength is now chastising the red men in their feebleness and ignorance. A great mass meeting in sympathy with the Indians assembled in Mechanic's Hall here, and stirring speeches were made to an enthusiastic audience. There and then it was resolved to form a Protestant Defence Association to watch and resent the continual encroachments of Romish power.

This Association, now strong in men and means, has retained eminent counsel to bring suits against the seminary on behalf of the Oka Indians and on other counts. It is claimed that the cessions of land made to that institution carried with them obligations to instruct all children and relieve all poor in their parishes, which obligations have not been fulfilled. These charges the Sulpicians have answered in the press; but their opponents, unsatisfied, are to make a most searching inquiry into their titles and contracts, and all shortcomings are to be fully and promptly righted in the courts.

As an instance of the parsimony of this wealthy corporation, I may state that a few weeks ago a deputation of a most extensive and respectable Catholic Benevolent Society waited upon it to say that they had personal knowledge of hundreds of destitute families, and solicited aid. After due consultation the paltry sum of \$25 was given. It would, however, be wrong not to state that the Seminary and the rest of the Church here support many vast charities; though in some cases ill-conceived, they are all managed with excellent economy. If their protected inmates can underbid, and so demoralize independent workers outside, not a fault can be found with any detail of practical administration. Their managers are trained and fitted for their places. There is one strong, competent will, which all obey. There is no playing with work by amateur devotees, but the carrying out of well-tested plans for the most thorough use of every dollar and resource by people whose life-business it is. These institutions exhibit the rewards of that unity which we who are not of Rome hope and work for. The most notable charity of all is the Foundling Asylum of the Gray Nuns, where two to four babes whose parents are unknown are usually received every day. Commonly neglected at birth, sometimes diseased, and without mother's care, scarcely one in a hundred ever reaches maturity. In point of fact, sending infants there is a most debasing kind of genteel murder, where superstition blunts the edge of conscience and remorse. This institution is recognized as an easy means of shirking parental responsibility by the vicious throughout the entire Province. Yet it is so well-kept as to be one of the stated shows of the city; and withal many pictures adorn the building of that Holy Virgin in whose "Immaculate Conception" all concerned are bound to believe.

Our school system in Quebec is peculiar. There are two boards of direction, one Catholic, the other Protestant. Taxes are levied on real estate, which the payer can give to either board, as he chooses. Besides these taxes, all the schools charge fees, which in some cases are considerable, and the division in management is an injury which appears in many other ways, preventing fusion of the people; for Canada is not a nation, and has little national feeling, but is simply an aggregation of various kinds of emigrants and their children, retaining with tenacity the ideas of the lands of their origin, and only blending here and there to harden at other points by antagonisms. In this city there are some eight English, German, and other national societies, some of them quite influential; and this persistence of European ideas might be greatly weakened if the rising generation blended together at school. The illiteracy of this Province under its priestly rule is astonishing. In proportion to population, three persons in Quebec are unable to read and write for one in the rest of the Dominion. This fact, shown in the official census of 1871, is commended to those of your readers who do not think schools should be purely State affairs.

Throughout our continual religious quarrels, the *Witness* newspaper is the sturdy Protestant champion. It is quite a curiosity in its way. It was founded in 1800, by John Dougall, as a religious daily, and its columns have always been kept free from all questionable advertisements, an example worthy to be followed by some religious journals of

more pretensions. It sells for a cent, is of respectable size, the best paper for news in the city, and a paying enterprise. The founder is now in New York engaged in a similar work. The *Witness* is the unscrupulous foe of Rome and rum, and belabors in every issue the Man of Sin and the demon of strong drink. It has always given, daily, a set admonition from the Bible, at first called "Green Pastures for the Lord's Flock, by Rev. James Smith." Mr. Smith gave place to Mr. G. Washington Moon, who in turn has been eclipsed by a "Lamp to the Feet," for our safety. That none may be neglected, the "Precious Promises" are also set forth in the French tongue. In denouncing Rome, the *Witness* often uses language singularly applicable to all dogmatic religion, but the editor does not know it. Last winter it published in attested detail several ugly scandals about the Catholic clergy, and there have been followed up by an ex-priest, who purports to reveal the woful effects of the confessional.

The church, however, is strong enough to maintain a policy of silence, which always leaves these statements *ex-parte* ones, which fall despised and unbelieved into the ears of her children. However, in hearing these scandals constantly repeated, it is impossible to forget that, if celibacy is a virtue, it is the only one that has not the benefit of inheritance. And yet Roman Catholicism can be transcendentalized, and some of its devotees manage to do it. One such I knew, to whom its infallibility meant only the goodness of a fatherly God, too loving to leave his children uncertain and merely probable guides to truth. The monastic lives of the clergy to him spoke of the revulsion the higher nature of man feels from the lower—the head in the clouds and the feet in the mire. Even the Eucharist was to him the token of the Divine presence with men, manifested in a perfect and absolute way. He could show how his Church, in her preaching, did not dwell with despairing persistence on hell, but rather on the transient and useful flames of purgatory, and he could contrast the rigor of a Protestant Sabbath with the kindly freedom of a Sunday in his communion.

But such spirits are rare, and the condition of the rank and file of the Church is not to be raised by them, but by an internal impulse for expansion, freedom, and individuality, which can only come in the due course of evolution. J. G. H.

MONTREAL, Jan. 31, 1876.

SPIRIT MATERIALIZATIONS.

[We have received a copy of the appended circular, with a request that we should "make some scientific comments on Materialization." But we fear that the only "scientific comments" of which the case admits are already made in this circular itself.—ED.]

TERRE HAUTE, Ind., Jan. 25, 1876.

We, the undersigned, being residents of several States, having been attracted to this city for the purpose of investigating the truths of Spiritualism, as demonstrated by the alleged facts of MATERIALIZATION, as now transpiring through the mediumship of Mrs. Anna Stewart, of this city, do, after a full and careful investigation, continued several days, as far as privileges were granted us for examination (no test conditions being allowed), unhesitatingly declare to the world that we honestly believe the so-called materializations to be MERE FABRICATIONS, deserving the condemnation of all true, honest, and enlightened investigators. We regret very much to be compelled to make this statement public, but the voice of truth and justice demands it at our hands, and we cannot flinch from the duty imposed.

The glorious truths of Spiritualism, so grandly portrayed in the past, urge us to this unpleasant duty.

Signed by

DAVID S. CADWALDER, Wilmington, Del.
H. P. STOCKBRIDGE, Fort Wayne, Ind.
MRS. H. MORSE, State Lecturer of Iowa.
R. PARKINSON, Oshkosh Wis.
E. G. THOMAS, Huntington, Ind.
W. R. POTTER, Circleville, Ohio.
S. R. FOWLER, Circleville, Ohio.
NELSON RELENNBERGER, Chillicothe, Ohio.
H. FOCHLER, Pennsylvania.
ALFRED HALDERMAN, Hagerstown, Ind.
LEMUEL RUDY, Hagerstown, Ind.

NOTE.—These last two gentlemen were not present at the consultation and adoption of the protest, but subsequently signed it, having had equal opportunities for investigation.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 12.

Mrs. B. B. Newhall, \$3.20; Cash, 30 cents; Lydia M. Plummer, \$10; Geo. H. Withers, \$1.50; F. E. Nipher, \$2; W. A. Clarke, 10 cents; James Williams, \$3.20; E. Bissell, \$3.20; R. W. Jess, \$3.20; M. L. Hawley, \$3.20; H. Baethig, \$3.20; S. Winkworth, \$4.30; Seavey, Foster & Bowman, \$29.25; M. Milkman, \$3.27; S. H. Winkley, \$3.20; C. F. Hardon, \$3.20; P. V. Baich, \$3.20; A. McKee, \$5.45; J. S. Boyden, \$3.30; E. S. Ketcham, \$6; I. N. Soper & Co., \$4.50; T. Bush, \$4; H. K. Rogers, 50 cents; K. M. Scott, 7 cents; B. P. Elliott, 50 cents; Mrs. S. D. Curtis, \$3.20; W. M. Farnestock, 75 cents; J. R. Brown, \$3.20; W. F. Freeman, \$3.20; E. J. Hamlet, \$3.20; James Nye, \$3; P. Sidebotham, \$3; Nina Moore, \$3.25; W. Hanford, \$3.25; H. Molineaux, \$3.20; J. Bruckner, \$2.50; A. Vacher, \$11.42; G. L. Clark, \$0.40; G. H. Lewis, 40 cents; E. H. Adams, 60 cents; T. B. Collins, \$3.20; Geo. Riker, \$1.10; K. L. Houghton, \$1.50; D. Hutcheon, 10 cents; C. M. Nye, 25 cents; W. Kelly, 50 cents; S. Warbase, \$1.25; A. Braach, 45 cents; C. B. Deyo, \$3.25; Geo. Dimmock, \$4.40; Geo. Molnar, \$23.90; Mrs. H. E. Perkins, \$30; C. B. Holloway, 30 cents; F. Johnson, \$3.20; Mrs. E. C. Spooner, 30 cents; Cash, 20 cents; W. P. Barr, \$3.10; M. H. Parker, \$1.50; J. H. Southwick, 50 cents; M. R. Doolittle, \$3; Mrs. C. Shattou, \$3.20; L. A. Duhring, \$3.20; M. L. Greene, \$3.20; S. M. Whistler, \$1.60; C. F. Baxter, \$3.20; W. C. Little, \$3.20; F. Cheney, \$3.20; R. G. How, \$3.20; Mrs. I. A. Koch, \$3.20; Chas. Voysey, \$37.58; E. M. Wyckoff, 10 cents; Ira W. Castle, 10 cents.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

MY FRIEND AND I.

"Let's slug our noble selves."—Burns.
We were schoolboys; and so, sketching,
Let me pause now while I trace
Schemes of empire and dominion
In his calm and Jove-like face.

He was truly born a poet
And a maker in his way,—
Thought his own thought, not another's;
And he said it his own way.

He was very proud and haughty,
So he could not well be vain;
For his peers were men of genius,
And those heroes of old strain

Whom the modern world beholds not;
But they live on Plutarch's page,
And they charmed him with the wisdom,
Of the Stoic and the Sage.

Master of himself and fortune,
He had lofty self-esteem;
Bore his head high, like Olympus,
Carrying all the gods in dream.

Imperturbable he sat,
Like the gods who ruled the world;
Brooding his great thoughts unuttered,
Sphinx with wings about him furled.

Was he, then, without a weakness?
Nay, his heart, a silver shrine,
Fumed with incense of some woman,
Cared he not if mine or thine.

But his mind had space and freedom
Like the day or night's profound;
It contained the earth and heavens,
Turning all the stars around.

I, who know his worth and greatness,
Know that proud star will not set,
Till among the Sons of Morning
He will sing with Lander yet.

Fame indeed will hail the poet,
Not a literary thing,
When this Phoenix from his ashes
Shall arise one day and sing.

Not in vain the master made him;
Not in vain the lyre and lute;
When the fools are tired of scoffing,
He will sing, and not be mute.

But no matter for the singing;
If the music be unborn,
Yet the Memnonian Statue holds it,
Waiting for the touch of Morn.

Not upon life's surface floating
Do we catch the undertone;
In his deeper music hidden
Is some murmur of my own.

For our days ran on together;
On the trees we carved our names;
Conned our Latin, read the poets,—
Mutual studies, ends, and aims.

And his generous soul allowed me
Still the larger half and claim;
Talked about "a splendid future,"
And the temple gates of fame.

What I might have been I know not,
Had I heeded his wise words;
Took the bit of self-control,
And with foemen measured swords;

Had I summoned Resolution
As a benchman to my side;
Had I boldly grappled Danger,
And thrust Violence aside;

Dashed from Pleasure's hand the wine-cup,
And the jewelled box of chance;
Trod their sorceries under foot
In the nation's Pyrrhic dance;

Had in me with lofty aims
Soul of constancy been found;
Had I scaled the heights of Valor,
And swung Fortune fairly round;

The great object of ambition
Had I grasped with falcon eyes,
And, like eagle on the quarry,
Swooped to carry off the prize;

Had I charged my words with thunder
O'er the people's heads to roll,
Sounding Freedom's holy anthem
On the organ-stop of soul;

Had I sat like Jove to lighten,
Launched the bolts of Power along,
Smiting down to heaps of ruin
Hoary battlements of Wrong;

Had the Muses rocked my cradle,
When the strong wings were outgrown,
I had dared to take possession
Of their silver-mounted throne;

Where the blind old Homer sits,
Equal station I had won
In the proud and shining gateway
Of the Palace of the Sun.

No; my friend had worn that laurel,
Had his mighty wings unfurled;
Now Wait Whitman is our Homer,
And the Bard of the New World.

Well, what harm is there in dreaming,
In my low and altered state?
See! my youthful visions crumbled
As white ashes in the grate.

J. B.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 10, 1876.

The Index.

BOSTON, FEBRUARY 17, 1876.

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THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, REV. CHARLES
VOYSEY (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England),
DAVID H. CLARK, Editorial Contributors.

IT IS STATED by the daily press that several clergymen of New York city are "making arrangements for the publication of a weekly newspaper to advocate the keeping of the Bible in the public schools. The paper is to be called the *Conflict*."

SAYS A new subscriber: "Enclosed please find one year's subscription on behalf of the writer for your able paper—'THE INDEX to Perdition,' as it has been dogmatically styled recently by the leading Catholic organ of America, the *Tablet*. A 'man of sorrows and acquainted with grief' till its arrival (dating back from the new year), yours truly, ———."

TWO EDITIONS of Mr. D. Y. Kilgore's strong pamphlet on the Bible in the Schools have been exhausted, and the third, with additions, will be soon ready. Price ten cents; address "Liberal League, 605 Walnut Street, Philadelphia." One hundred copies will be sent to other Liberal Leagues for five dollars. This brochure will make a capital campaign document, and it ought to be widely circulated.

A BOUND VOLUME of THE INDEX, either for 1871 or 1872, will be given as a premium to each new subscriber who remits \$3.20 for a year's subscription, or to each old subscriber who remits \$3.20 for a new subscriber obtained by means of his or her efforts. The volume will be sent by express at the recipient's expense; but no volume will be sent at all unless it is claimed at the time of making the remittance. This offer can only remain in force a little while, as the supply of volumes is small; but it is one which those who know the value of these volumes will hasten to improve.

ANOTHER Liberal League is now reported which was formed a year ago last September, but of which we were never before notified. The President is Mr. Theodore A. Cookingham, and the Secretary Mr. Lee G. Graham. "It has struggled hard to maintain its position amidst the surrounding conservatism," writes our informant, "and is doing its part well. La Vergne Gardner, of Towanda, Pa., did much towards establishing this organization, and its members mean to maintain the ground taken as ably and truly as possible. Our meetings are held on the fourth Sunday of each month. Our last meeting was addressed by Reuben Halstead, from Cayuga County, N. Y. He is a farmer, making no pretension of being a public speaker, but his reasonings won commendation even from the most extreme Orthodox present."

A THOUGHTFUL gentleman recently remarked, with reference to Kepler's laws and their great beauty, that he could not find laws of such beauty in the moral world, and it troubled him greatly: the poor orphan was robbed of all he had, and left miserable, while the robber escaped and had a good time. Remembering, however, that Kepler's laws are only ideal laws after all, never exactly illustrated by actual planetary motions, it seems to us that scientific ethics furnish abstract principles of equal philosophical beauty, however painfully they are marred in human practice. For instance, the essence of all ethics based on scientific conceptions may be found in these three principles: (1) all moral relations are social relations; (2) all objective duties of one person are subjective rights of another person or of all other persons taken collectively, and vice versa; and (3) all rights and duties are simple equalities, i. e., equalities, and can always be expressed by moral equations analogous precisely to mathematical equations. To one who can comprehend the limitless scope and profound significance of these principles, they possess all the magnificence and exquisite beauty of Kepler's laws.

SOCIETY THROUGH SELFHOOD.

The very remarkable letter which Mr. James contributes to THE INDEX this week is exactly what was wanted to clear up, at least in our own mind, all doubt as to his essential meaning; and the numerous readers who have expressed their interest in his former communications will find this third letter to be one which will richly reward their most patient study and meditation. It is possible that they may not always be certain of the import of single passages; Mr. James' style is bewildering by its very affluence, and sometimes, as we must in candor confess, reacts on his thought in a way to render it not a little difficult of comprehension. Nevertheless, no intelligent student of religious problems can fail to catch the general drift and tenor of his thought, or to find his letter extraordinarily rich in suggestion, and indicative of a religious experience of no common kind.

Mr. James himself believes that he dissents fundamentally from our own philosophy of religion, and will very likely remain of the same opinion still even after reading our present article; but that fact will not shake in the least our now definitely formed conclusion that the difference between us is not very great. We have not enough of the peculiar "selfhood" he detests to expect, much less to ask, that he should make a thorough and exhaustive study of our own writings on this subject; yet, if he should do so, he would be constrained to change totally his present conception of the meaning of that definition of religion which has called out his present thought-stimulating letters. He says, for instance:—

"It must be palpable enough by this time, I conceive, that our disagreement in regard to the meaning and evil of selfhood is mainly due to the fact that I am bent upon viewing selfhood as a great historic phenomenon of the mind, having only universal issues; while you contemplate it as a fact of mere biographic interest, of purely private science, a mere chronic experience of some particular memory. I regard it, in short, philosophically, or as a generic fact; you scientifically, or as a specific fact. This difference in our point of view—I regarding it as a living or spiritual experience of the mind wholly, you regarding it at most as a possession of the dead or reflective memory—must be fatal to any final good understanding betwixt us, unless we can manage to put it away."

That the first of our original *Fifty Affirmations*—"Religion is the effort of Man to perfect himself"—carried any such cribbed or petty significance as Mr. James here discovers in it, is an error quite sufficiently corrected by the thirty-seventh of the same *Fifty Affirmations*; namely, "The great ideal end of Free Religion is the perfection or complete development of Man,—the race serving the individual, the individual serving the race." Nothing could be plainer than that the "perfection" originally contemplated by our definition was a race-perfection, and not merely an individual self-perfection; and whoever should take the trouble to read with any care what we have written and re-written, even to redundancy, in explanation of this much-criticised definition, would see at a glance that Mr. James, so far as he is a critic in this case, combats an "illusion,"—which, as he well argues, cannot be annihilated because it possesses no real existence. But we are less anxious now to defend our own definition of religion than we are to understand clearly what Mr. James means by his; and we pass on.

Having defined religion as "a deathless divine instinct in man to despise, disown, and reject himself utterly," Mr. James took the ground that "deliverance from self," not perfection of self, is the sole lawful object of religious aspiration and effort. In order to ascertain precisely what he meant by this, we then inquired (we made no "charge," as he inadvertently phrases it) whether this "deliverance from self" is deliverance from all being and existence [the gospel of annihilation], or deliverance from a totally depraved and corrupted nature [the gospel of regeneration], or deliverance from the selfish misuse and misdirection of a nature essentially sweet and sound [the gospel of perfection or evolution]. These three gospels, in our opinion, exhaust absolutely all the possibilities of the case. But Mr. James thinks otherwise, rejects now all three in turn, and proceeds to elucidate what he considers to be a fourth possibility, but what we consider to be in fact the third, clothed in language which only partially disguises it.

Holding the selfhood in us to be a "sheer illusion, without a corresponding reality," Mr. James discards the idea of annihilation as altogether unnecessary; he would simply "replace the illusion of selfhood" in our minds by "the truth of a spiritual Divine creation, which means the truth of a perfect Divine society, fellowship, or equality of all men

with each, and of each with all." What instantly arrests our attention in this sentence is the *unperceived retention of the selfhood after its imagined removal*. A "society" in which "all men" still continue to exist, necessarily as selves, is not a society without selfhood. If Mr. James supposes he can abolish selfhood, yet retain society, he manifestly uses the term selfhood in a sense so purely technical and peculiar to himself as to be absolutely meaningless to the rest of mankind, unless defined with the utmost exactitude. When he goes on to describe this "perfect Divine society" [note this word *perfect* by the way] as one in which there shall be "complete identity" of personal interests with the interests of the entire race, he beautifully delineates the social state at which our *Fifty Affirmations* directly pointed; he all the while assumes the coexistence of individual "selves," in the ordinary meaning of the word, and he inculcates the perfecting of his "society" by the establishment among these "selves," or members, of a complete identity of personal and social interests. That is precisely the "perfection of self" which he imagines he is opposing, but here explicitly advocates.

Next, rejecting the doctrine of a depraved nature in man, Mr. James "attributes all manner of righteousness to human nature," at the same time that he verbally discards the "selfhood." This, too, is a manifest retention of the idea and fact of "self," as commonly understood; for "human nature" is nothing except as existent in human beings, who again are nothing, and cannot possibly cherish any "majestic social ends," except as existent "selves." What must become of all "unitary consciousness" and all "sentiment of unity," on which Mr. James justly lays such supreme emphasis, if there is nothing but a group of non-existent phantoms or "illusions" to be thus united? Can anything be clearer than that the word selfhood does not stand in his mind for that essence of individuality in us, constituting us persons, which the word represents to all ordinary minds? Certainly we cannot permit a mere difference of terminology to hide the substantial identity of our friend's thought and our own, or postpone that "final good understanding" which, we are persuaded, is our mutual right to enjoy.

But, thirdly, Mr. James concludes that we hold to a "doctrine of moral culture" which "sets a directly false issue before the mind as the problem of human destiny." This conclusion is certainly erroneous, if it rests on no stronger evidence than is here presented. The "perfection of self" at which we aim has nothing to do with "self-righteousness"—with that pride of egotism which alienates a man from his fellows or isolates him in the moral universe. "You obviously conceive," says Mr. James, "that our veritable life or being is constituted by selfhood or personality." We hold to no conception that would cut the roots of our physical or spiritual dependence upon the Universal All (be it named God, or Nature, or what one will); we cherish no dream of absolute self-subsistence, nor did we ever hear of any one that did; we seek no perfection that does not consist in the attainment of larger power and purer purpose to bless the race to which we belong. "The more," says Mr. James, "we disown all private ends of action, and cultivate only public ends, . . . and acknowledge society as the beginning, the middle, and the end of our aspiration, THE MORE WE COME INTO OUR TRUE LIFE OR BEING." Amen, and a thousand times amen! That is the pith of all pure religion as we conceive it, the very essence of that self-perfection at which it aims; and Mr. James will strive in vain to establish a difference between his thought and ours, so long as he thus lucidly and emphatically proclaims, in evident unconsciousness of the fact, the very gospel which THE INDEX has been preaching from its initial number.

Nevertheless, the war of extermination which he has declared against the very idea of selfhood, when it is so transparently evident that he actually describes by that word nothing more vital than the *spirit of selfishness*, or the *misuse of self*, leads him to make some exaggerated declarations which, unless modified, we consider decidedly irreligious, in our own sense of that word. We are told to "give over cultivating or improving ourselves, and devote all our energies to the promotion of human society, fellowship, equality." Why, the very first condition of promoting these things is to "cultivate and improve ourselves." What is true education for, but to make the most of ourselves for the sake of others? There is, it is true, a species of culture which looks to self-aggrandizement, self-glorification, or self-gratification, as its own ultimate aim; but it is the religion only of souls so small as to rattle noisily in a nut-

shell. The generous thirst for personal power, opportunity, knowledge, influence, culture, for the sake of the social good which these things alone can accomplish, is the most religious of all impulses; and he who totally lacks it is no more religious than a cabbage. If Mr. James really objects to this sort of self-perfection—if he would institute a general decay of all enthusiasm for culture of all sorts, regardless of the motives which may either divinize or diabolize it,—then verily we do differ from him irreconcilably. Want of moral culture, both social and individual, is what America is half perishing from to-day—the culture which shall convince the people that cheating, and lying, and robbing, and all unscrupulous money-getting are sins against self and against society which reduce human life to the level of a free fight among the vermin that infest a mouldy cheese. Will not Mr. James concede at once the impossibility of any "perfect Divine Society" whose perfection shall not consist in the perfection of its individual members? The country needs in every citizen a prouder personal integrity, a more virile manliness, a more incorruptible faith, and honor, and conscience, as the first condition of civic virtue or happiness; and if such "selfhood" as this is to be despised or disowned in the name of religion, then the quicker religion is banished from the planet the better for mankind. It would entail absolute social putrefaction to abolish such selfhood as this; and we positively refuse to believe, in the light of his great emphasis on a "perfect Divine society" in which "public justice" is confessedly to be reconciled with "private freedom," that Mr. James has the first motions of a wish to abolish it. On the contrary, his metaphor of the chick luminously teaches that it is the essence of religion to struggle out of the selfishness of a crude individualism into the unselfishness, or "higher life," of an existence dedicated to the universal or social interests of mankind. This is to preach the gospel of human evolution or "self-perfection" in its only natural and simple sense; and, whether Mr. James is prepared to admit it or not, our readers will easily perceive that this is what he stirringly preaches, not opposes, in his present letter.

In short, it is not *society against selfhood*, but *society through selfhood*, that the world needs; and, if Mr. James seems to say otherwise, it is only because his terminology is peculiar to himself. To maintain that society could for an instant exist without the self-units or individual members that must compose it, would be to lay down the mathematical proposition that $0+0+0\dots+0=1$. On the contrary, the existence and perfection of society must depend absolutely on the existence and perfection of the individual members or "selves" of which it is composed; and the gospel of human self-perfection, rejected by Mr. James through a mere misunderstanding of it, is literally the soul, inspiration, beauty, truth, of his own philosophy.

Only in one way can this conclusion be avoided: namely, to hold that he intends to reduce "society" to the same phenomenal or illusory unreality to which he reduces "selfhood," and to leave nothing really existent but a Divine creative activity amusing itself, in the vacuities of infinite space and time, with the phantasmagoria of a magic lantern. The unanswerable argument of our criticism is that society and selfhood must be equally real or equally unreal. If the former, Mr. James teaches the very philosophy of religion he seems to attack; if the latter, he abolishes all human selfhood and society at a blow, in order to establish the existence of a Divine Selfhood of limitless proportions, mocking the victims of his power with a false imagination that their human life possesses some degree of reality, while in truth nothing exists but an Infinite Egotist playing a game of *solitaire* in the eternities. Such a philosophy would be the merest burlesque of religion, or worse; and it is impossible that Mr. James should entertain it. The only alternative, however, is to conclude that human society and human selfhood are equal realities, mutually dependent on each other, and each attaining its own perfection through the slowly advancing perfection of the other; and this, we are now convinced, expresses in our phraseology exactly what Mr. James really intends to express by his own. If the principle of selfhood is hateful, unlovely, and unreal in man, it can be no less so in God; nor can its intrinsic deformity be at all lessened by blowing it up to illimitable proportions. On the contrary, if there is any truth or beauty in the idea of an Infinite Divine Self, its truth and beauty are not destroyed when reflected in the human soul, like the image of the sun in a dew-drop.

THOMAS PAINE AND WILLIAM BLAKE.

This little addendum to Mr. Chadwick's late lecture on Paine will interest many:—

DEAR ARBOT:—

A friend calls my attention to a very interesting passage in Gilchrist's *Life of William Blake, Pictor Ignotus*, bearing upon his relations with Thomas Paine, and showing that it was to his thoughtfulness and energy that Paine owed his escape from "The Friends of Order" in 1792, when he got off to Calais only twenty minutes before the arrival of government officials to arrest him. The whole passage—pp. 93, 94, 95—is full of interest. Certainly Thomas Paine, as little of a transcendentalist as ever lived, and William Blake as much of one, were strange yoke-fellows, and that they could appreciate each other was a remarkable circumstance.

JOHN W. CHADWICK.

THE NORTHAMPTON LIBERAL LEAGUE.

Our League is at length fairly under way, and with encouraging prospects. A word with reference to its brief history and mode of operation may be of some interest.

Think of this Liberal League movement as we may, estimate as we may the ends at which it aims, it must be confessed that its origin is due to the editor of this paper. It is his idea. It sprung from his brain as Minerva from the head of Jupiter. Such was the case in regard to ours. Not unto us, not unto us, oh friend A., but unto thee be all the praise. It is the voice of the faithful and far-discerning watchman upon the walls of the modern Zion of rationalism and intellectual liberty, summoning those within its walls to vigilance and self-protection. It was our agreeable fortune, some three months since, to be favored with a visit (to borrow still further Scriptural and Christian phraseology) from the evangelist referred to of the new gospel of enlightenment and freedom, who touched us with a live coal from the altar of his enthusiasm. What a pity there are not more of such evangelists—that they cannot be substituted for the other class (Moody and Sankey, for example) who bear the name! In other words, he addressed us upon the subject of the Liberal League movement,—made clear to us its necessity and principles, and our duty as professed liberals. Our League was the result of this visit; without it there is good reason to doubt whether it would ever have had an existence.

There must always be considerable time consumed in tedious preliminaries in the formation of a contemplated organization. Preambles, constitution and by-laws, conditions of membership, committees, election of officers, are a seemingly profitless weariness of the flesh and spirit, the desert passage to the Promised Land. It was known that there were many in our community who were inclined to the taxation of church-property, and some to the removal of the Bible from the schools, among those regarded of the Orthodox fold; and at our first meeting a few of these were present. We took up the "Demands of Liberalism" for consideration, as a basis of organization. Our Orthodox friends were rather reticent. There was considerable hitching and halting over the different "Demands," but we glided over them, almost imperceptibly, until we got to number eight. It reads: "We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of 'Christian' morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty." The Rev. Mr. —, the Unitarian clergyman present, objected to the word "Christian" in the above connection. It stuck in his throat like Macbeth's "Amen." He would prefer "sectarian morality," which was conceded. It is a curious circumstance that the only objections to the "Demands" came from our Unitarian friends. Of the three constituents of which our gathering was chiefly composed, it might be said that the representatives of Orthodoxy manifested a modest and pensive silence; that the Unitarians were disposed to what they deemed discreet qualification and trimming; while the Radicals preferred the "Demands" should remain unaltered.

It was somewhat difficult to secure the officers most desirable. Those who had assured us of their sympathy, when solicited, responded like some of old time on a certain occasion: "I pray thee have me excused." What tests such appeals often are of one's independence, courage, and sincerity!

There was again a brief suspense of progress, in consequence of some demurring and controversy in regard to a name. It was thought by some who were timorous, and anxious to secure Orthodox coop-

eration and sympathy, that our adopted one, "Liberal," would be prejudicial. Accordingly, on a dark and inclement evening, when the attendance was less than usual, the word "Equitable" succeeded in displacing "Liberal." But as such action would, nominally at least, have cut us off from fellowship with leagues already established, it did not win the ready acquiescence of our more radical members. Moreover, as it was discovered to be irregular, the scales were turned again, and our former name was resumed. The flag which now floats at our mast-head is the "Liberal League," and henceforth we trust it may continue there. *Ecce signum!* By this we hope to conquer.

We have already had three public discussions, with growing interest. As we have taken considerable pains to have these meetings adequately announced, and as our local papers have given us extended reports of them, the attendance increases. The question before us has been the taxation of church-property, with a very pronounced radical on one side, and an Orthodox deacon on the other, to lead each evening in the debate. The Episcopal clergyman of the town has also been a participant. It is quite probable that the question named will run for one or two evenings more, when the Bible in the schools will be considered. These discussions will be followed by petitions in harmony with the "Demands of Liberalism," to which signatures will be solicited.

And this is in the town in which the powerful and relentless logic of the preaching of Jonathan Edwards once agonized the hearts, and swayed, bewildered, and prostrated the intellect of men, with its doctrines of the insignificance and contemptibleness of human nature, the awful majesty of Jehovah, and the terrors of the wrath to come. It is indeed true that time changes all things. D. H. C.

LONDON LETTER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—In the current number of the *Fortnightly Review* there is an essay by Mr. Lionel Tollemache on "Courage and Death," sparkling all over with anecdote and illustration, and on the whole clear and well-reasoned. It was the boast of a Christian apostle that Jesus had "delivered those who, through fear of death, were all their lifetime subject to bondage." Mr. Tollemache convincingly argues that the fear of death has been enormously increased by the dogmas of Christianity, and that Christendom shows to considerable disadvantage in this respect by the side of ancient and modern Paganism. With singular candor, however, he calls attention at the close of the essay to the moral value of the fear thus engendered by Christian creeds, and points to the higher virtue of Christian peoples in proof of its past wholesome effect. He also warns us against a too sudden and crude uprooting of this fear lest the morality founded upon it should be ruined in its fall. I do not intend to give your readers a *résumé* of this most interesting article, which they should peruse at length for themselves. But it occurred to me that I might say something on my own account to help to remove the wide-spread delusion regarding the causes of the fear of, and indifference to, death.

Fear of death is *mainly* due to speciality of constitution, and is as much a natural emotion in some persons as indifference to death is in others. No doubt, it is inherited, and runs, like longevity or its opposite, in families. It is therefore a feature more marked in some tribes than in others, and may be traced back to the circumstances and surroundings of life. Wherever life has been extremely painful or its tenure precarious, indifference to death has always been prevalent. On the other hand, wherever life has been comparatively easy and enjoyable, free from constant dangers, and tolerably well-secured, there we invariably find the prevalence of the fear of death. Ease of life, gradually merging into luxury, is favorable to the exultation of nervous sensibility; a state in which the capacity for enjoyment is heightened, and by an inevitable consequence the sensibility to pain, and the dread of dissolution. The greater the enjoyment of life the closer we cling to it, and the more painful is the wrench of the last hour.

Those who have had at all a wide experience among the dying—of various beliefs or non-beliefs—will bear testimony to the fact that much more depends on individual constitution and circumstances than on any particular creed held by the dying person.

More remarkable still is the fact that in nine cases out of ten where there is a strong fear of death the

patient recovers; while among the sick who do not fear death at all, or rather long to die, the sickness is as frequently fatal. I could give you pages of illustration if required. One case I must mention of a woman apparently dying of a bad typhoid fever. She was pronounced by the doctors as in a most dangerous condition, and one of them quite despaired of her recovery. But her fever was aggravated by her fearful horror of hell-fire. She had been brought up a rigid Calvinist, and believed herself to be predestined to be damned. Nothing at the time could shake her awful belief in her own doom; she thought nothing of her pains, but only screamed perpetually about her poor lost soul. I did and said what I could, you may be sure. But all in vain. She was dying and falling into the flames of hell. Fortunately for her, no persuasion would reduce her to a state of calm; and she absolutely recovered, as I still think, owing to the effort of Nature to escape the horrible doom before her. It is more than possible that, if I had then succeeded in reconciling her to her departure, she would have died right away. After her recovery she renounced her old belief with ratiude, and many times thanked God that she had lived to trust in his mercy. Still, the fear of death, in its worst aspects, is not that last terror which comes from being brought face to face with it, but is the constantly gnawing apprehension by which some are all their lifetime afflicted. It is for such cases imperative to be supported and fortified through the mind by consoling and hopeful views of the life to come. Our mad-houses are full of such persons as I describe, upon whose souls has fallen the blight of a fear of hell-fire. And it cannot be questioned that those who are naturally oppressed with a dread of death may be made better or worse by the beliefs which they may be induced to embrace.

There are three broad alternatives:—

1. The Orthodox heaven or hell (with fearful odds on the latter).
2. There is annihilation.
3. The Universalist doctrine of final good and happiness for all.

The first of these is proved to be unspeakably mischievous to the timid.

The second is unspeakably depressing to persons of warm affections and of an aspiring nature.

The third, if only true, is unspeakably encouraging and strengthening to the timid, to the affectionate, and to the aspiring; and even to those who are passionately fond of life, it promises in death itself an entrance into a nobler and happier existence.

As a moral agent, it may fail to influence base natures; but as a compensation it will unspeakably aid in the improvement of all those who had any good nature to work upon. It affords new and higher motive for self-culture. Instead of looking for crowns and harps of gold and new Jerusalems, etc., etc., the believer in progress will only look for self-improvement in all noble qualities, for increased powers, for benevolent action, and grander sympathies. The fruition of quite noble desires and aspirations is the only reward held out—the only reward which will satisfy.

The fear of hell is dropping out of our list of horrors, despite Moody and Sankey-dom; let us hope that those who are free from it will so live that its once fierce advocates will not regret that it is gone forever.

I am, sir, very truly yours,

CHARLES VOYSEY.

CAMDEN HOUSE, Dulwich, S. E., Jan. 15, 1876.

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY R. C.

Reference was made in a recent number of THE INDEX (Jan. 20) to charges of "irregularity" in connection with the management of the Boston and Albany Railroad, brought especially against the President, Mr. C. W. Chapin, and also against a former State Director, Mr. Moses Kimball, by one of the present State Directors, Mr. F. B. Hayes. Since then, the Legislature has ordered an investigation. In the meantime, however, the Boston and Albany Railroad has held its annual meeting, and, by request of the President, the Vice-President, Mr. D. W. Lincoln, gave to the stockholders a full explanation of the matters referred to by Mr. Hayes. From this explanation, which is very ingenious, it is apparent that the statements of Mr. Hayes are essentially correct. Mr. Chapin purchased at a low price a majority of the shares of an incomplete and non-paying road (the Ware River Railroad), and afterwards leased this road to the Boston and Albany Railroad, at a large rental, for 999 years, making a profit of several hundred thousand dollars by the transaction. The statement of Mr. Lincoln that the business was carried on with a Committee of the Ware River Railroad, and not with Mr. Chapin, is probably true, but

is nevertheless an evasion of the point at issue, for Mr. Chapin owned a majority of the stock, and was (as also was his son-in-law) a member of the Board of Directors, and no Committee, of course, could lease the road without his full knowledge and approval. Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Kimball, and other officers of the Boston and Albany Railroad were also benefited pecuniarily by the same transaction, being holders of Ware River stock. The specific charge brought against Mr. Kimball—that, while acting as a State Director, he profited by a contract with the Boston and Albany Railroad—was also admitted and ingeniously defended. Now, undoubtedly, these transactions may have been strictly legal, and, in the estimation of many persons, strictly moral as well; but so long as this kind of conduct is approved by men of wealth and of prominence, no one need be surprised if other men who desire the prominence which comes with wealth are detected in defalcation, or in raising money on forged notes.

A Brooklyn clergyman, by the name of Bell, is on trial for indecent conduct toward "a lady member" of his congregation. The clergyman whose conduct is thus called in question was formerly a pugilist, and the record of his life is to be found of course chiefly in the back numbers of sporting periodicals. The apotheosis of reformed men by many good-natured and pious persons arises doubtless from an unreflecting sentimentalism, which, however pleasing or innocent in certain aspects, is very liable to become disgusting and dangerous in some of its manifestations. To reform a pugilist, or a drunkard, or a gambler, or a brothel-keeper, is, of course, a very commendable act; but to set him up afterwards as a public teacher or preacher is a very unwise and detestable act, no matter how thorough may be his reformation. The man who has paraded within the ropes of a prize ring, or who has kept a dance-house, or a rat-plot, may undoubtedly be reformed and become a decent member of society, and few would refuse to lend him a helping hand in the effort to gain a livelihood by some more respectable occupation; but whoever encourages one of these reformed men to become a clergyman, or a public teacher of any kind, should, in pugilistic parlance, be "countered on the noddle" until he gets a little common sense. It may be all very well to kill the fatted calf when the prodigal comes home; but we have yet to learn that the prodigal has any right to lecture the elder brother on the propriety of the latter's conduct, or to become the moral guide of his younger sisters.

Mr. Bowen, having failed to induce the Examining Committee of Plymouth Church to agree to refer his charges against Mr. Beecher to the decision of three impartial persons, has been granted ten days in which to prepare his proofs for the inspection of the Committee. At the last Friday evening prayer-meeting Mr. Beecher, "with immense vehemence and in thundering tones," denounced Mr. Bowen as "a slanderer and a liar." Mr. Tilton, as we already know, has long been "a slanderer and a liar"; Mr. Moulton is "a slanderer and a liar"; Mrs. Moulton is "a slanderer and a liar"; a great many other people are slanderers and liars; and now Mr. Bowen's name goes upon the same list forevermore. The church connected with the Andover Theological Seminary is said to have invited Plymouth Church to call a mutual council in order to investigate the truth of the charges brought against Mr. Beecher, but we fear that the Andover Theological Seminary is only a pernicious nest of slanderers and liars to whom Plymouth Church should pay no attention. In fact, we do not see how it is possible for any person to express a desire to know anything about the private character of Henry Ward Beecher without becoming immediately "a slanderer and a liar."

The names of six hundred literary and scientific gentlemen are said to be appended to a petition asking Congress to admit free of duty all books printed in other than the English, Latin, and Greek languages. This petition may be very good as far as it goes, and should it be granted by Congress, students of French, German, Italian and other languages would have reason to feel thankful. But why should not books in the English language also be admitted free of duty? English publications sell in our book-stores at very high prices, and thousands of would-be readers of important English works are now obliged to await the appearance of an American reprint before they can gratify their desire. We are aware of the complications by which this subject is beset in the absence of an International Copyright Law; and we welcome this petition (the precise terms of which we have not seen, and the purport of which we may therefore mistake) as likely to call attention to a subject which is at present in sad need of righteous legislation. The day will yet come, it is to be hoped, when the people of this country will regret the injustice which our laws have so long inflicted upon English publishers and authors, as well as upon those of our own country.

In the House, early last week, Mr. Henry L. Pierce introduced a resolution, which was agreed to, directing the Committee on Foreign Affairs "to ascertain what action has been taken by the Executive Department of the government in relation to the connection of the United States Minister at the Court of St. James with the directory of the so-called Emma Mine." The Committee on Foreign Affairs subsequently appointed a sub-committee to conduct the inquiry. The House also passed a bill repealing the Bankrupt Act, and both Houses approved a bill providing for the immediate payment of Alabama claims. The most important debates in the House were upon the Consular and Diplomatic Appropriation Bill, which finally passed almost unanimously,

and in nearly the form in which it was reported by the Committee. The Bill abolishes a number of foreign missions and consulates, and provides (unwisely, we think) for a universal reduction of ministerial and consular salaries. The Senate listened to eulogies upon the late Mr. Ferry, of Connecticut; passed a bill extending the time for the construction and completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad; and passed also, by a vote of 41 to 15, the Centennial Appropriation Bill, so that the Centennial Commissioners may now draw upon the United States Treasury for \$1,500,000. Among Congressional proceedings may be mentioned also Mr. Morrison's discharge of Dr. Hambleton, clerk of the Committee on Ways and Means, on suspicion of having named a son (since deceased) after John Wilkes Booth, the assassin of President Lincoln.

The English Parliament was opened by the Queen in person, the matters of most general interest in the Queen's speech, and in the subsequent discussions in Parliament, being the present relation of England to Turkey and the purchase by England of the Khedive's share of the Suez Canal. Roumania has refused to pay tribute to the Porte, on the ground that tribute is due only for protection from foreign invasion, which protection the Porte is unable to give. This action of Roumania touches the Sultan on a very tender spot—his love for money,—and if he should attempt to enforce the payment of tribute, Herzegovina would have the active support of an ally of some strength. The Porte has formally agreed to all the most important requirements of Count Andrassy's letter, but it is doubtful if the insurgents are now to be pacified by any promises of reform. In Spain, the Carlists appear to have suffered a defeat, and the result of the elections (which are said to have been conducted with an amount of intimidation, bribery, and false counting which would do credit to Louisiana or to certain Wards in New York City) gives the Ministry a majority altogether too large for healthy legislation. Dr. Levysen, a Prussian journalist, has been expelled from Austria, where he was acting as correspondent of several German newspapers, for the crime of writing articles which were supposed to hint at the instability of the Empire. It seems impossible as yet, outside of English-speaking peoples, for any nation to get along without a rigid censorship of the Press—even the new Republic of France furnishing no exception to this rule.

Communications.

A NOTABLE NEW BOOK.

PILGRIM-MEMORIES: or, Travel and Discussion in the Birth-Countries of Christianity with the late Henry Thomas Buckle. By John S. Stuart-Glennie, M. A., Barrister-at-Law. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1875.

This volume of *Pilgrim-Memories* is the first of a series, entitled "The Modern Revolution, or our Present Historical Period in the Destructive and Reconstructive Results and Tendencies determined by an Ultimate Law of History," and is intended as the Preface or "Prooimium" of the general work. Aside from the chief aim of this book, which, in the words of the author, is "to lead the reader up to this law through the consideration of those facts which led to its discovery," it is attractive as an account of travels in Egypt, Idumæa, and Palestine, containing lively descriptions of the mountains Sinai and Lebanon, with their surrounding scenery and places of interest, and also of other portions of the country through which he passed.

But of graver interest than that of these fine descriptions are the original and profound reflections and inferences arising from the scenes visited, and the record of philosophical discussions with the lamented Mr. Buckle, bearing chiefly upon the assumed "ultimate law of history." To the friends and admirers of Mr. Buckle, the sketches given of his history, his personal characteristics, the travelling incidents of the last months of his life, and the sad particulars of his death, in the very prime of his manhood, must all be of deep interest.

The "ultimate law of history" which Mr. Stuart-Glennie professes to have discovered, and the verification of which he proposes to attempt in the succeeding volumes of "The Modern Revolution," he defines as "a certain change, and process of change in men's notions of the causes of change." That is, a change from the idea of a force outside of Nature, effecting all changes, to the idea of a force within Nature, which he calls "mutual determination," in opposition to "one-sided determination," and which implies coexistence, co-nescence. He says he derived the idea of this law from the study of the principle of the conservation of energy, which he traces back to atoms, as "mutually determining," and hence arrives at the idea of the solidarity of atoms, and upward to that of the solidarity of man, together with that of planets, of systems, of universes, of man with all Nature and all Nature with man—in which sense, he says, there was a certain truth in the old astrology,—and hence harmony and a commonwealth of all, with no outside force interfering. "Atheist, then?" he asks, and replies: "Atheist one disbelieving in a Personal God is not, if belief in God means a feeling unutterable of the mystery of existence, a feeling too deep of the spirituality of Nature, and of the universal coexistence of what we distinguish by the correlative terms of matter and mind, a feeling too profound of the cosmos to satisfy itself with the belief of a merely mechanical First Cause." "Spiritism?" he resolves into the molecular action in the individual, transmitted to the

molecular action in other individuals on the principle of reciprocal action and the solidarity of the whole.

The author takes his stand entirely outside of Christianity, or "Christianism," as he prefers to name it, classifying it with Buddhism and Islamism as one of the great historic religions, by which he means the historical theory of Jesus as a supernatural being, the idea of whom, he claims, grew out of the myths and legends of Egyptian mythology, Jesus being copied from Osiris.

"The life of Jesus," he says, "as that of a God-Man who came on earth for the good of mankind, was put to death by the power of the Evil One, and rose again to be an everlasting king and judge, is an exact reproduction of the immemorial myth of Osiris. . . . Substitute but Christ for Osiris, and the general description of doctrinal Osirianism will serve equally well as a general description of dogmatic Christianity. . . . And this myth, not only in its grandly moral Osirian form, but in many other shapes, was universally prevalent throughout the birth-continents of Christianity at the time of the formation of the narratives of the life of Jesus."

Mr. Stuart-Glennie differs from Mr. Buckle as to the non-influence of moral forces on historical changes. But, in the last analysis, are not physical forces the antecedents of moral forces, and, in that sense, may not Mr. Buckle be right? As to an ethical standard, Mr. Buckle defines the *summum bonum*, or the greatest good, as "the highest intellectual and sensual gratification consistent with the rights of others." Mr. Stuart-Glennie considers "love" as the highest good, meaning, he says, "not merely subjective affection, but objective harmony; not the affection of which the object desired, and at length possessed, is the earthly beauty, but that of which the object of desire and possession is the heavenly beauty; that straining after, and consciousness of harmony of relation with, something out of and above oneself, and insatiable save by such objects as God and humanity. Such divine want and its divine satisfaction, I desire to be understood by the word love." He affirms that action of the intellect must precede action of the affections or emotions.

Science, he believes, must undermine all supernatural religions. He emphasizes the importance of a new ideal which "may be defined as completeness of truth in thought, and of love in conduct; the intellectual oneness of man with Nature, and consequent moral oneness of men with each other; the oneness of man with Nature in truth of thought, and of men with each other in the motives and results of conduct." "This new ideal," he continues, "will be in effect a new religion, the religion of a new age of civilization. . . . Its theory of the universe will be an expression of the conception of law in its fullest and most complete development. The sanction given by it to morality will be the progress of humanity, brought home at once to intellectual apprehension and sympathetic emotion by an ultimate law of history. And its principle of authority will be the verified laws of Nature, and of man's progressive consciousness of Nature." In this new ideal, this new religion, he thinks the forms even of our conceptions of immortality and of God may have an objective verification.

This new religion the author sees to be in antagonism to all present forms of religion, based as they all are upon supernaturalism. But between science and religion there is no antagonism. The struggles between the supernatural religions and the new religion he sees to have begun, to be at present in progress, to be surely destined to go on, and a peaceful termination of it he believes to be impossible. "The flag of the revolution," he says, "associated as it may in our minds be with anarchy and blood, is to others the flag of justice dipped and dyed in the blood of the victims of the ages of injustice. It is the flag which—recalling to them the bloody power of its priests and kings which has distinguished the social order of Christianity,—is the flag of avenging memory. . . . And both for those who have, with uncrushed souls, suffered injustice, and seen it to be, not an accident, but a necessity of the Christian social system; and for those who, if they have not suffered, can sympathize with suffering and burn against injustice from which they themselves have been exempt—it is the flag of brotherhood with the outcast."

An American edition of the *Pilgrim-Memories* has recently been published by the Appletons, and the second volume of the course is published in London, under the title, "In the Morningland." These works are recommended to all who would have more enlightened views of the origin and authority of Christianity, as well as to those who are interested in a philosophy of history.

A. H.

A PROPOSED TRIBUTE TO THOMAS PAINE.

OFFICE OF "THE LIBERAL,"
SAN FRANCISCO, JAN. 31, 1876.

EDITOR INDEX:

The Liberal League of San Francisco has instructed me to give notice to the several leagues and freethought societies of the country, by letter and through the liberal press, that this League has unanimously passed the following resolution:—

"Resolved, That, since the pen of Thomas Paine was a most potent force in securing our national independence, it is the privilege and duty of his friends and admirers in this Centennial year to procure a worthy bronze or marble statue or bust of him, to be placed in Independence Hall or on the grounds belonging thereto; and that the Secretary of this League be requested to notify the officers of the several leagues and liberal societies throughout the country of its action, and respectfully request them to coöperate at once in this undertaking by soliciting or otherwise raising what funds they can,

for the purpose above designated, and sending such funds to the officers of the Philadelphia Liberal League, who are requested to act in the capacity of agents for the various organizations and the friends in the country, and at as early a day as possible appropriate such accumulated funds to the purchase and erection, or placing in position, of such bronze or marble statue or bust as such accumulated funds will purchase, in the most convenient and appropriate location possible, and generally supervise the undertaking on behalf of the Liberals of the country, during the celebration of the country's Centennial year."

Mr. Editor, the time is short, and it is earnestly desired that publicity of this undertaking be made through the liberal press of the country as rapidly as possible, that the friends of the author-hero may have the opportunity of properly recognizing the great services of Paine in laying the foundation of the glorious structure of religious freedom in America.

Please call immediate attention to this matter.

This society has already collected a handsome sum, which will be at once forwarded to the care of the Liberal League of Philadelphia.

Fraternally yours,

A. J. BOYER,
Sec'y Liberal League of San Francisco, Cal.
LIBERAL PAPERS PLEASE COPY.

[Contributions should be sent to the "Liberal League, 605 Walnut Street, Philadelphia." Attention is called elsewhere to the above proposition.—ED.]

"SCRUPLES."

NEW YORK, Feb. 1, 1876.

EDITOR INDEX:

Dear Sir,—Your esteemed contributor O. B. F. writes, under the above title, of the alarm of a class of liberals who, fearing the effect of the discussion of the secularization of government and the exclusion of the Bible from the public schools, would cease agitating this reform; and O. B. F. reports these doubters as suggesting the wisdom of letting these matters rest for the present, at least, until Christians and anti-Christians shall have become sufficiently reconciled to settle these matters quietly and peacefully. Meantime, two States have lately prohibited the election to office of all who disbelieve in "a Supreme Being," i. e., a personal God; the Christian Amendment party is quietly and steadily at work; and the want of an opportunity alone prevents "God's people" from enforcing the most illiberal laws.

If it is right and manly for liberals to live up to their convictions, is it not the reverse to be doubters, now that the inevitable issue is fairly before the country? Either we are right in demanding the complete secularization of the government, or we are wrong. I cannot but think that O. B. F. believes we are right; if so, his is the duty to quiet the doubters' fears, and inspire the faint-hearted with new courage, to the end that earnest liberals may not halt, now that the battle has but just begun.

Yours truly,

[Since this communication was written, Mr. Frothingham has most admirably answered the doubters' "Scruples" in his last week's article on "Reassurance." The two articles should be taken together as complementary to each other; and, so taken, they must have the precise effect which our correspondent so earnestly and justly desires.—ED.]

IS THERE NOT DANGER?

NEW YORK, JAN. 31, 1876.

EDITOR INDEX:

Dear Sir,—From a late communication, signed L. G. J., I quote as follows:—

"That many Catholics refuse to accept the dictation of the Pope on this question is undeniable. Admitting that this proves them inconsistent, are they any more so than thousands of Protestants who adhere to their churches, while they have long since ceased to believe in their dogmas and creeds?"

Passing over the question of the consistency of Catholics or Protestants who conform to religious authority which seemingly, if not really, they but half believe, may I ask your correspondent one question? Does he not believe that, if the Church ever acquires power, the Pope, as head of the Church, would crush each and every liberal, each and every INDEX, each and every free school, till none but loyal Catholics were left?

Yours truly,

"H."

WONG CHIN-FOO, the Chinese lecturer, went to a Roman Catholic church in Nashua, N. H., a few Sundays ago, and being attired in his rich native costume, one of the doorkeepers politely showed him into a front pew near the altar. Seeing the "distinguished foreigner" among the congregation, the officiating priest preached an elaborate sermon, in which, beginning at the creation of the world, he sketched its history up to the present time, and unfolded the entire plan of salvation as held by the Romish Church, the whole discourse, which was a very able one, being aimed apparently at the Chinese lecturer, with a view to his conversion to Christianity. Soon afterward Wong was able to give the reverend gentlemen a *quid pro quo*; for having to lecture in Nashua the same evening to a very crowded audience, he enlarged at some length about the religion of Confucius, held him up to the admiration of his auditors, and concluded a highly interesting lecture by an appeal to his hearers to abandon Christianity and come to Confucius.—*Tribune*.

Sanctuary of Superstition.

THE ONLY GUIDE.—The Bible is our only guide, source of knowledge, and standard of authority in matters of religion. Whatever is taught in the Scriptures is to be believed; whatever is there enjoined is to be obeyed. And what is there neither enjoined nor taught is not to be imposed on the faith or conscience of any man as of religious obligation.—*Watchman and Reflector*.

THE DEVIL NOT DEAD.—The "possession" of a medium, willing or unwilling, by a demon, is undoubtedly by an influence similar to mesmerism. When one is mesmerized, they have no longer control over their own mental or physical powers; but these are dominated by the will of the mesmerizer, who is to all intents and purposes the possessor of his subject. Demons may possess this power in a still greater degree than we ever see it manifested in man. And as the possessed person would be controlled by the demon, which would be itself hidden from sight, it would be the most natural thing in the world to speak of the controlling agency as within the man; for it seems to operate from within. We understand, therefore, that in referring to demonology, the popular language in discoursing upon its phenomena was adopted by the Saviour.

Some are of the opinion that possession by demons was only a manifestation of disease, in some form. We confess we have never been able to persuade ourselves that these narratives of "possession" did not indicate the existence of an order of spiritual beings, of superhuman power and intelligence; substantial beings, too; but, no doubt, of more refined material than man.—*Advent Christian*.

A BIT OF THE CREED.—Extracts from the "Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. Second edition: published by authority of the General Assembly. 1846."

Page 21. "By the decree of God, for the manifestation of his glory, some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others foreordained to everlasting death. These angels and men thus predestinated and foreordained are particularly and unchangeably designed, and their number is so certain and definite that it cannot be either increased or diminished."

Page 57. "Elect infants, dying in infancy, are regenerated and saved by Christ through the spirit, who worketh when and where and how he pleaseth. So also are all other elect persons, who are incapable of being outwardly called by the ministry of the Word."

"Others, not elected, although they may be called by the ministry of the Word, and may have some common operations of the Spirit, yet they never truly come to Christ, and therefore cannot be saved. Much less can men not professing the Christian religion be saved in any other way whatsoever, be they never so diligent to frame their lives according to the light of nature and the law of that religion they do profess; and to assert and maintain that they may be saved is very pernicious and to be detested."

A PRIEST'S CURSE.—Some benevolent Christians, among whom Mr. H. Keane was prominent, opened a school some twenty years ago in Kiltrellig, a benighted part of County Clare. Many of the Roman Catholics gladly availed themselves of this boon. This greatly irritated Rev. Michael Meehan P.P., of Carrigaholt, who, on a Sunday, in the chapel of Cross, County Clare, Ireland, quenched the candles, rang the bell, and pronounced the following curse:—

"I pray God to pour down all vengeance on those who sent their children to Kiltrellig school last week, particularly two. May the devil be their guide on the right hand and on the left, lying and rising, in bed and out of bed, sitting and standing, within and without. May all misfortunes attend their families and labors; and any person or persons sending their children to this school henceforth, may they be struck blind and deaf, so as never to see any of their children again, and may the children sent to the school go wild (mad). May they never leave the world until they become such examples as that the marrow may come through their shin-bones. May they be pained both standing and sitting, and may they never leave this world until they be in such a state that the dogs could not bear coming near their carcass when dead."

"I pray to God that every child that goes to this school may have his life curtailed a twelvemonth for every day he spends in it, and that they may never enjoy the year of maturity; and as for those people who send their children to school, may their crops and their goods be taken by the devil; and may all these misfortunes attend any person taking their posterity in marriage thirty years hence."

"As the minister of God, I pray the Almighty to hear this prayer. I now strictly command this congregation to kneel down and pray God to grant my prayer."

The school was deserted for a month, and then about twenty Roman Catholic children returned. When this curse was published in the *Clare Journal*, and copied by other papers, the priest denied that he had cursed them for past conduct, declaring he intended it to apply only to those who should send their children in future; but several respectable and independent members of Father Meehan's congregation, who were present when he pronounced the curse, verified the report as given in the papers against the Reverend Father.

The only crime of the children attending the Kiltrellig school, Kiltush, Clare, Ireland, was that they read God's word.—*Advent Christian*.

Advertisements.

THE PATRONAGE

of the liberal advertising public is respectfully solicited for THE INDEX. The attempt will be honestly made to keep the advertising pages of THE INDEX in entire harmony with its general character and principles, and thus to furnish to the public an advertising medium which shall be not only profitable to its patrons, but also worthy of their most generous support. To this end, all improper or "blind" advertisements, all quack advertisements, and all advertisements believed to be fraudulent or unjust to any one, will be excluded from these columns. No cuts will be admitted.

THE INDEX must not be held responsible for any statement made by advertisers, who will in all cases accept the responsibility for their own statements.

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TO ADVERTISERS.

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Yours truly,
HENRY S. STEBINS.

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It is the object of THE INDEX to give public utterance to the boldest, most cultivated, and best matured thought of the age on all religious questions, and to apply it directly to the social and political amelioration of society.

It is edited by FRANCIS E. ABBOT, with the following list of Editorial Contributors:—

O. B. FROTHINGHAM, New York City.

WILLIAM J. POTTER, New Bedford, Mass.

WILLIAM H. SPENCER, Sparta, Wis.

MRS. E. D. CHENEY, Jamaica Plain, Mass.

REV. CHARLES VOYSEY, London, England.

GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE, London, Eng.

DAVID H. CLARK, Florence, Mass.

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VOLUME 7.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1876.

WHOLE No. 322.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fairs shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, undilutely, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

Therefore, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

- ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF —.
- ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in —, and thereby to effect the total separation of Church and State in fact as well as in theory.
- Also to send delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League, when organized, and to cooperate heartily with all the liberals of the country in furtherance of the above-named object.
- ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.
- ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.
- ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.
- ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League.
- ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

"If we are to have another contest in the near future of our national existence, I predict that the dividing line will not be Mason and Dixon's, but between patriotism and intelligence on the one side, and superstition, ambition, and ignorance on the other. Now, the centennial year of our national existence, I believe, is a good time to begin the work of strengthening the foundations of the structure commenced by our patriotic forefathers one hundred years ago at Lexington. Let us all labor to add all needful guarantees for the security of free thought, free speech, a free press, pure morals, unfettered religious sentiments, and of equal rights and privileges to all men, irrespective of nationality, color, or religion. Encourage free schools, and resolve that not one dollar appropriated for their support shall be appropriated to the support of any sectarian schools. Resolve that neither State or Nation, nor both combined, shall support institutions of learning other than those sufficient to afford to every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common school education, unmixed with sectarian, pagan, or atheistical dogmas. Leave the matter of religion to the family altar, the Church, and the private school supported entirely by private contributions. Keep the Church and the State forever separate."—PRESIDENT GRANT, at Des Moines, Sept. 29, 1875.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE
FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever in any State be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious practices shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

AN ABSURD STORY is floating about that Abraham Lincoln was in his youth baptized as a Catholic. It rests on an alleged statement of Bishop Lefevre, of Detroit, now deceased; but it takes a Catholic to believe it.

A CORRESPONDENT in Hillsboro, Colorado, says: "There was a copy of THE INDEX platform sent to the Constitutional Convention, as a petition, that has caused quite a stir in the Convention—also in the House and Council. Don't know what the result will be yet."

MRS. VAN COTT, the revivalist (whom the Sun persists in calling the "Widow Van Cott"), is claimed to have caught a live "infidel" at Newburgh, New York. And he was reckoned the worst of the species, too, being a "disbeliever in God, heaven, and hell." The revivalists seem to think that faith in hell is just as necessary as faith in God.

Do not omit to read Bishop McQuaid's lecture. It is long, and will take two numbers of THE INDEX; but it is a very careful, considerate, and plausible pleading of the Catholic side of the school question. This lecture ought to be studied before reading our own lecture on the other side, which is to follow. The discussion is exciting a great deal of interest and attention.

THIS IS FROM Harper's Weekly: "Mr. Stanley's account of King Mtesa and his desire for missionaries to teach him and his people the Christian religion has been read with great interest both in England and the United States. One English gentleman has responded with an offer of £5000. The Pall Mall Gazette, however, which looks on all subjects, human and divine, with cold, worldly eyes, states the case thus: 'King Mtesa, having been converted from El Islam to Christianity by the sporting correspondent of the Daily Telegraph and the New York Herald, wants further instruction, and a gentleman rich in gold and benevolence has contributed £5000 by way of answer to the invitation. Missions are good things; missionaries introduce merchants. But in this case there is a slight complication,' etc., etc."

THE MANAGERS of the American Bible Society, a month or two ago, passed a strong resolution against opening the Centennial Exposition on Sundays: "Whereas, this society has accepted, with

great pleasure, an invitation to become an exhibitor at the Centennial Fair, and is making preparation to occupy its allotted space by a becoming display of its productions and its work during its existence in the first century of the republic; Resolved, that in the judgment of this board, it would not be consistent with the Word of God, which we, as a society, exist to circulate, for us to participate in an exhibition which would, by its official action, set aside the precepts of the Divine Word and those human laws for the observance of the Christian Sabbath which have been enacted for the best interest of the State and the public welfare."

REV. JOSEPH HENNING, a Catholic priest of St. Louis, recently prophesied thus of his Church: "The persecution that is waging against the Church will also end. When, I don't know. God alone knows that. I know that events are marching fast, and if the signs of the times do not deceive me, the triumph of the Church is not far off. If I am not mistaken, the sceptre of Europe is passing fast out of the hands of the German empire into the hands of the empire of Russia, who will overrun Europe with barbarous hordes, until, like Attila, he will stand before the gates of Rome, and then will be converted; and then the great schism that has separated Russia and the East from the Church for so many years will be healed, and the East and the West will unite in a Te Deum, the echoes of which will wake from pole to pole. The time is not far off when there will come a time of peace and quiet; when Infidelity and Protestantism—Protestantism, as a religion, has long ceased to exist; it is running on its last legs, and I am sure it can't run far—will be swept from the face of the earth."

BY THE EVANS (Colorado) Journal of Jan. 20, 1876, we learn that a Committee, headed by ex-Governor Evans, from a meeting of the various churches in Denver, presented to the Constitutional Convention, accompanied with a petition, the following

DECLARATION.

First—We approve of a recognition of the Supreme Ruler of the Universe in the Constitution of the State.

Second—We regard the Sabbath as a civil as well as a religious institution, which is of importance to the welfare of society.

Third—We believe that public schools should be provided by law, and kept free from sectarian influences; that funds raised for their support should not be directed to other uses; that the State should be free to adopt such text books for their use as are best adapted to literary and scientific instruction; and that the Bible should not be excluded from, nor pushed into, the public schools.

Fourth—We do not favor the endowment of churches, and believe that all property held for revenues to support churches should be taxed equally with private property. But we do not believe that property exclusively devoted to education, to benevolent and charitable institutions, public libraries, or church edifices, should be taxed.

Fifth—We have confidence in the good judgment of the Constitutional Convention of Colorado, and do not apprehend any danger of its inserting any provision in the Constitution it will frame, which shall violate the moral and religious sense of the people, but that it will acquiesce in all of the above stated propositions, unless it may be that relating to the question of exemption from taxation. But since the taxation of all property equally, whether church or corporation, excepting the burial places of the dead, and, under restrictions, church-edifices, has been recommended by high authority, and since the proposition meets with favor from a considerable number of people of Colorado, we deem it of special importance that we earnestly protest against the State Legislature being prohibited from making the exemptions suggested.

It is an avowed object of the Christian Amendment party to agitate for their measure in the manner here exemplified; and the liberals idly suffer them to proceed, just as the secessionists proceeded in casting up their batteries around Fort Sumter. The end of this passive policy can be only strife.

"The Public School Question, as Viewed by a Catholic American Citizen."

SEVENTH LECTURE BEFORE THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION IN HORTICULTURAL HALL, BOSTON, FEB. 13, 1876.

BY THE RIGHT REV. B. J. McQUAID, D. D.,
ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOP OF ROCHESTER, N. Y.

I wish to say that I am here as a Catholic American citizen, speaking only for myself and my country, and in no way responsible for Mexico, South America, Spain, or any other country in the world.

The school question is engrossing more and more the attention of all classes in the country. President Grant devotes a portion of his annual message to the subject, and calls for yet larger consideration of it by the Legislatures of the States. Politicians worry and fret over it, not knowing how the current may chance to run, and consequently which course they should take. Ministers and editors, from pulpit and press, flood the country with their learning and wisdom, well spiced with warnings and threats to all who dare differ from them; and yet the last to be heard and consulted is the one to whom the settlement of the question first and finally belongs,—the parent of the child.

THE SCHOOL QUESTION TO BE SETTLED BY PARENTS.

The father may listen to well-meant good advice; his fears may be excited by denunciations of impending peril for himself and off-spring; laws may be enacted to interfere with his natural rights; he may be mulcted through his purse, and harassed in many ways; his neighbors may turn against him; yet, in despite of all, the responsibility of the education of his child falls on him, and on no one else; he may be assisted in his work by others, if so he will; but in accordance with his will and choice, and not according to the conscience of his neighbors or of his fellow-citizens.

PARENTAL RIGHTS BEFORE STATE RIGHTS.

Parental rights precede State rights. Indeed, as the Declaration of Independence has it, governments are instituted to secure man's inalienable rights, and among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. A father's right to the pursuit of happiness extends to that of his children as well. This happiness is not restricted to material and earthly enjoyment, but reaches to everything conducive to joy, pleasure, contentment of mind and soul, in this world and the next, if the father believes in a future life.

PARENTAL RIGHTS AND DUTIES ACCORDING TO COMMON LAW.

Parental rights include parental duties and responsibilities before God and society. The common law is explicit on this point, as Blackstone and Kent assert: "A parent may, under circumstances, be indicted at common law for not supplying an infant child with necessaries."—*Chitty on Blackstone*.

"During the minority of a child . . . the parent is absolutely bound to provide reasonably for his maintenance and education, and he may be sued for necessities furnished and schooling given to a child under just and reasonable circumstances."—*Kent's Com.*, vol. II., p. iv.; Lec. XXIX.

THE COMMON LAW DEFINED BY JUDGE LEWIS.

The rights of parents are strongly and clearly defined by Judge Ellis Lewis, in "Commonwealth vs. Armstrong, Lycoming County, Pa., August Session, 1842." The judge, having sent his decision to Chancellor Kent, received in reply an approval of its correctness, and of the reasoning on which it was based. In this opinion Judge Lewis says: "The authority of the father results from his duties. He is charged with the duty of maintenance and education. . . . The term 'education' is not limited to the ordinary instruction of the child in the pursuits of literature. It comprehends a proper attention to the moral and religious sentiments of the child. In the discharge of this duty it is the undoubted right of the father to designate such teachers, either in morals, religion, or literature, as he shall deem best calculated to give correct instruction to his child." In sustenance of his opinion, the judge quotes from Horry, Professor of Moral Philosophy, from Dr. Adam Clarke, from Paley, and from Dr. Wayland, who, in his *Moral Philosophy*, writes: "The right of the parent is to command; the duty of the child is to obey. . . . The relation is established by our Creator. . . . The duty of parents is to educate their children in such a manner as they (the parents) believe will be most for their future happiness, both temporal and eternal. . . . With his duty in this respect no one has a right to interfere. . . . While he exercises his parental duties within their prescribed limits, he is, by the law of God, exempt from interference both from individuals and from society." After citing these authorities and various passages of the Sacred Scriptures, the judge goes on to say: "It is the duty of the parent to regulate the conscience of the child by proper attention to its education; and there is no security for the offspring during the tender years of its minority, but in obedience to the authority of its parents in all things not injurious to its health or morals."

BY THE SUPREME COURT OF WISCONSIN.

The Supreme Court of Wisconsin, in 1874, went so far in maintenance of parental rights that it gave to a father the right to decide for his son what branches of elementary studies embraced in the school curriculum he should not follow, against the will and decision of the teacher and the school committee. The Court based its judgment on these indefeasible parental rights embodied in the common law.

DOES THE CHILD BELONG TO THE STATE?

It is the Christian view of parental rights and duties which is here given. It is presented under the supposition that, however great in these United States the diminution of Christians in point of numbers, there may be left enough to constitute an important part of the population, with rights warranted by the natural, the divine, and the common law worthy of consideration. The doctrine coming into vogue, that the child belongs to the State, is the dressing up of an old skeleton of Spartan Paganism, with its hideousness dimly disguised by a thin cloak of Christian morality. The most despotic governments of Europe illustrate the fruits of the doctrine by making every one of their subjects an armed soldier for the butchering of fellow-creatures, in neighboring States, under the forms of legalized warfare.

THE EVANGELICAL CHRISTIAN'S AUTHORITY FOR PARENTAL DUTIES.

The evangelical Christian who believes in the revealed word of God reads in the sacred Book the teachings of his Master on the respective duties of parent and child, and regards these teachings as the law of his life:—

"Children, obey your parents in the Lord; for this is just.

"Honor thy father and thy mother; which is the first commandment with a promise.

"That it may be well with thee, and thou mayst be long-lived on earth.

"And you, fathers, provoke not your children to anger; but bring them up in the discipline and correction of the Lord."—Eph. vi., 1-4.

"Children, obey your parents in all things; for this is well-pleasing to the Lord."—Col. iii., 20.

THE CATHOLIC CHRISTIAN'S AUTHORITY.

The Catholic Christian, taught to hear the Church which is commissioned to teach all divine truths with infallible certainty, learns that he cannot neglect the care and education of his children without grievous sin; that their religious instruction demands his chief thought, and that to expose them to danger in faith or morals, in schools or elsewhere, would bring on him the just anger of God, and punishment hereafter. He knows that an education which excludes God, and is confined to material thoughts and interests, is one of which for his children he cannot approve.

HOW THE CATHOLIC CONSCIENCE IS FORMED.

On the natural law, and on the law divinely revealed and presented to him by God's chosen agent—the Church,—does the Catholic form his conscience. He does not expect that his conscientious convictions in matters of religion will please others; no more is he pleased with the professed creeds of the majority of his fellow-citizens. These form their conscience on grounds satisfactory to them; he forms his on grounds still more satisfactory to him. "The divine law," says Newman, "is the rule of ethical truth, the standard of right and wrong, a sovereign, irreversible, absolute authority in the presence of men and angels." "The divine law," says Cardinal Gousset, "is the supreme rule of actions; our thoughts, desires, words, acts, all that man is, is subject to the domain of the law of God; and this law is the rule of our conduct by means of our conscience. Hence it is never lawful to go against our conscience."

"Conscience," says Newman, "is not a long-sighted selfishness, nor a desire to be consistent, with one's self; but it is a messenger from Him who, in Nature and in grace, speaks to us behind a veil, and teaches and rules us by his representatives. Conscience is the aboriginal vicar of Christ, a prophet in its informations, a monarch in its peremptoriness, a priest in its blessings and anathemas, and, even though the eternal priesthood throughout the Church could cease to be, in it the sacerdotal principle would remain, and it would have away."

The theory of freedom of conscience guaranteed by the Constitution as a right, is conceded to the Catholic by secularist and evangelical. The wording of the Constitution, and our loud boasting at home and abroad of liberty of conscience as a special privilege of democratic government, demand this concession. Theory and practice clash. The Constitution rules that all shall be free to follow the dictates of conscience, provided there is no encroachment on the freedom of others. The majority of the people rule, by the power of numbers, that a large minority shall not be free to educate their children according to their conscience.

THE CATHOLIC CONSCIENCE SHOULD BE FREE.

Having proved that the Catholic conscience is founded on the natural and the revealed law, protected in its right by the common law and the Constitution of the United States, the claim that Catholic parents should be untrammelled in the exercise of parental duties brings me to the consideration of school education as affecting this conscience.

It is conceded by Free Religionists, by the ablest of the secular press, by many representative ministers of the evangelical churches, and by large numbers of the people, that to tax Catholics, Jews, and Infidels, for schools in which the Bible is read and religious exercises are held, is a wrong, an act of injustice, a form of tyranny. So understanding the case, the cities of Troy, Rochester, Cincinnati, and Chicago have forbidden religious exercises of any description in their common schools. This is a concession that would not have been made thirty years ago. It is a partial reparation of the past. Especially is it a warning to Boards of Education in other places to cease inflicting this mode of religious persecution on citizens who object to any kind of religion, or to the peculiar kind prevailing in their schools. Mr. Beecher says: "It is not right or fair

to tax Catholics or Jews for the support of schools in which the Bible is read." His congregation applauded the saying. If it is not right, it is wrong, and Catholics who are thus taxed are, to the extent of the taxes they pay, punished,—persecuted for religion's sake.

INFRINGEMENT OF CONSCIENCE IS PERSECUTION.

Judge Taft, in giving his opinion in the Superior Court of Cincinnati in the case of *Minor et al. vs. Board of Education of Cincinnati*, expressed his judgment as follows: "We have this unequivocal evidence of the reality of their conscientious scruples, that when they have paid the school tax, which is not a light one, they give up the privilege of sending their children, rather than that they should be educated in what they hold to be, and what without the adoption of one or both of these resolutions must be fairly held to be, Protestant schools. This is too large a circumstance to be covered up by the Latin phrase *de minimis non curat lex*, to which resort is sometimes had. These Catholics are constrained every year to yield to others their right to one third of the school money, a sum of money averaging not less than \$200,000, every year, on conscientious grounds. That is to say, these people are punished every year for believing as they do, to the extent of \$200,000; and to that extent those of us who send our children to these excellent common schools become beneficiaries of the Catholic money. We pay for our privileges so much less than they actually cost."

I quote this distinguished authority to justify the exceedingly strong accusation made a moment ago.

THE STATE HAS NO RIGHT TO EDUCATE.

The Catholic, however, is equally unwilling to transfer the responsibility of the education of his children to the State. His conscience informs him that the State is an incompetent agent to fulfil his parental duties. While the whisperings of his conscience are clear and unmistakable in their dictates, it pleases him to hear what others, non-Catholics, have to say on this important aspect of the subject.

The late Gerrit Smith, whose character as an able and fearless philanthropist I need not dwell on, in a letter of Nov. 5, 1873, to Charles Stebbins, of Cazenovia, and intended for publication, says: "The meddling of the State with the school is an impertinence little less than its meddling with the Church. A lawyer, than whom there is not an abler in the land, and who is as eminent for integrity, as for ability, writes me: 'I am against the government's being permitted to do anything which can be entrusted to individuals under the equal regulation of general laws.' But how emphatically should the school be held to be the concern and care of individuals instead of the government! It is not extravagant to say that government is no more entitled to a voice in the school than in the Church. Both are, or ought to be, religious institutions, and in the one important respect that the average scholar is of a more plastic and docile age than the average attendant on the Church, the school has greatly the advantage of the Church."

The views of Gerrit Smith and of the Catholic parent coincide in a remarkable degree.

HERBERT SPENCER ON THE SAME SUBJECT.

Another authority will, I trust, be equally acceptable to my hearers. Herbert Spencer, in the chapter on "National Education" in *Social Statics* thus writes: "In the same way that our definition of State duty forbids the State to administer religion or charity, so likewise does it forbid the State to administer education. Inasmuch as the taking away by government of more of a man's property than is needful for maintaining his rights is an infringement, and therefore a reversal of the government's function toward him—and inasmuch as the taking away of his property to educate his own or other people's children is not needful for the maintaining of his rights,—the taking away of his property is wrong." Mr. Spencer then goes on to prove his proposition, and refute objections brought against it by various classes of objectors, thus: "The reasoning which is held to establish the right to intellectual food will equally well establish the right to material food; nay, will do more,—will prove that children should be altogether cared for by the government. For if the benefit, importance, or necessity of education be assigned as a sufficient reason why government should educate, then may the benefit, importance, or necessity of food, clothing, shelter, and warmth be assigned as a sufficient reason why government should administer them also. So that the alleged right cannot be established without annulling all parental authority whatever." The destruction of parental authority and the uselessness of mere intellectual education as a preventive of crime, are the chief points he makes against State interference with schools.

THE "JOURNAL OF COMMERCE" ON THE SAME.

"The only remedy," says the *Journal of Commerce*, of New York, "we see in the future for the evils which are admitted, is to be found in the entire separation of the educational process from State authority. If this has been found wisest and best in matters of religion, why not in relation to all forms of education? Youth needs the higher sanction of religion in every department of culture, and this cannot be secured in a State school where there is no State Church."

It can scarcely be said that the interference or non-interference of the State in school education is an open question. By concession on the part of the large majority of the population, liberty to interfere is granted. This liberty in no way includes the right so to take part in the education of children that the just and inalienable rights of parents shall be sacrificed. I have dwelt on the argument of parental

rights because the assumption of the State to control education, and the indifference of many parents to this assumption, encourage the supposition that all the right is in the State, and none in the parent.

COMMON SCHOOLS BEGAN ON A RELIGIOUS BASIS.

In the gradual establishment of State schools the element of religious instruction always had a place of honor. The Constitutions of your New England States, and in a very remarkable degree those of Massachusetts and Connecticut, recognize God, religion, virtue, and morality. The departure of modern methods has been from the old and sound ways of the founders of the republic, both as respects the religious element in the education of the young, and the duty of parents to bear the burden of their children's education. The Western States copied the Constitutions of the older States, and, like them, included morality and religion as essential parts of a sound education; but, falling into the prevailing error, learned to exclude God and religious instruction from their schools.

HAS EDUCATION YET DECREASED CRIME?

Now hear their piteous lamentation: "Did not the advocates of our free school system," says Mr. Hopkins, Superintendent of Schools in Indiana, "promise the people that if they would take on their shoulders the additional burden of taxation for its support, the same would be lightened by the diminution of crime? Is there any perceptible decrease of crime in Indiana? Is there any reasonable probability that there soon will be? It is becoming a grave question among those who take comprehensive views of the subject of education, whether this intellectual culture without moral is not rather an injury than a benefit. Is it not giving teeth to the lion and fangs to the serpent? That is the true system of training which adapts itself to the entire complex nature of the child. No free government can safely ignore this grave subject, for nations that lose their virtue soon lose their freedom." Here is a remarkable statement by a friendly pen in the hand of the chief official of the educational department of Indiana, whose testimony, therefore, must be admitted as of great weight. Mr. Hopkins has been reading the newspapers of the day, and, startled by the revelations of crime among the intellectual and educated classes, who use the advantages of school learning the better to defraud creditors, embezzle trust funds, rob banks, form conspiracies to cheat the government, and sell official honor for personal gain, is seeking some explanation of a condition of public and private morals that cannot continue without destroying the liberties of the republic. He has hit on the right starting-point. Let him go on with his investigations, and fear not to disclose his discoveries.

WHAT IS SECULARISM?

Our argument is now with the secularists pure and simple. They point to their work accomplished, and bid us to the feast of rejoicing. We do not answer to the call, and stand ready to give the reason that is in us.

What is meant by secularism in schools? President Grant defines it to mean the exclusion from the schools of the teaching of any religious, atheistic, or Pagan tenet. Evidently the President has never been a school-teacher, or has never tried to teach anything save the multiplication table to a bright, intelligent boy, brought up in a Christian family on the plan here laid down. Commanding armies, handling a hundred thousand armed men, is child's play in comparison. God, Christ, sin, conscience, religion, heaven, hell, would meet him at every turn, and to flank them successfully, without insinuating a Christian, a Pagan, or an Atheistic tendency of thought, would give him more trouble than he experienced in outflanking the strongest army that ever met him on his onward marches.

The Rochester Democrat and Chronicle, a staunch and zealous defender of secularism, gives its explanation as follows: "Strictly speaking, a secular school should not inculcate the belief in an overruling Providence."

The teacher who honestly means to teach according to the principles of secularism will find himself in continual embarrassment. If he but mentions the name of God, of Christ, with reverence, he leads his bright pupils to infer that such a Being exists; if he evades a question about God, he indicates doubt; if he speaks the name with a sneer on the lip, or a shrug of the shoulders, he inculcates to young, impressionable minds his contempt for such a belief. Secularists must not attempt to escape the logic of their own demands. They ask, in the language of the President, the exclusion of all religious, atheistic, and Pagan tenets from State schools, and where this doctrine lands them they must be pleased to stand. They scout the idea that merely excluding the Bible means secularism. This is the vain hope of evangelicals, and that with this concession they will be left free to make compilations from the Bible—elegant extracts—to keep up appearances. They do not comprehend the nature of the controversy. The dread of "popery" blinds them. They will not be let off without swallowing in all its bitterness this pill which they have helped prepare.

EVANGELICALS OBJECT TO THE TERM "GODLESS."

Yet some evangelical friends have been wrathful with me and others for designating the common schools, according to the new law, as godless. I do not wish them to be godless; it is not the fault of Catholics that they are becoming godless. To leave our non-Catholic fellow-citizens free to settle the question of religious instruction in the schools to their own satisfaction, Catholics all over the country have provided, or they are providing, school accommodation for Catholic children, that the religious in-

fluences in these schools may be in harmony with the religious convictions of their patrons. Hardly had we made room in our own schools for all our Catholic children in the city of Rochester, than the Board of Education of the city, with little ceremony, put the Bible and all religious instruction out of the public schools. It was this Board that made the schools under their care, in reality if not in name, godless.

LIBERAL CHRISTIANS AND SECULARISTS.

The liberal Christian, led on by Henry Ward Beecher and a large body of clergymen of various evangelical denominations, fancies that morals can be taught, like good manners, on no higher ground or motive than the one of propriety or expediency. When interest, passion, the heart's cravings, outweigh propriety and expediency, morals thus taught go by the board.

The Free Religionist is at least consistent; consistency is more than the liberal evangelical Christian can claim. The former rejects the idea of a God-Creator, revelation, and all supernatural truths. He is justified in asking that his child shall not have its mind tainted with such errors during school hours. He is resolute to drive out of the schools which he is taxed to support, and to which he sends his children, the sectarianism of evangelicalism; and he is equally determined to plant in them his pet doctrine—the sectarianism of secularism. It is the usual reading of history, that bodies of religionists never see themselves as others see them.

The religionist, Catholic and Christian, holding to divine and fixed truths, claims the right to impart a knowledge of these truths to his child in the school to which he sends it for education. The Free Religionist, having no such truths to communicate to his child, insists that his fellow-citizen shall not be allowed to use the schoolhouse for instruction in positive religion, because he sends his child to the same school. Thus, practically, he ostracizes the religion of the Christian, which is positive, and maintains his own, which is negative. All the gain is on the side of the Free Religionists, whose system of morals is so transcendental, and out of the reach of the masses, that it is valueless for practical good. Both call for the teaching of morals, and each in his own sense. The evangelical bases his notions of morality on the natural and revealed law; the Free Religionists, or secularist pure and simple, on the natural law, and as he conceives it. The latter would exclude the Sacred Scriptures and all positive religious teaching from the schools. Evangelicals are divided into two classes. One class would retain the Bible as a text-book of instruction in morals, as a sign of the Christianity of the schools, and as a mode of religious worship. They argue, with much truth, that if, owing to the neglect of parents at home, the insufficiency of the Sunday-school and church to reach the children most in need of religious teaching, it be not imparted in the week-day school, it will never be imparted. Another class of evangelicals remit the Bible and all teaching of morals on religious grounds to the family, the Sunday-school, and the Church, and join hands with the Free Religionists in prohibiting the name of God, of Christ, and of his teachings in the school. The least logical is this liberalized Christian evangelical who professes to teach morals without the authority in which he claims to believe. There is some justification for the stand taken by the former class of evangelicals and by Free Religionists; there is none for the position assumed by evangelicals, who hold principles by which they care not to abide. The liberalized Christian and the Free Religionist assert that to be possible which, in the nature of things, is not possible. The teacher does not exist who, in his schoolroom, can so divest himself of his own religious or irreligious ideas that no influence, direct or indirect, shall go out from him to his pupils. His very best efforts to escape the suspicion of sectarianism will only serve to tinge his teaching with indifference toward all religion; thus unintentionally, perhaps, responding to the wishes of the Free Religionist. Scudding from Scylla, he is wrecked on Charybdis,—or vice versa.

On what ground, we may now ask, does either protest against the peculiar religious teachings of the other in State schools? Both are shocked that their taxes should be used to propagate religious creeds in which they do not believe. Neither has a word to say about the wrong perpetrated on the Catholic, whose taxes are used without stint to carry on a system of schools from which he is kept out by their dominant evangelicalism or indifference.

A TRIANGULAR CONTEST.

Thus, as some declare, a triangular contest is inaugurated. The Albany Argus, of Nov. 30, 1875, in reviewing a sermon of the Rev. Dr. Darling, in which the Rev. Dr. insists on keeping the Bible in the common schools, and because this is a Christian country, remarks: "Who shall decide? Shall the schools be secularized? Shall they be exclusively Christian, after the Darling model? Shall room be allowed for the McQuaid pattern of schools pervaded by Christian influences? The school question, then, does not bise the community. It is a triangular contest, with the Darlings and McQuaids as allies and yet as antagonists; and with the secularists receiving strong support from Protestant pulpits, beside the partial support they receive from arguments such as are advanced by Dr. Darling." Three parties there are beyond doubt, but the contest can scarcely be called triangular. It is rather a struggle of three in one line, with the Catholic party in the middle. Each of the others has a hand in his pocket, taking his money to support schools to which he cannot in conscience send his children. If he but opens his mouth to complain, a din of angry sounds deafens him, and he gets more knocks than

pence. His right to a conscience is admitted when his conscience conforms to the dictates of others. A few years ago his claim of conscientious convictions on the Bible question was derided. Now it is allowed. To-day he claims to educate his child in schools in harmony with his religious convictions. Neither contending party gives him heed. All point to the common schools, and, while quarrelling among themselves as to what they are, and what they ought to be, bid him take them as they are, and as they have made them, or go his way, build his own schoolhouse, and please himself. This is moderate language; rougher and much less civil is what he hears. Strange to tell, however, no word is said of sending after him his money paid in school taxes. The ordinary principles of commercial honor are disregarded. The justice and equity required by the constitution of Connecticut are ignored. Instead of justice the Catholic receives insults. "His money! It is the State's money, public money belonging to the State treasury, Protestant money. Be thankful that a generous people permits you to be blessed by the school advantages brought to your door."

WHO PAYS THE SCHOOL TAX?

Thus the poor Catholic, who may, perchance, have a little common-sense, hears, in the midst of loud talk about rights of man and rights of conscience, that his conscience is not his own, and the freedom offered him is somebody else's freedom; that his school taxes take on a special Protestant blessing as they drop into the common treasury, and may not come out, without the odor of evangelicalism perfuming them. In downright derision he is asked what taxes he pays? Is he not a poor laborer without a home he can call his own, a mere tenant-at-will? Are not the taxes paid by the rich landlord? Simple and guileless the son of toil may be, and untutored in political economy, the laws of demand and supply, the intricacies of direct and indirect taxation; but his memory reminds him that when last the landlord called he was told that, as taxes and assessments had been so much increased, a trifle would have to be added to the rent. The same unpleasant remark met him in the grocery, the meat-shop, the shoe-store; wherever, indeed, he went to purchase the simplest necessities of life. Anxious to learn how it was that the taxes had been augmented, he talked with his neighbors, and after many inquiries discovered that new and costly schoolhouses had been built, salaries of teachers and officials had been added to, and the sum of incidentals grown out of all proportion. A further study of the subject revealed the fact that one-fourth of all moneys raised by taxes in his town was needed for public schools. He then learnt why his rent was raised. He was not so dull that he could not comprehend, after the practical experience thus obtained, that the consumer and producer pay the taxes. The landlord, the manufacturer, the seller, draws the check in payment of the tax bill; but the consumer and producer furnish a large part of the money with which to make good the check.

FALSE STATEMENTS AND ASSUMPTIONS.

This subject of State school education is overloaded with unfounded assumptions and incorrect statements. A prominent public man, clergyman, politician, or editor, has scarcely given utterance to a plausible plea, when by the grand chorus of lesser oracles it is taken up and repeated until it sounds like an accepted axiom.

WHAT IS SECTARIANISM?

The greatest abuse of language is in the popular meaning of the word sectarian. On the frenzied brain of many it acts like the cry of "mad dog" in a crowded street. Who inquires into its signification? Light thrown on it would only weaken its power for mischief. The analysis of the word by John C. Spencer, Secretary of State of New York, and one of the ablest lawyers the State has produced, dissects it thoroughly, and exposes the erroneous sense in which it is used. After saying that "religious doctrines of vital interest will be inculcated, not as theological exercises, but incidentally in the course of literary and scientific instructions," and that such teachings are sectarian, he goes on to say: "It is believed to be an error to suppose that the absence of all religious instruction, if it were practicable, is a mode of avoiding sectarianism. On the contrary, it would be in itself sectarian, because it would be consonant to the views of a particular class, and opposed to the opinions of other classes. . . . His only purpose is to show the mistake of those who suppose they may avoid sectarianism by avoiding all religious instruction."

INCONSISTENCY OF THE EVANGELICAL.

Great confusion of ideas and grievous injustice result from this misapprehension of the sense of sectarianism. No one declaims so loudly against sectarianism as your intensely religious evangelical. Even when demanding that the Bible shall be read, and that his general form of Protestantism shall fill the schoolhouse, by some obliquity of mental vision peculiar to his class he startles the country by his frantic cries of danger to the public schools through sectarianism. Is this honest, or is it hypocritical? If the prejudices in which he was born and bred so confuse and blind his intellect that he cannot see a self-evident truth, his blunder may be charged to mistaken honesty. But what accumulated injustices spring out of his blunder!

BENIGNITY OF THE SECULARIST.

Then up rises the secularist, with benign countenance and gentle words, to reprove the evangelical for wrong done to the poor Catholic sectarian, and in the name of peace and conciliation, and as a settlement of all difficulties, to offer his gift of secular-

ism pure and simple. It is not courteous to examine gifts too closely; but, as this one is bought partly with Catholic money, it must be borne with that, before accepting the present, the Catholic turns it round on every side, scrutinizes its shape, its color, and its substance, to make sure that in it no danger lurks concealed. To the Catholic secularism is as much sectarian as evangelicism.

AN AMERICAN'S RIGHT TO AGITATE.

A false statement, and one daily heard, is that to ask for a calm talk on the merits and demerits of the existing system of schools means no less than an attempt to favor ignorance, impede education, and break down all schools. It is an American's right to argue, find fault, discuss, agitate. Agitation is healthful; in this particular instance it quickens the building of Catholic schoolhouses. A Catholic is the last one to be taunted with want of love for education. He has only to point to his schools dotting the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific. All other classes put together do not equal him in the number and efficiency of Christian free schools. Yet he is only at the beginning of his work.

NO DANGER FROM THE POPE.

Another incorrect statement is, that to allow parental rights, as demanded by the natural, the divine, and the common law, is to hand over the country to the Pope and the Catholic Church. When the bigots of the country will permit the government to deal with its citizens, the parents of the children, as equity and justice require, the liberties of the Republic will meet no danger from the Catholic Church or the Pope. It is this bugbear of "popery" which bewilders and frightens people.

EXTENT OF COMMON-SCHOOL EDUCATION.

It is not decided what is meant by a common-school education. It is anything from A B C up to a finished university course, including professional studies, except theology. President Grant restricts it to the rudimentary branches of learning. President Eliot of Harvard University, in the *Atlantic Monthly* of last June, makes this statement: "Suppose, for example, that the State requires of all children a certain knowledge of reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography, such as children usually acquire by the time they are twelve years of age. It is not unreasonable, though by no means necessary, that the community should bear the whole cost of giving all children that amount of elementary training, on the ground that so much is necessary for the safety of the State; but when the education of a child is carried above that compulsory limit, it is by the voluntary act of the child's parents, and the benefit accrues partly to the State, through the increase of trained intelligence among the population, but partly also to the individual, through the improvement of his powers and prospects."

Many of the secular newspapers agree with the above authorities in limiting a common school education to the simplest elementary branches. Such a restricted education answers for rural districts in which a more extended course of studies is impossible. Tie down the curriculum of studies to the rudimentary branches of reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography in villages, towns, and cities, and in ten years' time the system of common schools will be abandoned. The ambition of all centres of population is to elevate the standard of common-school education, until the town that cannot boast of its grammar school, and its high school, or day college, drops behind its sister town, in the race for advanced education at the public expense. The normal school, with its pretentious title, is another device for placing within the reach of large numbers, guiltless of any thought of following the teacher's profession, an education such as in former years could be had only in denominational academies and seminaries. To such an extent has this crowding out of academies and seminaries, generally under denominational control, and supported by church organizations and private patrons, gone on, by the substitution of union schools, high schools, normal schools, free colleges, living on the bounty of the common treasury, that many denominational institutions have ceased to live, and others are only gasping for breath.

UNLIMITED EXPANSION OF THE SYSTEM.

Let us listen to two other authorities giving their opinion of the scope of common-school studies. Henry Ward Beecher may be pitted against President Grant, and Superintendent Philbrick, of Boston, against President Eliot. "The common schools," says Mr. Beecher, "should be so comfortable, so fat, so rich, so complete, that no select school could live under their drippings." In his annual report for 1874, Mr. Philbrick writes: "Our public schools are maintained on so liberal a scale, and their influence so largely predominates, that the private schools exert no appreciable effect upon their character." Boston has its system of Latin schools, normal schools, high schools, grammar schools, to demonstrate the absurdity of President Grant's expectation that the rudimentary branches would satisfy the American people. Mr. Philbrick gives statistics to show, that, while in 1830 there were in Boston 7,430 children in the public schools, there were in private schools 4,018; but in 1873, with an addition of 200,000 to the population, there were in the public schools 35,930, and in private schools only 3,887. Neither enumeration includes the 5,000 children in Christian free schools supported by parents of the Catholic religion.

WHY THEY DIFFER.

When the aim of the argument is to catch popular applause, we boast of a system of schools that brings to every child in the land a knowledge of the rudimentary

branches of learning. When we wish to conciliate and win the patronage of well-to-do citizens in cities and towns, we impress on their minds the economy of obtaining superior education, including ancient and modern languages, and all the accomplishments, under the State arrangement, rather than in private schools. The public school system, as advocated by many to be imposed on all the citizens of this Republic, is nothing else, in my judgment, than a huge conspiracy against religion, individual liberty and enterprise, and parental rights. It is a monopoly on the part of the State, usurping to itself the entire control of the teacher's business, driving out competition, herding the children together in large numbers, working all alike as so many bits of machinery. Instead of having them in smaller family and neighborhood schools, acting on the children according to individual character, by teachers more immediately under the control of parents.

Various causes work to push school taxation to an unbearable degree. Friends of common schools, taking advantage of popular sympathy, urge outlays of money for houses, apparatus, books, novelties of every kind, and increased salaries of teachers, so that tax-payers are at last asking to know what was the original contract, and where these enormous expenditures are to end; they are also looking for results, and comparing notes with other countries. Mr. Philbrick, of Boston, when in Vienna, did not discover that our lavish disbursements of a good-natured people's money had given us a high rank in school progress, as compared with European countries, except in our primary schools.

COSTLINESS OF COMMON SCHOOLS.

But business men long ago learned that no job was so expensive as a government job; and no wonder that they are now turning their attention to this monopoly of State education, as a financial interest of general and deep concern in these hard times. There are others who can give figures and statistics of school work beside State and city superintendents of public schools. The Cincinnati correspondent of the *New York Daily Bulletin*, a paper strictly commercial, writes under date of Jan. 17, 1876:—

"Our schools, the best of our institutions, represent, for instance, fully as much miseducation as education; and the boards having charge of them are, compared with other bodies, least careful of proper economy, because they act under a popular, and therefore the least analyzed, public feeling. If you will examine, you will find that, of all taxes, school taxes have for that reason increased fastest. Compare our school expenses with those of any German State, and you will find that ours cost more and perform least. The heaviest taxed German State for these purposes is Hesse Cassel; it taxes 34 cents per head, and it makes up 74 per cent. of all the taxes levied. Now there are levied for school purposes in Cincinnati \$774,894, which is full \$2.50 per head, and is about one-sixth of all the taxes, or 16 per cent. In Hesse Cassel the tax includes libraries, universities, and art schools; with us it includes only the schools up to high schools, and a good part of their expense is borne by trust funds. As to the culture, the German schools reach a larger proportion of the youth of the State, and are very thorough from the lowest to the highest grade, the teachers being much better qualified than ours. Had I taken Saxony or Baden, both more economical and efficient than Hesse Cassel, the comparison would have been still more against us. Zürich, the highest taxed city in Europe for these objects, takes but 54 cents per head, and their school taxes are one-fifth of all taxes; but there also it includes libraries, a university, polytechnic, lyceums, and common schools; and surely no city on earth has a superior culture than this city."

Strongly as this writer puts his case, he fails to do it justice; for he omits to state that more than half the children of the city in schools are in parents' schools, or denominational and private schools. In New York City, school taxes are four dollars per head for each one of its million inhabitants; and large numbers of its children are in other than State schools. Boston, which has a less number of pupils in private and religious schools, shows a marked increase in the per capita cost. In 1873, for teachers and incidental expenses, not including new school-houses, the cost per head of its two hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants was \$5.52; and, including the buildings, it reached nearly \$7. These figures are for tax-payers.

Let me say to you just here, that if the scheme of higher education extending from the elementary school up to a full university course, now broached, be attempted to be carried out in its fulness and universality, all the revenues of all your cities, towns, and States, and all the revenues of these United States, will not suffice to pay the cost.

Intelligent, wise, earnest parents, and friends of sound education, will watch with interest the gradual unfolding and development of the State system of schools. Their attention will be given to this crushing-out of denominational schools for the humbler classes of society, to see in it the inexorable destruction of all denominational seminaries, academies, colleges, and universities.

STATE COLLEGES TO CRUSH OUT DENOMINATIONAL COLLEGES.

This policy is foreshadowed in the proposed National University scheme. I am not drawing inferences from my imagination. The address of President White of Cornell University, delivered at Detroit, in August, 1874, lacks nothing in openness and directness of speech. Among other points, it contains these: "It is in view of such a meagre growth in over two hundred years, under the prevailing system, that I present the following as the fundamental proposition of this paper:—

"The main provision for advanced education in the United States must be made by the people at large, acting through their National and State Legislatures, to endow and maintain institutions for the higher instruction, fully equipped and free from sectarian control."

"But I argue next, that our existing public-school system leads us logically and necessarily to the endowment of advanced instruction."

To show his utter contempt for the rudimentary

education called for by President Grant, Mr. White thus expresses his conviction: "The preliminary education which many of our strongest men received leaves them simply beasts of prey. It has simply sharpened their claws and tusks; but a higher education, whether in science, literature, or history, not only sharpens the faculties, but gives him new exemplars and ideals." President White and Herbert Spencer both require very advanced education before morals, under this new dispensation, avail to make a man better.

NO COLLEGES BUT STATE COLLEGES.

Mr. White's address is not a string of propositions and arguments without conclusions. Here is one:—

"Next, as to State policy, I would have it go in the same direction as heretofore, but with a liberality and steadiness showing far more foresight. I would have each of those States build up higher, upon the foundations laid by national grants, their public institutions for advanced instruction as distinguished from private sectarian institutions."

"I would have each State build up one institution under its control, rather than the twenty under the control of conferences, and dioceses, and synods, and consistories, and presbyteries, and denominational associations of various sects."

There can be no mistake about the learned President's meaning, nor is one denominational organization omitted from his comprehensive catalogue. He advocates secularism, pure and simple, in our colleges and universities, paid for by taxes levied on the laborers, mechanics, and farmers of the country. He excludes from State aid all institutions in which any religious tenet, even the existence of an overruling Providence, is taught. If, on the establishment of these secular State colleges, their authorities should permit the reading of the Bible, as a book of spiritual or religious truths of more value than the Koran, it will be the cheerful duty of the Liberal League to protest against the abuse and infraction of the law, as the League protested in Philadelphia. "The use of the Bible in the public schools is a violation of the recognized American principle that the State and Church ought to be absolutely separate."

HOW WILL THE EVANGELICALS LIKE IT?

What will the members of the New England Baptist Educational Convention, assembled in Worcester, Mass., who recommended the establishment of at least one academy under Baptist control in each of the New England States, say to this arrangement? What will their brethren assembled in Chicago, and representing the Western States, think of it? How will the Southern Baptists who met in Marion, Ala., and who declared that "the only hope is Christian education in our schools," like a policy destined to overshadow and destroy denominational high schools, academies, and colleges, as it destroyed denominational elementary schools? These three conventions were held in 1871. President Andrews, of Denison University, Ohio, has the advantage of four years' experience and observation since the holding of these conventions. He has seen the clouds gathering; he has heard the mutterings of the brewing storm; the signs in the heavens tell him that, when that storm bursts, it will be over the heads of denominational colleges. "The proposed reform," says President Andrews, "will involve religious complications. Higher education cannot be separated from religion. Atheists will not pay taxes to support theistic instruction, nor theists atheistic. But to put higher instruction into the hands of the government is not only impolitic, but wrong in principle. . . . The government should hold the same relation to higher education that it does to religion. Further, religion is essential to higher culture, and the State cannot teach religion. It is injustice to those opposed to Christianity. Christianity is the natural ally of culture. Finally, intellectual culture without religion cannot build character. The great need of the nation is moral force. The divorce of culture and religion is forced and unnatural." Does President Andrews hope to avert the storm by his weak voice? Does he dream of holding the inner line of fortifications, protecting his higher education, after abandoning to the enemy all the outposts? When elementary schools, in which the foundation of sound Christian morals is laid, were given over to secularists at their first bidding, resistance to the advancing foe became impossible.

WHAT THE METHODISTS THINK.

In 1873, the Methodist Episcopal Church, in the quadrennial address of its bishops, thus put itself on record: "We do not hesitate to avow that we regard the education of the young as one of the leading functions of the Church, and that she cannot abdicate in favor of the State without infidelity to her trust and irreparable damage to society. The reasons for occupying this ground, which inhere in the very nature of this interest, and in the relation of children to the Church, all are intensified by the antagonism of modern science, and the outcasting of the religious element from all the school systems fostered by State legislation. It is not ours to dispute with Cæsar; but, fully persuaded that the salt of religious truth alone can preserve education, we feel that the responsibilities of the Church grow with the progress of society and the demands of the age."

WHAT MAKES THE METHODISTS CRAZY.

Other authorities of high standing in the Methodist denomination might be cited in favor of religious teaching in schools. It is but fair to state that the mention of any system of schools under which common justice might be meted out to Catholic parents, suffices to drive the whole body of Methodist preachers and hearers frantic, crazy. The Baptists are not much less intolerant. Secularists may therefore count on their assistance in ousting from the schools the very name of the Christians' God. The pro-

fessed principles of these religious sects avail nothing against their avowed hatred of the Catholic Church and Catholics.

WHO SUPPORT CHURCHES.

The various evangelical sects yielded up the contest for religious education in common schools almost without a struggle. It is said that the children, whose education is not advanced beyond the elementary branches of learning, do not in time become pew-holders and supporters of churches. These efficient aids to church support are found in the classes which pass through denominational schools of a higher grade. Round these all the forces of evangelicalism will rally to uphold the right of parents of the respectable class to provide religious education for their children. Certainly the zeal, the labors, the munificent generosity of the evangelical denominations, to build and endow academies and colleges, deserve unbounded praise. But when the State opens its plethoric treasury to establish secular colleges, with allowances of freedom not possible in sectarian institutions, the struggle will be short and decisive. This is not prophecy; it is history.

WHAT KILLS EVANGELICAL COLLEGES.

The once flourishing Methodist College at Lima, N. Y., dwindled to insignificance, and moved to Syracuse to escape death, shortly after the opening of Cornell University. About the same time Hobart College, under the control of the Episcopal Church, began to lose students, until now, notwithstanding large endowments, the fingers of the two hands would almost suffice to count them. The Presbyterian Seminary of Genesee closed its doors when a State normal school in the same village opened its classes. The Baptist Academy of Brockport became a State normal school to escape death. Other places have the same history. The atmosphere of these normal schools is still redolent with evangelicalism, but it is only on sufferance; at the first demand of Jew or atheist the names of the God, Creator, and Christ will be banished, praying and hymn-singing stopped.

I now leave evangelical Christians to ponder over President Grant's demand that no religious tenet shall be taught in State schools, and this new definition of non-sectarianism.

SECULARISTS ARE IN GREAT GLEE

over their progress. They look forward to speedy and complete success. Their victory in common schools carries them triumphantly along to State secular universities. Indeed, they might begin their song of triumph, if not for complete accomplishment, then for rapid advancement. Only one foe stands undismayed before them. It is the Catholic parent who permits no one to come between him and his child. The father is a Christian, prizing his faith more than his purse or the world's esteem; resolute to transmit to his offspring the precious boon of religion in its purity and brightness, undimmed by the jeers, and scoffs, and calumnies of unbelievers; he will not permit his children to breathe an atmosphere of infidelity. Others may think and say that he is wrong; he knows that he is right. He meddles not with others. He listens to much counsel from well-meaning friends. They tell him it is a glorious privilege for his boy to be the equal and companion of a rich man's son. It may happen—it often happens—that he cares no more for the rich man's son than for the rich man himself. They point to the palatial schoolhouse, grand and gorgeous in all its appointments; to the teachers, learned and accomplished. They tell him all these shall his son enjoy, without price or pay, if he will but intrust his boy's education to the State, which loves to play foster-father to its children. The poor man's poverty gnaws into the bone under the proffered bribe; his mind dwells on the temporal advantages so enticingly offered; he loves his child, and he believes in an overruling Providence, a God, Creator, Supreme Master of the universe; he believes in a world to come, and cherishes the hope that, after this life, he and his boy shall be reunited with the blessed in heaven. Under the coarse coat and rough exterior of many a day-laborer there beats a heart of honest manliness that would scorn to be the beneficiary of any man's aid. He pays for his child's education; he hates to pay for a superior education for his richer neighbor's son. There is a laudable pride in this spirit of independence and self-reliance, the very virtues upon which the Republic depends for its existence.

He can conceive of no true happiness except as his life conforms to the teachings and will of his God. His thoughts of happiness for himself are bound up with those of his child. His child's happiness for this world and the next interests and determines his actions at home, in its play, in school, and in church. He is concerned about its lessons, but still more about every influence bearing on the direction and formation of mind and character. Like Herbert Spencer, he knows that mere intellectual education will not form character; and, like President White, he holds that the preliminary education which many receive "only sharpens claws and tusks, and makes beasts of prey." To guard against such dangers, this father, whose religion is real and living, made up of doctrines to be known and believed, and of observances and practices to be faithfully followed, dares not before God and his conscience neglect to train his son in these observances, make him familiar with their use, and fill his mind and soul with love and reverence toward them. How will it be with his boy, if the school fail to come to his aid, or, what is worse, operate disastrously, by positive or negative teaching, upon his soul? What will be the future of that boy if the atmosphere he breathes at school be filled with doubt, sneers, negation? There is not in this audience one father who, if he

believed in a life to come, of happiness or misery eternal, would take any unnecessary chances with regard to his child's education and school life. If you judge the rest of the world only from your stand-point of belief, the brave struggle of a Catholic poor man to obtain a Christian education for his child will continue to be an enigma, and lead to acts of injustice.

AGREEMENTS AND DISAGREEMENTS.

Catholics and secularists agree on some points, and differ on others.

They agree that education is an important factor in the making of an intelligent citizen, and is therefore very desirable. They do not agree in the character of the education necessary to make this good citizen. The Catholic points to his personal sacrifices in time, labor, and money, to secure for his children education in the sense in which he understands it. The secularist bids us look at what the State has done for him. He cannot demonstrate the earnestness and sincerity of his convictions and preaching by what he has done. He pays, it is true, his share of public taxes. So does the Catholic. The secularist insists that there shall be State schools after his plan, according to his convictions, paid for by taxation from which no one shall be exempt, while all shall be obliged to drink at his well of knowledge, such as it is. A Catholic argues that the secularist's notion of education was never strong, never attained to the power of a principle, or he would have withdrawn his children from schools in which they were taught what he might be pleased to call the superstitions of evangelicalism. As between the two, on the head of personal sacrifices in furtherance of the cause of education, the Catholic has an advantage over the secularist in demonstrating the courage of his convictions.

Both agree that instruction in morals in some form is essential for the right education of youth. They differ in their understanding of what is meant by morals, and as to the authority by which such teaching should be inculcated. The secularist rises no higher in his conception of morals than the temporal well-being of the child, and "the doing of acts conducive to general enjoyment." Rev. A. D. Mayo, Unitarian minister, calls this policy "a materialistic naturalism, and a philosophical fatalism."

SECULARISTS TEACHING MORALS.

The helplessness of the secularist as a teacher of the people is best described by Herbert Spencer in *First Principles*: "Few, if any, are as yet fitted wholly to dispense with such (religious) conceptions as are current. The highest abstractions take so great a mental power to realize with any vividness, and are so inoperative on conduct unless they are vividly realized, that their regulative effects must, for a long period to come, be appreciable on but a small minority. . . . Those who relinquish the faith in which they have been brought up, for this most abstract faith in which religion and science unite, may not unconsciously act up to their convictions. Left to their organic morality, enforced only by general reasonings imperfectly wrought out and difficult to keep before the mind, the defects of Nature will often come out more strongly than they would have done under their previous creed." No one is better entitled to a hearing on the side of the secularists than Herbert Spencer. How far they are able to provide a code of morals for the training of the young in substitution of that of the Christian religion, he has clearly stated. The child accepts its lessons in science and morals on authority. The secularist child has no other authority than that of the teacher, supplemented and enforced by its parents. Hence the necessity of harmony of thought between parent and teacher. But "moral goodness," to be effective even in the secularist's idea, demands vividness of conception beyond the power of attainment on the part of children, since few of their parents can rise to its realization. In other words, the teaching of morals in a secularist's school is all but impossible.

STANDARDS OF MORALS DIFFER.

The secularist's standard of morals differs in material points from that of the Catholic. The former, in admitting the law of divorce, consents to a disruption of ties that alone guarantee the sacredness and unity of the family; permits passion, pleasure, and self-will to have their way in defiance of that law of self-restraint and patience under trials and difficulties necessary to hold the family together, at least for the children's sake. The Catholic can address the secularist in the words of the eloquent Bishop of Orleans: "It is not so much *my Church* which they would destroy as *your home*, and I defend it. For all those things which are the supreme objects of your desire—reason, philosophy, society, the basis of your institutions, the subject of your books, the sanctity of your hearts, the morals of your children,—these are the things which I defend, and which you throw away in crowning those who would destroy them."

A Catholic's code of morals embraces the teachings of the Bible, interpreted by the Church. It does not end with teachings: it has ordinances, sacraments divinely instituted to give grace, supernatural power with which to resist temptation, overcome passion, escape from sin. Your denial of these truths does not lessen a Catholic's faith in them, nor weaken his conscience with regard to them.

You may remember Henry Ward Beecher's last Thanksgiving sermon, and the picture he drew of the condition of morals in the Brooklyn schools, in which were teachers who held their positions by the sacrifice of their virtue to school commissioners. You may also have heard that Thomas W. Field, Superintendent of Schools in the same city of Brooklyn, in his annual report of four or five years ago, gave a fearful account of the prevalent immorality.

This report was suppressed by the Board of Education, on the principle, I suppose, that the whole truth must not always be spoken. Is it any wonder that Catholic parents ask that they, and not politicians, shall have the choosing of their children's teachers? You have not forgotten the article in the *Boston Herald* of Oct. 20, 1871, giving the substance of Professor Agassiz' address before the Massachusetts State Teachers' Association. Again, I say, is it any wonder that Catholic parents, hearing these confessions, even under a stringent policy of silence and concealment, lose faith in the State system, and provide schools of their own at sacrifices worthy of martyrs? I cite these instances in no spirit of exultation, but of regret; and it therefore gives me pleasure to say that the character of the teachers of Boston stands too high to come under such imputations.

THE STATE CANNOT TEACH RELIGION.

Catholics and secularists agree that a State without religion cannot teach religion. Therefore, say the latter, let there be no religious teaching. Therefore, say the former, let there be religious teaching in the schools by those who can impart it in harmony with the parent's belief. These say, furthermore, that, when Massachusetts had religion, she was careful that religion, and morality through religion, should be taught in our schools. It is claimed that Massachusetts gained her most distinguished honors from men educated under religious influences in school, at home, and in church; but that now she is consuming her capital, without putting any of it at interest. The shadow of religious teachings still lingers around her school-houses. Shall it be that her future men of note are to be no more than shadows of those that went before them?

[CONCLUDED NEXT WEEK.]

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

HEAVEN AND HELL:

A MOHAMMEDAN LEGEND.

Within the learned city, ere day was overcast,
Amid the busy multitude a stately woman passed;
And in her hand uplifted a lighted torch she bore,
And carried still a water-jar that held its dripping store.

"Now pause, thou holy woman! and, prithee, what's the sign?"

And what thy mystic meaning, and what thy word divine?"
Nor faded then the glamour, in her far-reaching eyes,
But still she turning heeded, and answered in this wise:—

"For woes and wrongs of ages unto my vision given,
I would cast my burning flambeau within the gates of heaven,

And with abundant waters would quench the flames of hell,
While men, and God, and angels, should answer, 'It is well.'"

"And then, O Light ineffable! thy glory would be shown,
And men should know and love thee, but for thyself alone;
And worship in thy presence with heart and aim sincere,
And serve thee now and ever, neither through hope nor fear."

ANNETTE CORLISS.

METHUEN, MASS., Feb. 7, 1876.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 19.

H. Hyde, \$1; C. F. Paige, \$3.20; R. G. Deathe, \$1.60; A. Simon, \$5; J. W. Sulist, \$3.20; W. T. Menefee, \$1.10; C. F. Gard, \$3.20; C. B. Stickney, \$3.20; E. Burdick, \$3.20; C. M. Severance, 50 cents; P. B. Sibley, \$1.20; Sadie E. Fiske, \$3.20; E. C. Darling, \$3.20; J. T. Dickins, \$2.50; J. H. Morrison, 80 cents; G. L. Henderson, \$15; Wm. Rotch, \$20; J. L. Jones, 35 cents; C. A. Olmstead, 80 cents; W. A. Clarke, 30 cents; W. H. Dana, 25 cents; Geo. H. Foster, \$1.82; W. W. Crawford, \$2; A. W. Kelsey, \$2; F. E. Nipher, \$1.20; Mrs. E. Dozier, \$5.50.

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N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

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The Index.

BOSTON, FEBRUARY 24, 1876.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 1, TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON. TOLDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FAY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

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THE Golden Rule thinks Mark Twain was right in advising to "murder prayer-meeting bores." What a sweet Golden Rule!

A CONNECTICUT subscriber writes: "Having been a deeply interested reader of THE INDEX almost from the first number, I feel that I cannot afford to miss for one week the instructive and profitable reading it affords me. Although times are hard and wages low, yet I can well spare six cents a week for THE INDEX, even if I have to forego some other luxuries."

CANNOT you form a club of five new subscribers to THE INDEX, among your own friends and acquaintance? To clubs of five new subscribers the paper will be sent for a year at \$2.50 each; to clubs of ten new subscribers, at \$2.00 each. An extra copy will be sent free to the getter-up of the club. This reduction cannot be made to any whose names are now on our mail-list, as it is made in the hope that such new subscribers will renew at regular rates. Now is the time to help THE INDEX, if you really value its ideas and aims.

THE "Religious Freedom Amendment," at the suggestion of an earnest friend of that measure, has been printed on half-sheets, for the use of all who are willing to interest themselves in getting it fairly before the people. Space is left below the Amendment for writing; and those who are willing to do a little unselfish work for their country at this crisis can use these half-sheets very effectively by sending them to the editors of daily papers, with a written request to publish the Amendment as a matter of common interest. Copies of this printed Amendment will be sent cheerfully to any address on application at this office.

AN ILLINOIS subscriber who has often proved his solid friendship for THE INDEX by actively working to increase its circulation exercises his "constitutional right of grumbling" by criticisms that we do not wish at all to suppress, though they were apparently not made for publication. We are sure, however, that he misconceives the real purport and tendency of the articles he alludes to: "When I first subscribed for THE INDEX, I did it with a great deal of enthusiasm. I supposed it was going to be a paper in favor of all reforms that were calculated to lighten the burdens heaped upon down-trodden humanity, whether in Church or State or public opinion. I confess, however, that this enthusiasm has somewhat cooled down. I should regret extremely, however, to see THE INDEX go down. It has dealt many manly and giant blows at superstition and theological tyranny. Although these blows have been hard and well laid on, it has been done in a spirit worthy of imitation. For this, it merits the approbation of all friends of religious freedom. But on what many of its patrons regard as the greatest question of the age, it has placed itself on the side of the aristocracy of wealth, lending whatever strength it could to the strong against the weak. Witness the editorial contributions of R. P. Halliwell in defence of that iniquitous engine of oppression and injustice, the U. S. banking system, and his opposition to the labor movement; and also your own advocacy of the right of taking interest on capital." How any one can think that savings banks, paying interest on the small deposits of the poor, and giving them thus a powerful motive to store up and honestly increase their little earnings, oppress the weak, or favor oppression at all, we cannot understand; but we are content to abide by the judgment of those who are just and well-informed.

THE PURIFICATION OF POLITICS.

The Hon. John T. Hoffman, formerly Governor of New York, recently delivered a very thoughtful lecture in New York city on "Liberty and Order—the Limits of Government." Several things which he said deserve to be pondered by all who have the best interests of popular government at heart. Among them, however, none is more worthy of note than his remarks on "the importance of a single executive power"—

"Thus, even in this, the most popular government known to history, does power steal away from the many to the few, and often turns to one political chieftain. Here where we have so holy a horror of the 'one man power,' the interests of the community are often guarded for a time (sometimes injured) by the inclinations of one man, and that man, not unfrequently, one not in official life. This is the one-man power, an essential element in every government, whether of the people, of a party organization, of a railroad company, or of any other branch of private business, reasserting itself. We have unwisely shut it out from our State constitution and our city charters; still it makes itself felt, because in the nature of things it is a necessity. We refuse the necessary, undivided, executive power to the official openly chosen by the voice of the people; it is seized by some one else, self-appointed, or selected in secret by a few. The executive branch of an effective government must always consist of a single head, and to that head must be accountable the officers entrusted with every part of the actual administration of the government. No good substitute can be found for a single executive power. Substitutes have been tried. The two kings of Sparta and the two consuls at Rome were failures. The distribution of administrative power among independent heads of departments at Albany is a failure. The distribution of power and responsibility in this city among Boards and Commissions has been a most costly failure. And a single executive has this advantage: that, independent of the restraints of law, there are certain moral restraints which act upon an individual, but are inefficient when we seek to apply them to bodies of men, or to a number of men among whom responsibility is divided. Conscience is not a thing which can safely be distributed, a little bit for the separate use of each individual member of a numerous body. A man is capable of shame; a body of men, as is well known, feels in a much less degree this natural restraint upon human conduct."

There is nothing specially new in these reflections; but they present considerations to which too little attention is commonly paid in political discussions in this country. The extent to which we are now governed by unofficial "rings," from the invisible cliques which manage caucuses and primary meetings to the Tammany, Canal, Whiskey, and other rings which contrive to enrich themselves at the expense of the communities they simultaneously defraud and disgrace, shows how hard it is to protect democratic institutions from political sharpers and acknowledged or unacknowledged "bosses." Against maladministration of the government there is no absolute protection; but the amount of it will be certainly minimized by that system which, other things being equal, shall with the most force bring the moral sentiment of the community to bear upon men entrusted with office. The civil service reform has been purposely pushed aside by interested politicians and bargain-makers, because it threatened to destroy the trade by which they lived; but the bitter cup of humiliation pressed to the lips of the nation by foreign ministers and home officials is surely enough to make every decent citizen look about him restlessly for some escape from the shameful situation. Next to securing the very best men in the country for public office, the likeliest way to restore a respectable degree of honesty in the government is to place the average men who must be their substitutes under such a system as shall keep them most constantly in public view. The best policeman is a good gas-lamp.

Governor Hoffman points out the evil of divided responsibility, and the necessity of concentrating rather than distributing the power from which responsibility is inseparable. You can distribute power, he argues, but not conscience; the more responsibility is divided among the members of Boards or Commissions, the less power has each member in determining results, and the less does he feel himself personally implicated if these results are bad. To all reproaches from the public, he can plead that he was "out-voted" or "out-influenced," and thus parry the avenging stroke of popular indignation. That "corporations have no souls," is a pithy proverbial recognition of these facts. If conscience is really to be a positive force in administering public affairs, it must be by concentrating power and responsibility in as few hands as possible for clearly specified and strictly limited purposes. Each official must know that any failure in his own department will be at once referred directly to himself, without the possi-

bility of escaping under the plea that he had not the power to prevent it. One of the most prolific causes of political corruption is the multiplication of official positions to which only incomplete power and therefore only partial responsibility are attached. Such a system should be framed and put into operation as shall leave one man solely responsible for the proper conduct of each special department, by giving him entire control of it for the time being, and making it certain that he will be held to the strictest account for the proper administration of it.

The objection that this is to establish universally the "one man power," and violate the spirit of democratic institutions, is fallacious. Democratic institutions require the equal recognition of society and the individual, not the sacrifice of the latter to the former. The people cannot do everything in their collective capacity; they must divide the labor of providing for the collective interests; they must delegate power to individual agents in special provinces of the public concerns; and they must comply with the conditions which will make individual action efficient and honest. The way to do this is to respect the individuality of their servants, to repose a carefully defined trust in each, and to give to each enough power in executing this trust to make it possible and right to hold him individually responsible. In this way alone will it be possible to bring to bear, first the full power of the individual's own conscience in exacting the faithful discharge of his duty, and next the full power of the social conscience in exacting a satisfactory public report of his action. Any system which permits officials to evade personal responsibility for their doings is not only demoralizing to themselves and to the public, but it is also false to the democratic principle, which regards society as merely a union of individuals who are mutually responsible for the use they make of their liberty. The illegitimate "one man power" is that which clothes an individual with undefined and irresponsible authority; but the "one man power" which consists in a delegated, defined, and limited authority within a certain sphere for a certain period, and enables the individual in this sphere to execute his own personal judgment under strict responsibility, immediately to his appointing principal and mediately to the community, is perfectly legitimate, and in fact indispensable to democratic institutions. For this system places every office-holder in the full blaze of a publicity he cannot escape, and favors, not represses, the exercise of his private conscience. Provided the province assigned to each officer is not greater than he can personally supervise, it is a system which must certainly tend to reduce to a minimum the personal failures in office which now are so mischievous and mortifying. Power and responsibility must always go together; it is idle to demand the latter without conceding the former; and the practice of dividing responsibility among too many, or of attempting to exact it under impossible moral conditions, is fraught only with universal disaster.

Hence we hold that the only way to purify and elevate our civil service is, first, to hold out sufficient inducements to attract to it the ablest and honestest persons in the country; secondly, to establish a system of promotion by merit, and not by political favor or partisan subservience; thirdly, to give dignity to official positions by respecting the individuality of their incumbents, which can only be done by giving them full control and undivided responsibility in a strictly limited department; and, lastly, by holding all office-holders to the most rigorous accountability for the faithful discharge of their trusts. The contests of parties should not be for the purpose of deciding who shall hold or distribute the subordinate executive offices, for this ought to be determined by a wise and well-established system of political promotion, but for the purpose of deciding what measures shall be adopted and carried out by the government. To-day the real struggle is too much for the purpose of "dividing the spoils," and both platforms and candidates are used as mere means to this end. But just so long as public offices are regarded as personal prizes, and not simply as honorable trusts to be honorably discharged, so long will politics be a sea of moral nastiness into which no self-respecting citizen will consent to be plunged. The Centennial Year of the republic ought to be marked by at least an honest and vigorous effort to initiate a great reform in the civil service, and to render impossible for the future such national calamities as the accusations brought against Minister Schenck and Private Secretary Babcock. "Caesar's wife should be above suspicion"; and so should Columbia's servants. But mere declamations in favor of good morals are

powerless to achieve reform. Intellect, as always, must be the creator of real reform by devising the best system, providing adequate means of carrying it out, and securing the necessary moral conditions without which all moralizing, however eloquent, is wasted. National virtue will never be furnished by gas companies; there must be particular measures and particular men brought forward, or national virtue will be more and more driven into Fourth of July speeches. The American people are just as honest in the main, we believe, as the English or the German people; but American morality is becoming so depreciated in the market by a few adventurers thrust into prominence by a wretched political system of office-filling that we are all forced to hang our heads for shame in the presence of a justly indignant world. To rectify all this, we need thinkers and actors, not orators; and, above all, we need the "natural morality" of sound intelligence and honest purpose which is inculcated by Free Religion.

TWO SOUTHERN SERMONS.

A few Sundays ago I went to a Presbyterian Church here in this Southern capital. In respect to social standing and culture the church ranks among the highest in the city. The congregation was sober and dignified, and not vulgarly large. There were many empty seats, and some wholly empty pews. The wide side-galleries had only some half-dozen occupants, so that the contribution-collectors did not even take the trouble to go up the stairs. The people were not over-dressed, but well-dressed, with an air of being comfortable in both temporal and spiritual estates. I saw no poor people there. The congregation corresponded very well both in numbers and character to a congregation of similar social rank in a Northern town of twelve or fifteen thousand inhabitants. The minister was not in the least sensational. In both doctrine and manner he was soundly dull. In his sermon, however, he was not without earnestness of delivery; and it was a tolerably well-written discourse. He is a man, I judge, of some theological learning, and of good natural abilities.

But how cribbed and confined he was by his antique creed! From some remarks that he had made in a preliminary notice concerning a proposed series of union revival meetings, in which he referred to the evident need of a real revival of religion as shown by the corruptions of the times, and of this community in particular, and from the passages of Scripture he read in connection with his text, I thought he was certainly going to give a political sermon bearing directly on the political and social crisis in this State, of which the newspapers were full. Others of the congregation thought so too, I conjectured, for there was special alertness manifest in listening to the Scripture passages, which seemed to have a wonderful applicability to the present state of public affairs,—showing how history is ever repeating itself. The passages were from one of the old prophets' stern rebukes of the corrupting sins of the Israelites, with promises of restoration and peace if the hateful iniquities should be put away. They were selections that I used often to read in connection with anti-slavery sermons in the days before emancipation came. But they seemed to be quite as fitting to the present political condition in South Carolina. I put myself into an attitude of eager listening, congratulating myself that, whichever side the preacher should take, I was there to hear this Southern political sermon.

The special text was announced—"Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall become as white as snow,"—and the discourse began. It began far off in the Calvinistic metaphysical scheme of atonement, with not even a reference to the actual experience of the Hebrews out of which the vivid poetical words were originally pressed. Still, I thought, he will not stay there; that is only preface. But the preface over, he announced his subject as "God's power to forgive sin, and the wonderful means—the atoning sacrifice of an Infinite Being—whereby this power is made effective." My hopes dropped. Others of the congregation began gradually, I observed, to grow listless, and some of the men, confident won that nothing disturbing was to be uttered, composed themselves at the head of their pews for their accustomed naps. I continued to look for some practical application at the end to present times and needs. But it did not come. From beginning to end, the sermon contained not an allusion, direct or indirect, to any sins, corruptions or crimes, political, social, financial, alleged to be rife in this community to-day,

and making the chief topic of the newspapers and of conversation. These were the one thing pressing upon the thought of that congregation, and yet the sermon nowhere touched them. It was the old story of Adam's transgression, entailing moral and spiritual disability upon the race, until the disability was removed by the happy thought occurring to the Almighty, that he himself could make infinite atonement for the transgression by suffering death in the person of his own son. And so the golden opportunity for both preacher and people passed and was lost. This was their religion! How could it anywhere go into their daily living? To me it seemed a sacrilegious waste of the sentiments and aspirations, and even of the traditional pious feeling, that had drawn them together at that place and hour.

A Sunday later, passing a plain barn-like building just as it began to grow dark, I was attracted by the numbers of colored people entering it. Looking in, I saw that it was a church (or meeting-house, as the white people would call it) for the negroes. Immediately I turned up the steps. The lower part of the building was already full, and I followed with the throng into the gallery and found a seat, though pretty well in the rear. Services had not regularly begun—that is not from the pulpit,—but the congregation was already singing; apparently any one who chose, after one hymn was finished, starting another, in which the rest joined. And during this volunteer singing, the people continued to crowd in, many bringing chairs with them, until every sitting-place and standing-place in the building was occupied. It was a Methodist congregation, and it proved to be the last service by the pastor previous to his going to another field of labor. It was an exceptional occasion, and the congregation, of course, was exceptionally large, though I was told that generally the house is well filled.

The sermon had several points of interest. The preacher, a colored man, was educated up to the point of respectable grammatical construction, and, after he warmed in to his subject, had considerable fluency. At first his text—"Be ye steadfast," etc.,—hampered him, and he labored rather painfully. But after a time he threw away all care of keeping a connection with his text, and began to preach a farewell discourse full of his own pastoral experience and personality. He praised and thanked his friends without stint, and severely castigated the few enemies in the church who had opposed and slandered him,—though finally forgiving them. The congregation was evidently much interested in this part of the discourse. But the point that most impressed me was the portion addressed to the young men and young women, reviewing, as he said, the aims of his past preaching and efforts in their behalf. His remarks here had great good sense and earnestness. He dwelt upon their opportunities for education and self-improvement, and the importance of their rightly using them; contrasted their condition with that of their fathers and mothers a few years ago; told them they must be sober, industrious, temperate, truthful, pure; that in short, if they would get on in life, they must make themselves men and women, and that the religion which was only emotional excitement, without this basis of good character, did not amount to much.

On the whole, the sermon of this colored preacher seemed to me to strike the real needs of the congregation and the hour much more nearly than had the sermon of the white preacher the Sunday previous. To be sure, after the sermon, when the prayers began—and there was a series of them, in a peculiarly fascinating intonation, for the departing "Brother Jackson and his family,"—and when the congregation broke into their weird singing, not a little of the "emotional excitement" was manifest, and the doctrine of the "atoning grace of Christ" was quite as evidently the basis of the religion here as it had been in the Presbyterian service. But somehow or other, this scheme of atonement, with its cross and blood and dying God, appeared to be more at home among these half-educated, demonstrative, emotional, and childish children of the tropics than in the enlightened and dignified Presbyterian congregation. To the former it was evidently more real. You can easily imagine them to conceive of the crucifixion as a present event close by, and of Christ as actually taking them in pardon by the hand; hence they were all athrill with emotion. But to those Presbyterians it was an act so far away in time and space that it had no power to disturb their serenity or trouble their slumbers. Such a theology in any cultivated section of humanity to-day is an anachronism.

W. J. P.

FREE-THOUGHT NOTES.

No. XII.

BY A VETERAN ENGLISH FREETHINKER.

Physicians have always had a larger share of my affection than priests—not that I undervalue priests in their place. Mere consolation, when there is nothing else you can give a man, is worth his having, when it is consonant with his convictions, and comes from an honest mouth; but the wise physician who saves you from needing consolation is a far more valuable friend. I owe my life to the generous skill of a London physician, Dr. Hugh Campbell, and my eyesight to Dr. Brudenell Carter, an eminent oculist, who with a sure hand examined the chambers of light, and opened the windows once more. For a time I envied the man in the Scriptures, who saw "men as trees, walking," for that was more than I could do. As yet I am not able to read, though I can write a little, but cannot revise it afterwards. I can walk about the streets in the daytime, but wish I was in Paris, where the cabs do not kill you without warning. Three have run at me lately in London, without notice, and one has overturned itself with me in it. It was in Pall Mall. We all smashed over under the window where Cobden died. Not being able to look after my portmanteau, I had had it put in with me, and, seeing the crash must come, providentially (I think that is the right term) it was placed on the side on which the windows would first be broken. Resting myself against it, when I saw the crash must come, I escaped being cut by the glass, and was extricated with a confused impression that my next letter to THE INDEX would be a little disjointed.

You will be glad to hear that we are not devoid in England of great benefactors, like those in your own country, who give without sectarian conditions. In Birmingham (which, being the town of my nativity, I take pride in) magnificent gifts have been made by Sir Josiah Mason. This gentleman, formerly a mechanic of very humble origin, a circumstance which with manly pride he oft recalls, spent a few years ago a million and a quarter of dollars in building and endowing a great Orphanage, free to destitute children, without regard to sex or country, color or creed. He has a chapel in it, to which persons whose religion has no supernatural terrors in it are free to preach to the little ones. Sir Josiah, on giving me the pleasure one day of beholding the many devices which his kind ingenuity had perfected for the comfort of the children, told me his experience of those who applied for leave to preach in the chapel. "I told them," said Sir Josiah, "that I observed that all of them spoke of the souls of the children, but none of their bodies; and I told them that those who conducted any services there must remember that my children had bodies as well as souls, and they must direct their attention mainly to giving them information thereupon."

A solicitor of the town, Mr. Johnson, of unusual capacity for seeing into the future of a trust, has been the legal adviser of the founder of the great Orphanage mentioned, and the trust deed is drawn in a way which admits of the foundation keeping pace with the progress of the age. So far as my knowledge extends, this has never been done in any country so wisely and so securely as in this instance.

Latterly this great benefactor who has given the Orphanage has given nearly a million dollars more for the erection of a great Science College. The London Times, in an account it gave of the gift of this property to the town, said:—

"The management of this college is vested at present in six Trustees—Mr. W. C. Aitken, Mr. J. Thackeray Bunce, Dr. Gibbs Blake, Dr. Heslop, Mr. G. J. Johnson, and Mr. George Shaw, together with the founder, Sir Josiah Mason. After the death of the founder, the corporation of Birmingham is to elect five other Trustees, vacancies in the enlarged body being filled up as they occur, by the Trustees and the Town Council respectively. It is provided that the Trustees shall always be laymen and Protestants, and that no theological test or qualification shall be imposed upon or required from any professor or teacher in the college."

Mr. Johnson named here is the solicitor whom I have mentioned. Mr. Thackeray Bunce is a journalist of assured power, and dispassionate liberality of view. Mr. George Shaw is a man of great scientific acquirements, and of determined philosophical views, so that the interests of the great endowment are in safe keeping.

I see that the quotation which you were kind enough to make from the Nation of the friendly and serviceable notice which it makes of my History of Coöperation, speaks of me as "best known as an avowed atheist"; as though it were bad enough to

be an atheist, but much worse to make the avowal of it. The worst of this sort of writing is that it gives people the impression that you run about the world, obtruding upon it the information that you differ from the majority as to the conclusiveness of human knowledge with regard to the origin of the universe. I never do anything of the kind, and I never did. I always consider that I have as much right to my views as any one else has to his, and, when it is requisite for any purpose of argument, I explain my views. The *Nation* is obliging enough to be "agreeably-disappointed" at not finding in my book the random talk which it expected from my antecedents. The fact is, my antecedents have been all of the other kind. In the many movements in which I have been engaged, I have been trusted precisely because I was not random; and, whenever objections are made to me, it is by ardent colleagues who think push is progress, and are for advancing without any commissariat behind them. My preference is for fighting like a soldier, who plans his assaults in proportion to his resources, and not like a savage who advances with nothing but his whoop and his tomahawk.

The journal entitled *Daily Life*, which some time ago I told you I was proposing to edit, was frustrated by my illness and blindness. For reasons which I think I explained, I had changed the proposed title of my paper from *Secularist* to that of *Daily Life*. Since then I was solicited by a friend, Mr. G. W. Foote, a young advocate both of secular and republican principles, who has won good opinions for himself where he has spoken, to join in editing a journal under the name of the *Secularist*, a title which I have always preferred. The issue has begun with the new year, and will be regularly sent to you. If the *Nation* should happen to look into it, it will, I hope, be of opinion that we propose to recommend ourselves by strong usefulness rather than by "random talk."

The *Secularist* will endeavor to make clear the nature and application of Secular principles, and, to prevent Secular education being frustrated by the theological misconception that that which is Secular must be Atheistic, it will show the advantage of the application of Secular principles to the affairs of this life independently of the question of a future existence, and will discuss public questions on those Secular principles which are seldom clearly stated or kept distinct in controversy. It will promote the increase, and better define the character and operations of Secular Societies, that there may be a distinct and intelligent Secular force in every town, influential in improving the conditions of daily life, and aiding—without compromising—the solution of local public questions. It will point out the wide range and vast importance of those material influences which mar or make our individual life. It will show that every question of home or foreign politics may be judged, and its value substantially determined, by its influence upon the Secular life of the people, and will afford space for the discussion of forms of political government and questions in theology, without rendering its supporters responsible for individual opinions. It will include in its pages the discussion of questions affecting the general welfare of the people, and will endeavor to review, as they appear, the chief works of interest to its readers, and indicate useful contributions to current periodical literature. Lastly, it will give reports of the progress of Secularism, wherever it appears to be doing work distinctively useful.

My name and that of Mr. Foote appear as editors. Of course we are practically co-contributors preserving only such unity of exposition as general agreement, mutual courtesy, and gentlemanly deference to the views of each other may promote. Among the writers are certainly some men of genius and learning, in the classic sense of those terms; but I need say nothing on this head, for, so far as it is true, the reader will discover it for himself.

We have devised an "Independent Department," where any writer may express, within the ordinary limits of good taste, and the absence of dishonoring imputations to others, any opinions of importance and public interest. Articles on Republicanism, or Absolutism, or Athelism, or mere theological criticism of Christianity, belong in this Department, as otherwise Secularism would never have any distinctiveness in the eyes of the reader, and every subscriber to the paper would be held responsible for whatever views might be advanced in the paper. As the object of the associated writers of the paper is the widest possible expression of individual view, it is very likely that many things will appear, for which

neither editor would wish to be held individually answerable; but if, on the whole, our paper proves to be one of any power and usefulness, the reader will be tolerant of many divergences, if they are the conditions of sensible individuality,—of foolish individuality there is no lack.

Yours always,
GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.
22 ESSEX STREET, Temple Bar, London.

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY R. C.

General Schenck has resigned; and the Boston *Journal* states that he would probably have resigned sooner if the President could have found a suitable person to fill his place. We do not think his place can ever be filled. By unanimous testimony of all persons competent to express an opinion, he is the best poker-player in the United States. In this particular, therefore, England can never hope to look upon his like again. In the second place, his success as a "pigeon" has never been equalled by any foreign minister of any nation on the face of the earth. To seek for another man combining these two remarkable characteristics would be a hopeless task. In view, moreover, of President Grant's remarkable ideas concerning suitability for public office of any kind, we respectfully suggest that no attempt be made to fill his place until after the next presidential election.

Since the reception in Boston of the news of the arrest of the forger Winslow, it is reported that certain notes previously said to be forged have been paid by the men whose names appear as endorers,—in other words, some men of commercial reputation took advantage of Winslow's supposed escape, and the absence, therefore, of the only witness against them, to repudiate their own obligations, and dishonorably throw upon others the burden of a loss which rightfully belonged to them. This action is certainly nearly akin to forgery, and is even more contemptible. It testifies plainly to the existence of a mean and cowardly disposition which is restrained from grave crime solely by fear of subsequent discovery and punishment. The rottenness of commercial honor, displayed by these facts, is more than we had been willing to believe in; and we can only hope that the corruption is not yet deeply seated, but may in time be sloughed off and recovered from.

The South Carolina House of Representatives has adopted articles of impeachment against "Judge" Moses by a vote of 91 to 0; and in the Senate a bill has been introduced designed to legislate both Moses and Whipper out of the offices to which they were so recently chosen. Evidently a wholesome change of sentiment has taken place among the members of the South Carolina Legislature. That this change is due in great measure to the opposition of Governor Chamberlain cannot be doubted, and we are thus furnished with a practical illustration of the value of courageous opposition on the part of one man to the ignorance and recklessness of a number of men. Any temptation to rejoice over the action of the Legislature, however, must be resisted somewhat, when we remember that it was the same Legislature which only a few weeks ago elected these men to office, and that nothing is now known with reference to their characters which was not fully known at that time. It is evident that the majority of the colored men of the South will blindly follow the leadership of a few men for a long time to come; and the question of practical importance is not likely to be, What is their particular view of any subject at any one time? but, What is the character of the men in whom they are known to confide?

As we write, the Advisory Council of Plymouth Church is still in session, and as none of the committees have reported, the result of the action of the Council cannot be predicted with precision, save that it will be of no importance. We make this last statement without hesitation, since the Moderator of the Council, Dr. Leonard Bacon, stated at the opening session that "the main question"—that is, the question of Mr. Beecher's guilt or innocence—was not before the Council, and this is the only question, of course, in which the public at large is interested. Mr. Beecher has taken a very active part in the proceedings, and has made many speeches; in one of these he summoned any man who knew anything whatever against his character to come forward and let the truth be known; then he summoned any archangel in heaven possessed of any fact against him to speak out; and finally, he summoned God himself to tell the truth about him. As God and the archangels are not in the habit of attending "Advisory Councils," and as none of his human accusers were present at the time, his summons met with no response, although it evidently made considerable impression upon the members of the Council, and was received with "great applause." It is strange indeed that, when everybody is willing to have the whole truth known, it has already taken one Great Investigation, one Great Trial, two Great Councils, and volumes of testimony and discussion to settle a simple question of fact, some of the main witnesses to which have not been invited or not been allowed to give their evidence. There was a time when the people of this country were supposed to have a little practical common-sense. Amid all this verbiage of "advisory councils," "mutual councils," "tripartite agreements," and "Congregational usages," and throughout all appeals to God and the archangels, it should not be forgotten that the question at issue is,

Did Henry Ward Beecher commit adultery with Mrs. Elizabeth Tilton?

The result of General Babcock's trial for complicity in the whiskey frauds will be known before this is read. Whatever the verdict of the jury, the evidence has shown conclusively that for several years, from 1870 down almost to the present time, General Babcock carried on a confidential and suspicious correspondence, both by letter and telegram, with the leaders of the St. Louis Whiskey-Ring. General Grant has testified at considerable length in favor of his Secretary, and expresses the firmest belief in his innocence and faithfulness; all of which is good as far as it goes, but would be of greater value if General Grant's opinion with regard to the essentials of personal character had not long since lost all weight in the estimation of the best people of our country.

Three weeks ago, in ridiculing mildly certain curi-
osities of legislation in Massachusetts, we referred to the law which regulates the length at which lobsters may be boiled. For this reference we have been gently taken to task by "a lover of the lobster when boiled," who states that the law referred to was passed upon petition of the Massachusetts Anglers' Association because of the rapid diminution in the size of lobsters exposed for sale, this diminution being caused by "the immense demand for lobsters for canning purposes." The early extinction of the lobster was threatened, unless indiscriminate catching could be prevented. We assure our correspondent that we also are "a lover of the lobster when boiled," and that we should be very sorry to have this delicacy disappear, or deteriorate in quality. Nevertheless we hold that there are very many subjects (of which this is one) which are entirely outside of the province of legislation. We do not know of any reasonable theory of legislation with which the law in question can be shown to be in harmony. The attempt to define any such theory would show at once the absurd extremes to which it would inevitably lead. Moreover, when legislation steps outside of its true province, its results are not only mischievous, but, however successful temporarily, in the long run they are always abortive. The very best method of ensuring the continued existence of good lobsters, for instance, is, we believe, to leave them without the protection of legislation. If lobsters deteriorate in quality (a very probable result, at first), people would cease to eat lobsters, and fishermen, consequently, would cease to catch them. After a time, as they again become plenty and good, they would again be caught and eaten; and after a few alternations of scarcity and plenty, lobsters would undoubtedly be propagated in enclosures, or in some other more or less artificial manner, as a matter of business; and thereafter the supply, as of any other producible commodity, would be determined only by the demand. This last result has already taken place in the case of oysters, and also in the more improbable case of the delicious white fish of the Western lakes, the extinction of which at one time seemed inevitable. In these two instances every possible form of legislation was tried and failed, and at last the object sought by legislation was attained by other means. These results, however, only serve to confirm (not to create) our belief that the perpetuation of the race of large-sized lobsters is not a function of the Massachusetts Legislature.

The Senate has passed a bill regulating the transportation of cattle railroads; and has passed also the Pension Bill, although in a different form from that in which it came from the House. The only other bill passed by the Senate during the week was one affecting the disposition of public lands in several of the Southern States; but the precise nature of the bill cannot be determined from newspaper reports. The House passed the Fortification Bill, the amount appropriated being very small compared with previous appropriations for the same purpose. The House passed also a bill relating to the execution of Custom House bonds; as the law now stands, every member of an importing firm is obliged to sign these bonds, an obligation which frequently produces great inconvenience; the new bill allows one member to represent the firm, the responsibility of his act being shared by all. In addition to the above, the House passed the Colorado Bill, and a bill for extending the time for filing claims for additional bounties. It passed also a resolution declaring the 22d of February—Washington's birthday—a national holiday. Among matters introduced, but not yet disposed of, may be mentioned Mr. Anthony's resolution, in the Senate, that speeches delivered in Congress hereafter be printed in the *Congressional Record* as delivered, and that no speeches not actually delivered be allowed a place in the *Record*. This resolution is directed against two vicious practices, and we trust may be passed and enforced by both Houses. Mr. Kerr has been obliged to leave the Speaker's chair, temporarily, on account of ill health, and Mr. Cox has been chosen to fill his place.

The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council—the highest ecclesiastical tribunal, we believe, in England—has decided that a man need not believe in the personality of Satan. No clergyman of the Church of England, therefore, can now refuse the communion to one who does not believe in the devil. When we recall the fact that this same Privy Council recently decided that a Methodist minister might write his own name with the prefix "Rev." on his daughter's tombstone, we begin to feel concerned about the spiritual condition of the Church of England. If it is not necessary to believe in the personality of Satan, then not in the reality of Satan's dominions; if not in the reality of Satan's dominions, then not

in the personality of a deliverer from those dominions; if not—but we forbear. There is logic, and logic, but theology may be neither.

The present aspect of the "Eastern Question" is anything but encouraging. Although the Porte has taken active measures to carry out the reforms proposed in Count Andrassy's note, the insurgents have no confidence in Turkish reform, and demand the acknowledgment of their independence; and Roumania, which has refused the payment of tribute, is said to be supported in her refusal by Russia. On the other hand, Austria is said to have received permission from the Porte to occupy the insurgent territory with her armies—the expense of occupation to be paid by the Porte,—and England has agreed to send a vessel of war in support of the Sultan. If these reports are correct, a very little matter would suffice to bring on a general European war.

Communications.

MR. ARNOTT'S DISMISSAL.

CASTINE, Me., Feb. 4, 1876.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

The article entitled "Religious Proscription in Maine," published in your issue of Jan. 13, has just been brought to my notice. It is not a thoroughly fair statement of the case.

When Mr. Arnett, the assistant teacher of the Eastern Normal School, stated to the principal his intention of taking ground, in his lecture before the Lyceum, against the rule requiring attendance at church, he was requested by the latter not to do so, but, if he considered the rule objectionable, to present his views to the trustees. After the lecture had been delivered, the principal privately expressed his regret to him.

The matter would have ended there, but the assistant then called a special meeting of the Lyceum at an unusual hour, repeated his attacks upon the rule, defied it, and called upon the students to defy it.

Is the removal of a teacher who thus counsels defiance of a rule, "high-handed intolerance" and "petty persecution"? What other course could be taken, unless the trustees were prepared to repeal the rule at once? And would not the average spirit of manhood, even if prepared to do so on a proper representation, hesitate about being thus "summarily" driven into a repeal which had not been even asked for?

Is not the course of a teacher who undertakes to raise a revolt in an institution with which he had voluntarily connected himself—whose rules he knew, or ought to have known, before he joined it—something more than "injudicious"? Is it not dishonorable and contrary to the "requirements of natural morality"?

(I of course impute no intentional wrong-doing.) Had the conscientious scruples of any student been violated there would have been more excuse; but no such charge has been made. In the case of Catholic students who had scruples against attending Protestant churches the rule has been suspended.

Had the assistant first petitioned the trustees for a repeal of the rule—if, failing there, he had resigned his place, and then given full utterance to his sentiments,—he might not have appeared as a victim of persecution, but he would have taken a manlier course, and more deserving of sympathy.

Discussion as to the "grossly sectarian conduct" of the school would be largely of local interest, and would occupy too much of your space. I consider that it has been grossly exaggerated, and that great injustice has been done to those having charge of it. Be that as it may, it has nothing to do with the demerits of the obnoxious rule; they would be the same, and there would be equal reason for defying it were there no whisper of partiality in its management as between Christian sects. It must be remembered, though many forget it, that any religious exercises, at which students of a public institution are required to be present, such as have been conducted in our public schools for years without objection, and under the supervision of some of the strongest objectors to this rule—even the repeating of the Lord's Prayer once a week,—are just as decided violations of the Constitution of Maine and the principles of religious freedom, and ought to be as much defied as the obnoxious rule itself. For it is not the length or the frequency of the religious service, but the compulsory attendance and possible violation of some one's conscientious scruples by governmental authority which constitute the essence of the wrong. To rebel and defy a rule, without even once petitioning those servants of the people who have the power to repeal it, is as subversive of the very first principles of republican government as this rule itself can possibly be.

As one who has no fear of freethought in any direction, and who is ready to advocate any changes in long-established rules or customs that regard for civil or religious liberty may even possibly require, ready to do away with what is unconstitutional as this may be, or violative of religious freedom as it doubtless is, I cannot, as a lover of justice, suffer your article to pass without protesting against the undue sympathy it manifests on one side, and the indiscriminating condemnation on the other. We must be just, even to the Orthodox, and not without good reason accuse them of bigotry, proscription, or intolerance. They do not all live up to the doctrine of total depravity, and the Unitarian, or even the Free Religionist, may sometimes unconsciously color facts a little to make a strong point against them. If it is said, as has been reiterated here in this case, that reformers are always rash, impracticable, fanat-

ical, etc., it may be replied that reformers, equally with other men, need reform, and must not shrink from the application of the same severity to themselves which they use towards others. To the originator of this controversy Whittier's words upon John Brown may be well applied:—

"Perish with him the folly that seeks, through evil, good! Long live the generous purpose!"

G. H. W.

[We publish the above communication without either indorsing or denying its statements of fact, most of which we now hear for the first time. All our own statements of fact were made on the authority of Mr. Arnett himself, whom we now invite to give his own narrative in THE INDEX, in reply to the foregoing. Until all the essential facts are established, comment is useless.—ED.]

THE STATISTICS OF CATHOLICISM.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

If it is worth while to endeavor to settle the question of the number of Catholics in the United States, will you allow me to express the belief that you make the aggregate number rather large, while, if we reckon only the effectives, so to speak, i. e., either the adults or the voters, the Catholic power, as far as numbers are concerned, seems still less great.

I lately wrote to a Catholic bishop whom I knew personally, and whose character in every respect I esteem most highly, begging him to give me the Catholic estimate of the number of his faith in the United States. His reply is as follows:—

"Our general estimate of Catholics in the United States is five millions; perhaps rather more than less. We count all those as Catholics who have been baptized as such, and who have not explicitly renounced the faith. Members of secret societies are counted as conspirators against general good, and cannot be members of the Church Catholic."

Meeting yesterday accidentally a very intelligent gentleman, a Catholic, I asked him the same question as regards numbers, without mentioning the fact that I had already received an estimate from Bishop —, and he gave the very same number as the latter had given.

I have before me a letter from Gen. F. A. Walker, the Superintendent of the Census of 1870, in reply to the same question. He says he cannot aid me in my inquiry; but in the letter makes the remark that "the Catholic authorities have always put forward highly exaggerated statements of their strength."

But let us suppose that the number of Catholics in the aggregate is 5,000,000, and let us calculate the number of voters. In the whole population, 38,900,000, there are about 9,400,000 males over twenty-one years of age, and therefore entitled to be voters. Using this proportion as a basis of calculation, and of the 5,000,000 Catholics, somewhat less than 1,210,000 are voters. But the greater part of the Catholics are Irish, and the proportion of adults is much less than in the aggregate population. Moreover, there is a certain proportion who are not naturalized. It is therefore doubtful if there are more than 1,000,000 Catholics in the country entitled to vote.

For the benefit of those who picture to themselves an appeal to the bayonet, it may be stated that there are not over 2,000,000, certainly not over 2,500,000, Catholic males above the age of fifteen, against 9,880,000, or more, non-Catholics; the whole number, according to the census, being 11,880,000. Probably the disproportion is much greater than this, inasmuch as the proportion of children among the Irish is much greater than among those of other descent.

This calculation is according to the last census report, 1870; but, inasmuch as it is acknowledged that the increase of the Irish is proportionately less than that of the descendants of other nations, it is fair to presume that the disproportion alluded to is greater still.

Gen. Walker, in *Scribner's Magazine*, sometime in 1874, showed that, although the number of children born is larger among the families of Catholics than among the Protestants, the effective increase of the Germans is greater than that of the Irish, who lose their children very heavily in early years.

It is hardly necessary to remind you that I am quite as earnest as you are in the efforts to resist the evident designs of the Catholics in this country, and I believe that, notwithstanding their numerical weakness, their real effective force is immensely great as compared with that of the Protestants.

MEDICUS.

[The authority we quoted was Professor Alexander J. Schem, whose *Statistics of the World* (third revised edition, 1875) is regarded as a standard publication on statistical matters. In the absence of exact census returns, there is of course room for disagreement; but as to the inaccuracy of Rev. W. T. Clarke's figures, whose estimate of the number of Catholics as only 2,000,000 we were criticising, the Bishop above alluded to is a witness quite sufficient to confirm the justice of our criticism. Father Müller, in his *Public School Education*, pages 293 and 390, reckons the Catholics as 13,000,000; the New York *Irish World* reckons them as 10,000,000; the *Catholic World* reckons them as 8,000,000 or 9,000,000. We cannot decide the matter, of course; but we are inclined to consider the *Catholic World's* estimate, which is indorsed by Father Stack in *Harper's Weekly*, as probably not far from the truth. If any one, however, can throw farther light on the subject, we shall be very glad to receive it.—ED.]

Sanctuary of Superstition.

COY.—"God's way is to put you off as long as possible, until you let him know that you must have help, that you are determined to gain a blessing."—Rev. A. B. Earle, in Boston, 1890.

BELLS AND RODS.—A French clerical journal maintains that the tolling of the church-bell is of much greater efficacy than the use of lightning-rods in warding off the effects of a thunder-storm, and advises the faithful to resort to the former means in preference to the latter.

POWERLESS.—Lord I am willing to renounce all other hopes, refuges, and righteousness, and to rely upon thee only. Duties cannot justify me, tears cannot wash me, reformation cannot save me; nothing but thy righteousness can answer for me.—"How to go to Christ": American Tract Society.

A NEW USE FOR THE CONTRADICTIONS.—May it not be that Infinite Wisdom suffered the discrepancies and kindred difficulties to appear in the Bible, with a view to exercise the faith and patience of believers, and to stimulate them to thorough study of the Holy Oracles, as well as for that other most solemn, judicial purpose of furnishing a stumbling-block to those who are disposed to cavil at the truth, to those who "stumble at the word, being disobedient, whereunto also they were appointed"? We can look at the matter in no other light.—Rev. J. W. Haley, of Andover.

AN EVANGELICAL CHILD-TORTURER.—I wish to tell you a touching fact about a little boy here in West Philadelphia. Last Saturday, at the children's meeting in the Berean Church, were gathered a crowd of children and youth. While they were singing with all their hearts from the *Song Evangel*, a gentleman approached and said that a certain boy was wanted, as his mother was dying. I at once stopped the singing and said, "Some one of you has a mother who is dying this very hour," and, looking all around, I pointed at one and another and said, "Is it your mother? If she were dying now, and going home to heaven, could you hasten to her bedside and say, 'Dear mother, I have found Jesus precious to my soul during the past week. I believe that God, for his sake, has forgiven me all my sins, and I feel sure that I shall meet you in that bright world above, where there is no parting and no tears'?" It seemed as if I could hear hundreds of children saying, "I wonder if it is my mother that is dying?"

I then said, "Will Lewis Watts please step this way?" He did so, and as he stood upon the platform before a churchful of children, I asked, "Are you a Christian, Lewis?" His quick reply was, "No, but I wish to be one." I then said to him, "Will you not bow your head now, while all the children pray for you, and pray yourself that God, for Christ's sake, will receive you as his own dear child? You can then go home and tell your dear, dying mother that you feel sure that you will meet her in heaven." Tears at once filled his eyes, and he exclaimed, "I haven't time to become a Christian now." Thus he hastened out of the building, sobbing as if his heart would break, and nearly every one in the audience followed him with tearful eyes. It was one of the most touching sights I ever witnessed. The mother died that very hour. I wonder if her dear son will meet her in heaven.—E. P. Hammond, the *Revivalist*: quoted in the *N. Y. Sun*, Jan. —, 1876.

THE SWEARER'S PRAYER.—What! a swearer pray! Yes, swearer, whether thou thinkest so or not, each of thine oaths is a prayer—an appeal to the Holy and Almighty God, whose name thou dardest so impudently to take upon thy lips.

And what is it, thou swearer, that thou dost call for, when the awful imprecations "damn" and "damnation" roll so frequently from thy tongue? Tremble, swearer, while I tell thee! Thy prayer containeth two parts: thou prayest, first, that thou mayest be deprived of eternal happiness; secondly, that thou mayest be plunged into eternal misery!

When, therefore, thou callest for damnation, dost thou not, in effect, say as follows? "O God! Thou hast power to punish me in hell for ever; therefore let not one of my sins be forgiven! Let every oath that I have sworn, every lie that I have told, every Sabbath that I have broken, and all the sins that I have committed, either in thought, word, or deed, rise up in judgment against me, and eternally condemn me! Let me never partake of the salvation! May my soul and body be deprived of all happiness, both in this world and that which is to come! Let me never see thy face with comfort; never enjoy thy favor and friendship; and let me never enter into the kingdom of heaven!"

This is the first part of thy prayer. Let us hear the second:—

"O God! let me not only be shut out of heaven, but also shut up in hell! May all the members of my body be tortured with inconceivable agony, and all the powers of my soul be tormented with horror and despair, inexpressible and eternal! Let my dwelling be in the blackness of darkness, and my companions accursed men and accursed devils! Pour down thy hottest anger; execute all thy wrath and curse upon me. Arm and send forth all thy terrors against me; and let thy fierce, thy fiery, thy fearful indignation rest upon me! Be mine eternal enemy; and punish and torment me in hell, forever, and ever, and ever!"—*Dublin Tract: "The Swearer's Prayer."*

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By P. J. PROUDHON.

Prefaced by a sketch of Proudhon's Life and Works, by J. A. Langlois, and containing as a Frontispiece a fine Steel Engraving of the Author. Translated from the French by BENJ. R. TUCKER.

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VOLUME 7.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, MARCH 2, 1876.

WHOLE No. 323.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fairs shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

Therefore, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF —.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in —, and thereby to effect the total separation of Church and State in fact as well as in theory.

Also to send delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League, when organized, and to cooperate heartily with all the liberals of the country in furtherance of the above-named object.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

For List of Liberal Leagues, see next page.

"If we are to have another contest in the near future of our national existence, I predict that the dividing line will not be Mason and Dixon's, but between patriotism and intelligence on the one side, and superstition, ambition, and ignorance on the other. Now, the centennial year of our national existence, I believe, is a good time to begin the work of strengthening the foundations of the structure commenced by our patriotic forefathers one hundred years ago at Lexington. Let us all labor to add all needful guarantees for the security of free thought, free speech, a free press, pure morals, unfettered religious sentiments, and of equal rights and privileges to all men, irrespective of nationality, color, or religion. Encourage free schools, and resolve that not one dollar appropriated for their support shall be appropriated to the support of any sectarian schools. Resolve that neither State or Nation, nor both combined, shall support institutions of learning other than those sufficient to afford to every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common school education, unmixt with sectarian, pagan, or atheistical dogmas. Leave the matter of religion to the family altar, the Church, and the private school supported entirely by private contributions. Keep the Church and the State forever separate."—PRESIDENT GRANT, at Des Moines, Sept. 29, 1875.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever in any State be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious practices shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

MR. BANCROFT, the historian, is now in his seventy-sixth year.

THE PRESBYTERIAN clergy of Chicago have voted that "the Bible is not sectarian, and does not engender Church-and-State connections."

THE BOARD OF EDUCATION at Union Hill, New Jersey, after a prolonged agitation of the subject, has ordered by a vote of five to four that the Bible shall be continued to be read in the public schools.

ALLUDING to the story of a Methodist's restoration to health, in Detroit, in direct answer to prayer, a lady correspondent remarks with no little acuteness: "It seems strange that, with such credulity, the professing Christian can ever reconcile himself to disease and death."

GOVERNOR BEDLE, of New Jersey, has recommended to the Legislature of that State, now in session at Trenton, that "the schools should never be shut against the Bible," and approved the law now in force, legalizing the reading of the Bible and the repetition of the Lord's Prayer.

SELDOM is the inconsistency of ordinary Protestant thinking brought out more strikingly than in an otherwise excellent article of the *Pittsburgh Christian Advocate* on the school question. On the one hand it claims that ours is a "Christian government," and on the other hand admits that we have a "secular Constitution."

NEW YORK CITY, according to the report of the Commissioners of Assessments, has \$63,410,000 of private property, which would be regularly assessed at a valuation of \$38,046,000, wholly exempted from taxation. The actual value of the churches is \$38,140,500, and their value, if assessed, would be \$22,884,300. Church-exemption is an expensive luxury, as well as great injustice.

EX-GOVERNOR DIX states that the corporation of Trinity Church, in New York, "pays taxes on every foot of ground used for secular purposes"; that over \$100,000 were paid last September for its property so used; and that "nothing is exempt except the church-edifices, the cemeteries, four school-houses in which free schools are kept, and an infirmary in which the sick receive gratuitous treatment."

TWO CATHOLIC boys have been expelled from a district school in Enfield, Connecticut, because they refused, in compliance with their father's injunction, to read the New Testament on order of the

teacher and the school committee. The latter accuse the boys of general insubordination; but that fact does not justify their own action in the least. Catholics are wronged by such a requisition.

MR. ROBERT RETZEL, of Washington, D. C., gave great satisfaction by an address on the 20th of February, before the Philadelphia Liberal League. The League have been obliged to vacate the hall they have been occupying, "ostensibly as our large audiences endangered the safety of the building, but it is quite likely that prejudice and ignorance had to do with this action of the Trustees. Yesterday [Feb. 20] we met in a larger hall and had a larger audience."

AN ARTICLE which we copy this week from the *Boston Daily Advertiser* considers it doubtful whether the Catholics really object to the public school system as a whole, and "fancies that Bishop McQuaid would be contented with a public school system, if the Catholics might receive a just proportion of the funds to expend for the education of their children in their own way." We think that no thoughtful reader of the Bishop's lecture will arrive at the same conclusion, since he declares that "the State has no right to educate," and that the State should not "interfere with Church or school." A division of the school funds would be to him only an approximation to a right solution of the school question—a first step to the transfer of all education to the care of the Church. This is what the Papal Nuncio demanded in Spain; and it will be demanded here just as soon as the Catholic Church feels itself strong enough to make the demand.

PROFESSOR WICKERSHAM, the Superintendent of Public Instruction in the State of Pennsylvania, said in a late report: "First, then, we mean in the administration of our school affairs to treat all sects, and all parties of our citizens, with the strictest impartiality. The conscientious scruples of all must remain inviolate. No books must be used in our schools, and no exercises take place in them, to which any reasonable man can conscientiously object. Catholic and Protestant, Rationalist and Jew, all must be treated exactly alike. The majority principle must be waived here, and the rights of the child of the most obscure and friendless citizen of the Commonwealth must be respected. The least semblance of proselytism must be avoided, and each must, in this matter, do to others as he would like, in similar circumstances, others to do to him. As I understand it, this is the great doctrine that underlies our whole system of free schools, and its friends will not shirk any consequences that may flow from its strict application both in letter and spirit." This is most admirably said: may the country profit by it!

A NUMBER of Protestant clergymen met in a Methodist church at Albany, on February 14, to discuss church taxation. They voted to present the following petition, which, however, was opposed by Rev. Mr. Young, Unitarian minister at Troy, who made a strong plea for "equal and just taxation" from a secular point of view:—

"To the Honorable Committee of Ways and Means of the Assembly of the State of New York:

"GENTLEMEN,—Having learned that a proposition is pending before you to prepare and report a bill to repeal the act exempting church property from taxation, we, the pastors of the various Christian churches in the cities of Albany, Troy, and vicinity, would express it as our unanimous opinion that the adoption by your honorable body of any measure looking to the indiscriminate taxation of church property would be a great and unjust hardship imposed upon the Christian people of this State. And while we would leave it to your wisdom to say whether all secular or productive property belonging to churches may or may not properly be required to bear its share of the support of the State, yet we would respectfully but most earnestly protest against the imposition of a tax upon houses occupied by congregations as places of worship, and solemnly dedicated to the service of God."

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"The Public School Question, as Viewed by a Catholic American Citizen."

SEVENTH LECTURE BEFORE THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION IN HORTICULTURAL HALL, BOSTON, FEB. 13, 1876.

BY THE RIGHT REV. B. J. McQUAID, D. D.,
 ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOP OF ROCHESTER, N. Y.

(CONCLUDED FROM LAST WEEK.)

MORALS WITHOUT RELIGION.

The secularist maintains that all the knowledge of morals a child need possess may be obtained in a State school without religion. This is true of that species of morals which falls to recognize God, and which has no foundation in supernatural motives. The Catholic does not admit that morality based on pure selfishness is of much worth, or that it will avail a child in the moment of temptation. In this clashing of opinions and beliefs, which shall give way, if there is to be room but for one? Shall it be the Catholic? He appeals to the Constitution of Massachusetts, and to the religious element still abiding in its population. The new condition of educational aims is vastly different from that of fifty years ago. He claims that his higher standard of morality, the nobler motive on which it is inculcated, its adaptability and acceptableness to children (waiving for the moment its divine origin and character), entitle him to have the education of his children permeated and completed by a strong infusion of religious instruction in schools. He contends for the rights and best interests of his own children. He does not dispute the wishes of others, nor seek to impose on them the adoption of his system. He loudly asserts, that in every important point, except costliness of buildings and expensiveness of teachers, Catholic schools are superior to State schools. They are more thorough in secular studies; there is less cramming, and less multiplicity of useless branches of learning; the duties and responsibilities of citizens are brought home to parents, where they belong, fostering a spirit of self-reliance, without dependence on public charity; and all in an atmosphere of religion and morality such as the patrons of the school desire, and are willing to pay for. I am not speaking of the beginnings of a Catholic school in some poor neighborhood. As well might you liken a country school, with its fifteen or twenty scholars, under a school-mistress at three or four dollars a week, to one of your Boston High Schools.

CATHOLICS ASK NO FAVORS.

While the Catholic asks no favor, no privilege, no special prerogative, no right that he does not concede to others, the secularist, on the contrary, in the name of liberality, falls into astonishing illiberality. All must yield to him. He has broken down the evangelical; he will subdue the Catholic. He will concede no rights to others, save the one of bending to his will, if that can be called a right which is the result of sheer force, through the power of a prejudiced

and unrelenting majority. The Catholic wants to know why his right to have schools for his children, in which the tone of religious thought shall be Catholic, is not as valid as the right of evangelicals and secularists to have schools for their children in which the tone of thought shall be evangelical or indifferent to any religion. It must not be lost sight of, in this argument, that our rights go where our money goes. A Catholic's money goes into the schools, and his rights go with it. An inalienable right is infringed upon, is curtailed, is cut off altogether, when he appears at a school-house door, leading his son by the hand, only to find at its threshold the emblem or sign of a hostile creed, or, what is worse in his belief, the chilling atmosphere within of doubt, negation, or an ignoring the God-Creator, Sovereign Lord and Master, and final Judge of man's thoughts, words, and acts, for whom it has been the father's duty to instill into his child's mind and heart the most tender love and reverence.

HOW SOME ARE SAVED.

No one need tell me that I exaggerate and picture from fancy, nor yet again that there are illustrious instances of boys and girls that have passed through the common schools without inhaling the poisonous atmosphere of which I speak. I do not deny the fact. These easily counted exceptions but prove the rule. The prayers, the watchful care, and unceasing devotion of capable and pious parents, must count for much in the saving of these few. Again, there are schools, in which the majority of the children and many of the teachers being Catholics, a diluted Catholic atmosphere floats about the school, rendering less, in some degree, the danger of losing Catholic faith and morals. If we ourselves cannot see this danger, ministers and editors, in sermons, addresses, and editorials kindly point it out, and bespeak our attention. Their zeal and ardor are aroused to new endeavor in the charitable hope of hurting "popery." The thought lends courage to their hearers. "It will de-Romanize the children," says one. "The Bible and the common schools will grind out the Catholicity of the children," says another. Similar expressions might be multiplied without end. Forewarned is for the wise to be forearmed. It was only when the Bible in the schools had ceased to be the question in dispute that the Bible was put on the cold side of the door.

WHAT RAISES THE STORM.

There is small hope that justice, or even patient and unbiassed hearing of our grievances, will be accorded, when, as soon as a voice is raised in behalf of God-given rights, forty thousand pulpits ring with bitter invectives, gross misrepresentations, and appeals to the lowest passions of those who gather around them; when politicians (not statesmen) catch up the cry, and trading away all principle, if they ever had any, ride into office in the fury and madness of the hour. Secret societies, that have so often proved political sepulchres for unprincipled demagogues, lend their help.

The darkest and fiercest hour of the storm is that which precedes its breaking. We take courage, then, from the extreme and unbridled fury of the hour, and from the violent language used in defiance of good taste, reason, brotherly kindness, and all regard for just rights.

LEADERS CHANGE.

The people will yet become disgusted with the unreasonable and changeableness of their leaders. A few years ago they were told to stand by "the Bible in the schools," to "strike down any one who dared raise a hand against it"; that "to die for it would be a glorious martyrdom." Secret societies were formed for its protection. Now editors and ministers frankly confess it was all a mistake; that our liberties do not depend on keeping the Bible in the schools; that to do so is illogical, wrong, unjust to Catholics, Jews, and Infidels. There has been no more powerful advocate of the Bible in the schools than Dr. J. G. Holland, who, in this month's *Scribner*, admits that "the compulsory reading of the Bible was to the Catholic, to the Jew, to the Atheist, a grievance, a hardship, an oppression." "For ourselves," he says, "we must confess to a change of convictions on this matter. . . . If we do away with the grievance of the Catholic, we do away with his claim; and we mark out for Catholic and Protestant alike the path of peace to walk in side by side." The doctor does not seem to understand the nature of our claim. It is not to deprive Protestants of their Bible in their schools; it is to educate Catholic children in Catholic schools with our own money, under State supervision if you please. We do not want Protestant money, nor any State money that was not taken from our purses. We want not one dollar for pope, bishop, or priest; not one cent for our Church. We do not desire the doing away of common schools; we are establishing schools all over the country on a thoroughly democratic basis. We are striving for a stretching of a hide-bound system. We wish it to be more directly under parental control, more economically managed, restricted to its proper function of elementary education, and violating no conscientious duty of parents. It is just as likely that a few years hence the people will be told that education belongs to parents, and that if the State interferes it must be in accordance with the wish of parents. When communism becomes rife and bold, property owners may be willing to discuss principles only to learn that they are reaping as they sowed. Some heads take in truth slowly, others only by trepanning.

FAIR PLAY EXPECTED FROM FREE RELIGIONISTS.

We are justified in expecting fairer treatment at the hands of Free Religionists. If we may trust Herbert Spencer as a worthy exponent of this class, toleration in its widest sense is a fundamental dogma of their

creed: "Our toleration should be the widest possible; or, rather, we should aim at something beyond toleration, as commonly understood. In dealing with alien beliefs our endeavor must be, not simply to refrain from injustice of word or deed, but also to do justice by an open recognition of positive worth. We must qualify our disagreement with as much as may be of sympathy."—*First Principles*.

From scientists and Free Religionists, then, we may expect the same rights they claim for themselves. As they would not consent to our forcing their children into schools under Catholic influences, direct or indirect, so they will not ask that our children shall be forced into schools under objectionable influences. As they do not permit us to decide upon the truth or untruth of their religious opinions, so they will not seek to decide for us upon our doctrines. Here comes in the apparently insurmountable obstacle to an amicable settlement of this vexed question. Each one of the disputants, except the Catholic, wants to make all others bend to his plan, or way, or system, seemingly satisfied that he alone is right. The Catholic, on the contrary, says, Let each one have his own plan; and with an even start, and on equal ground, let it be seen which party, the evangelical, the scientist, or Free Religionist, or the Catholic, can make the greatest sacrifices, accomplish the most work in the most satisfactory manner, for the thorough religious and secular education of all the children they can bring under their control.

NO RELIGION IN A BANK.

Free Religionists, and the large class of Christian religionists represented by Henry Ward Beecher, answer, Religion has no place in the State school; and, with it kept out, the school is as free to one class of religionists as to another, and equally so to Jews and Infidels. To illustrate this theory, they say that as there need be no religion in a bank, a shop, or a business office, so there need be no religion in a school. This is as strong a justification as they can bring.

The comparison falls for want of resemblance between the things compared. A man goes into the bank, the shop, the office. A boy goes to the school. The bank, the shop, the office, has for its object the transaction of its own special material business. The school deals with the boy's mind and heart; is a place set apart for the forming, disciplining, educating the young, by trained and skilled manipulators of the intellect and emotions. The young look up to these teachers with sentiments of respect, and often of reverence; nor are they capable of analyzing and judging the influences brought to bear on them. They are in the school six hours a day, for five days in the week, ten months in the year. They are justified in voting all schooling, in excess of these long hours, a bore. They who go into a bank, or any other place of business, are men grown, fully competent to judge of insidious or open attempts to prejudice their minds on points of religion or morals. These business offices are not monopolies like the State school, and their proprietors know the danger of meddling with their customers' religious opinions. The example of a man asking for a Bible in a hat-shop has not yet occurred; and, when it does occur, it will be met by calling in a policeman to arrest an escaped lunatic. But a child asking a teacher to tell it something about God, Christ, the redemption, sin, or the life to come, would ask a proper question, entitled to an answer from a competent teacher. Much as our opponents may be pleased to protest against religion in the State schools, it is there, and in some shape it will be there till the end of time. I am not speaking of evangelical schools, but of schools purely secular, in which there is no Bible, no text-book of religion, no prayer, no hymn; and yet, in this expurgated and shrivelled-up school, the teaching will be for or against religion, as the teacher happens to be. His children do not come to him to buy bills of exchange, or boots, or hats, but to acquire knowledge, to learn, to take in, through open eyes and ears, information concerning the things they see, and the truths and facts of which they hear. President Anderson, of Rochester University, is an authority in educational methods and means, of great weight wherever known. He exhibits this power of the teacher in a few striking passages, thus:—

PRESIDENT ANDERSON ON INCIDENTAL INSTRUCTION.

"With the element of Christian faith in head and heart, it is impossible for an earnest teacher to avoid giving out constantly religious and moral impulses and thoughts. He must of necessity set forth his notions about God, the soul, conscience, sin, the future life, and divine revelation. If he promises not to do so he will fail to keep his word, or his teachings in science, or literature, or history, will be miserably shallow and inadequate. . . . Incidental instruction in morality and religion, then, ought to be the main reliance of the Christian teacher. The ends of a Christian school, while working by its own laws and limitations, ought not to be essentially different from a Christian Church. The principles we have thus indicated are universal in their application. If the Christian teacher must make the elements of his religious faith color all his teaching, the same must be true of the unchristian teacher. . . . There is no good thinking that is not honest thinking. . . . If parents wish their children educated in Christian principles, they must seek out honest Christian men to be their teachers."

Here in a few words is the plainly-spoken judgment of an experienced teacher. It is true, President Anderson is contending in behalf of higher education in colleges and seminaries. But I do not hesitate to say, with no small experience as an educator, that in elementary schools, where young minds are dealt with, the incidental teaching in morals and religion is of vastly greater extent and effect. They who assert so boldly that children of inquisitive and unfolding minds can frequent schools for secular learning, without being influenced by the dominant religious tone of the school and the teachers, speak without warrant.

THE MULTIPLICATION TABLE.

As meaningless an illustration is that in which the

multiplication table plays a part. There is no religion, they say, in the multiplication table. I never heard any one say there was, while it is not unknown that there may be religion, or antipathy to religion, in him who teaches the table, as well as in the place in which it is taught. A sneer at "popery" requires no allusion to figures or ciphering, unless when the years of the Apocalypse, or the coming of Antichrist, are under discussion.

A COMMON LANGUAGE.

But, after all, the vexed question of religion aside, see the gain to the Republic by giving a common language to all its children, through the common schools. Then why, if that is a gain, provide a teacher of German wherever a few German children are found, or, where there are many, give them a school with German as its language, as in Erie, Penn.? There is room for anything and everything except religion.

DOES THIS SYSTEM ABOLISH CASTE?

Anyhow, it cannot be denied, we are told, that the common schools bring all classes of children to the same level, make them meet on equal ground, and sit side by side on the same benches. This speech belongs to the demagogue and the electioneering stump. The level spoken of may be found in rural districts and small towns; it is quite unknown in large cities in practice, while no one denies the beauty of the theory.

It is well-known that in cities the rich, as a rule, live in neighborhoods where no poor man can have his home. When there is danger of contact, the rich man sends his daintily-nurtured and well-clad child to a private school. There are public schools in New York and Brooklyn, whose pupils come solely from the comfortable classes. What an advantage to the pride of so many admirers of common schools, that thirty thousand children of laborers and mechanics in New York, and twenty thousand in Brooklyn, are educated in Christian free schools! It makes access to the public schools so much the more pleasant. Why is it that so many thousand children receive their elementary education not in the public schools, but in the schools of the Children's Aid Society, under evangelical influences? Is it not beyond doubt that if in New York City the compulsory law were to be enforced, and all the children now running the streets, and all the children now in the Aid Society's schools, and all the children now in the Catholic free schools, were to be marched into their district public schools, an almost equal number of well-dressed children would be marched out? If in any school the influence of money and good society predominates, the poor will quit it for shame's sake; if patched pants and calico dresses rule, the rich will go out for pride's sake. You will find truer democracy in the Christian free schools of New York than in the common schools.

SCHOOL HOURS AND SCHOOL-MASTERS.

The week-day school, we are told, is not the place for teaching religion; there are hours enough for these lessons at home and on Sunday. This advice comes with a bad grace from Boston, since the Medical College of Middlesex has laid down these two rules among others: "The duration of daily attendance, including the time given to recess and physical exercises, should not exceed four and a half hours for the primary schools." "There should be required no study out of school for children of the primary schools."

A more serious consideration is that of compelling parents to be school-masters to their children. It is cruel to put this task on backs already overburdened. Father and mother toil like slaves from morning to night. Do their mentors think of the early rising, the hasty breakfast, the long hours of wearying and exhausting labor, of the fatigued frame that at the coming on of night seeks needed rest? We are not speaking in favor of clerks, merchants, and professional men. They can speak for themselves and their requirements; their friends are numerous, intelligent, and active. Legislation always takes their circumstances and wants into account.

It is among the laboring and mechanic classes that a numerous progeny is found. The mother sees to her household and the wants of her many children. Her education in book-learning may be defective; and, if she undertook to compete with the trained school-mistress, her deficiencies might become known to her young ones. Time, strength, capacity,—all are wanting. Yet she is reminded, if she reads the newspapers, that one minister and another devote their time to the set and formal religious instruction of their children, out of school, in the evenings, on the Saturdays, and with special care on the Sundays; and she is plausibly advised to do the same. These learned, eloquent, leisured clergymen put themselves on a par with the hard-working mason and the humble washerwoman. It is, I say, an unworthy mockery of these respectable bread-winners, day-workers, or betrays profound ignorance of their conditions and daily occupations. These poor people pay their taxes to have others in whom they have confidence, whose religious convictions harmonize with their own, relieve them of a duty they feel incompetent to perform. The Sunday-school and the Church remain. Good children go to Sunday-school; those whose homes are least Christian in spirit and teachings keep clear of it. Besides, who would be satisfied to have his child put off with one lesson a week in any of the rudimentary branches belonging to the common school? Yet the lesson of lessons, the law and will of God as manifested to his creatures, by which character is formed and moral principles are well established, may be satisfactorily learned in the short hour of a Sunday-school.

Parents need the Church and the best services of

the clergyman on Sunday more than their children, that they may not forget the lessons of their youth.

THE SPECIAL ADVANTAGES OF CATHOLIC SCHOOLS.

It seems more than unreasonable to ask Catholic parents to forego advantages attainable in and through Catholic schools,—advantages far superior to any offered by State schools.

First, Catholic schools instruct in all the useful branches of a sound English education.

Secondly, They are more economical, costing no more than one-fourth or one-third the expense of supporting State schools; and commanding at the lowest possible price, merely food and clothing, one of the most expensive necessities of the age and country,—skilled and trained intellectual labor.

Thirdly, Their teachers are devoted to their work of teaching as a life-work; study every day, and waste no time in idle visits and foolish amusements.

Fourthly, The teachers are in sympathy with the religious faith of the patrons of their schools.

Fifthly, Parental schools alone will stand the test of logic; they are consonant to sound democratic republican doctrines; they make possible the inculcation of morality by the authority of a divine Lawgiver; they respect the natural rights of parents, and meddle with and infringe on no one else's rights.

They are a necessity demanded by the circumstances of the times, and the demoralized condition of the country, as well as for the future welfare of the Republic. It is our common country, belonging not to one man more than to another. He is the best citizen, no matter where he was born, who loves it most and labors in his sphere of life, according to his ability, with purest motives, for the honor and prosperity of the Union. He would be a renegade and base betrayer of his country, who, believing that morality on a religious foundation was essential to the safety and continuance of the government, should consent to withhold from children all possible means of growth in sound moral principles and conduct.

RIGHTS OF MINORITIES IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

The experience of every civilized nation of Europe is against the suicidal career that we are entering on. No difficulty is found in countries whose inhabitants are of different religious beliefs, in arranging a system of schools for all. Though some of these countries are spoken of as despotic in character, their despotism never goes so far as to interfere with the religious convictions of Catholic, Jew, or evangelical. At least Catholic Canada, our immediate neighbor, Catholic Belgium, Catholic France, Catholic Bavaria, and Catholic Austria respect the parental rights of the minority, with a sense of justice we would do well to study. The wisdom and good sense of the world are not concentrated in the American people.

THE QUESTION MUST BE SETTLED.

This question, thanks to various causes, is now fairly before the country for discussion and settlement. To shelve it by constitutional amendments will be no lasting settlement. Constitutional enactments in contravention of parental rights not transferred to the State are worth the parchment on which they are written, and no more. This is not an original idea. I have picked it up in Boston. This lesson was taught to the nation by the settlement of slavery.

POLITICAL PARTIES.

The agitation, I must confess, is embarrassing to both political parties; much more so, however, to political aspirants who fear pitfalls, and are anxious lest they bury all their hopes in graves of their own digging. One party is rushing along on its path of injustice, because popular clamor impels that way; the other, half-willing, half-unwilling, does not dare say a word in opposition, for it, no more than the other party, has statesmen for leaders, while politicians abound. We are accused of an alliance with one of these parties. The party that forms an alliance, open or covert, with any religious body in these United States, proclaims its own folly, and signs its own death-warrant. The leaders of the Catholic body are neither fools to trust any political party, nor knaves to seek privileges and favors over the religious denominations of the country by such unworthy and dishonorable means. No prominent politician believes the absurd imputation. It is a sop thrown to Cerberus, to bigotry. We seek equal rights for all, favors for none. Until correct principles obtain recognition, this question, affecting the interests of millions of citizens, will remain a cause of controversy and disturbance. Thirty years of patient submission have brought us scarcely a kindly word; and the condition of helotism into which we have been falling is regarded by many as fitting and proper, and by others as right and just. There is a sound maxim in the American mind, that any class suffering from disabilities and a violation of rights should resort to established methods for a rectification of these wrongs, and that a class that does not care enough to seek a remedy for its sufferings may be left to nurse its grumblings in private, without thought or attention from their fellow-countrymen.

While, therefore, we do not feel disposed to waste gratitude on the Democratic party for favors never received, and owe no more to the Republican party, we have only contempt for the hangers-on of both parties, who would have us hold in abeyance the assertion of our rights, lest this office-seeker or another should be embarrassed. Catholics are learning to break away from both parties, watch events, and treasure in their memories the brave words and deeds of politicians who, taking advantage of a momentary outbreak of bigotry and religious hate, write a record which a few years hence they would give their right hand to blot out.

CHARGES AGAINST THE SYSTEM.

We charge upon the system of State schools, as now carried in these United States, the perpetration of manifold injustices and the upholding of false principles.

First, It is an infringement of parental rights and duties, inasmuch as it compels poor people who educate their own children for conscience' sake, to help educate their richer neighbors' children.

Secondly, It cruelly oppresses poorer citizens by giving to their richer neighbors' sons not simply an elementary education, but an education sufficient to earn their living by means of a learned profession. To put both on an equal footing, poor children should be taught a trade at the expense of the State.

Thirdly, The State does not know what its system should be. In some States the education is restricted to rudimentary studies; in others it extends to a university course. Some States allow a qualified amount of evangelical teaching; others, professing to exclude all religion, permit any except the Catholic. These are the inconsistencies and hypocrisy of the system.

Fourthly, It is narrow, contracted, limited in its scope, afraid of rivalry, and incapable of the very function for which it was established. Its right to educate is denied by its admission that it cannot educate in the true sense of the word.

Fifthly, It stultifies itself; for, beginning on a religious basis, and acquiring its chief renown by the fruits of its first work, it would end by banning and barring all religious beliefs, even "the existence of an overruling Providence."

Sixthly, It establishes a monopoly of a business best left to individual enterprise and the immediate control of parents.

Seventhly, The principles on which it is justified will justify with greater force the claim of the communist to labor and bread.

ADMIT THE WRONG, AND CHANGE THE SYSTEM.

After so much fault-finding with the existing system of common schools, it is not out of the way to ask what system is proposed in exchange. My object is not to propose plans and systems, but to argue that the present one is radically wrong, and needs amendment. Until the American people admit the failure of the system as it now is, no change need be looked for. Once admitted, they will be quick to bring about a change. They will either throw education directly and compulsorily on parents, paying only for those unable to pay for themselves, or they will so broaden the system that all can come under it without the sacrifice of conscientious rights. This plunging into secularism is only the cowardice of the politician who fears to face the consequences of sound logic, common-sense, equal rights, parental prerogatives, and a secretly nourished hatred and conspiracy against the Catholic Church. To put off justice in deference to the expediency of the hour, is the way of the politician; the statesman announces his principles, and stands or falls by them. Truth is old; it is ever new; it endures forever.

FULL DISCUSSION AND FAIR ARGUMENT.

I appear before you at your request. On one point at least we agree. It is your good pleasure to listen to arguments in favor of principles and doctrines with which you do not agree because in your judgment they are not sound. You do not, on that account, question my honesty of purpose, my sincerity of conviction, or my love of country. Perhaps the speaker of this afternoon and his hearers are as wide apart on this question as any two individuals in the country. Yet we have come together,—I, to address you in plainness of speech, not wanting, I trust, in courtesy; you, to listen patiently and attentively.

BOSTON SHOULD SETTLE THE QUESTION.

When designing men are plotting mischief and breeding hate and rancor, it is well for Boston to furnish this useful lesson to other parts of the country.

To you, men of Boston, to the intelligence and honesty of Massachusetts, and especially of Boston, I, in my character of Catholic American citizen, appeal in behalf of the rights of parents for dispassionate consideration of this subject; confident that, if not heeded to-day, the day is not distant when it will be considered. I have said it before, I say it again, that the settlement of this great question, affecting the future welfare and stability of the republic, must come from Boston and Massachusetts. It is more creditable, in the meantime, for us to suffer, to be punished and persecuted, than for American citizens to be the persecutors. The rights you would maintain at any cost for yourselves, I beseech you not to deny to the humblest citizens in the land, however helpless they may seem. For large numbers, who have few to speak for them, I plead before you. Your interests and theirs, as fellow-citizens, are bound together as one. Our country is with unparalleled quickness becoming one of populous cities. These centres of population, notwithstanding extraordinary efforts to counteract the danger, are nurturing street Arabs, wild youths, bands of trained depredators on others' property, hosts of corrupt, demoralized inhabitants. Peaceable and order-loving citizens are bound for their own sake to look at the danger, call to their assistance every available agency, and engage the services of all who can work in this vast and difficult field. In vain will they develop vigor and power of body in the young, and brighten and quicken the intellect, if the cunning of the one, and the passions and appetites that spring from the other, be not held in subjection by the elevation and strengthening of the heart.

HELPERS IN THE WORK.

We offer to do a work for our own poor, which you

yourselves confess you cannot accomplish. We possess, in our religious orders of brothers and sisters, armies of skilled teachers voluntarily consecrated to the work of laboring among poor children, and instructing them in secular learning, while grounding them in virtue and morality. They are ready to spend their lives in this work of highest love and self-sacrifice; they can reach the hearts of these children of poverty; they can calm turbulent passions, and teach self-restraint, love of order, and respect for the rights of others.

The large cities need the services of these workers and teachers. It is unwise, it is worse, to cast them off, in view of the non-success of common schools to reach thousands of poor children; it is unwise to assert principles, that, logically carried out, lead to communism; it is dangerous unto madness to hinder the influences of religion from reaching to the lanes and by-ways of our crowded cities; it is sowing discord, and engendering heart-burnings, to trample on the just rights of any class in a republic.

Parental rights, involving parental duties imposed by the natural and the revealed law, sanctioned and upheld by the common law and the Constitution, cannot be persistently disregarded without danger and detriment to the nation.

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES.

In a few words let me resume and give some conclusions logically deducible from the facts, statements, and arguments submitted to you in this paper.

In a republic whose citizens are of different religious beliefs, who are voters needing intelligence, who are parents breeding races of freemen, the following principles are primary and vital:—

1. The non-interference of the State in religious matters, in church, or in school.
2. Compulsory knowledge, through parents' schools, under parents' control, and at their cost.
3. Free trade in education, or no monopoly of the teacher's profession.

THE SCHOOL QUESTION.

The Free Religious Association has afforded the public a fair opportunity to listen to able statements of the positions of two parties to the controversy in relation to the use of the Bible in the common schools. Bishop McQuaid, of Rochester, one of the most distinguished of Roman Catholic prelates in this country, and by his former utterances especially well-known in connection with the discussion of this question, last Sunday week presented the view of the Roman Catholics; or, at all events, of the priesthood of that Church. Francis E. Abbot, editor of THE INDEX, last Sunday presented the arguments of those who hold that the common schools should be secularized; that is, that instruction in religion should not be attempted in them at all. There is yet another party whose case has not been presented. We mean, of course, those who maintain that the reading of the Protestant version of the Bible ought to be enforced as a part of the programme of common school exercises. The argument of this last class, however, less needs statement in this community, where it is generally understood, and probably, at the present time, is consented to by more persons than either of the other arguments. But those who have heard or read this debate, as well as those who have watched the development of the great debate for years past, will hardly fail to notice that, so far as principles are involved, the Roman Catholics and those who insist upon the reading of the Protestant version of the Scriptures are essentially agreed, and as between them it is simply a struggle as to which kind of religious instruction the schools shall impart; that is to say, which form of religion the State shall favor and support. Therefore it may be considered that Bishop McQuaid in some degree represented all those who maintain that the common schools should be used as a means for the religious education of youth.

But there is one important difference between Bishop McQuaid and the Protestant defenders of the policy of religious instruction. The Protestants desire that their Bible should be read in all the schools, whether Catholics attend or remain away, while the former asks only that the Catholic children may have Catholic instruction. How this may be accomplished Bishop McQuaid does not clearly set forth, but other Catholics have often indicated by a request for a division of the school fund. We are not unmindful that the bishop expressed his dissatisfaction with the whole scheme and tendency of the common school system as at present developed, on the ground of its expensiveness and its ambition to do too much. Some have therefore jumped to the conclusion that he opposed the common school system altogether. Possibly that may be the fact, but we fancy he would be content with a public school system if the Catholics might receive a just proportion of the funds to expend for the education of their children in their own way. How Protestants expended their proportion would not much trouble him then. If they were wasteful, so much the worse for them. They are not all Catholics, by any means, who are questioning whether it is quite the thing for the State to support high-school and collegiate education by public taxation. President Eliot has lately expressed himself strongly to the effect that it is beyond the legitimate province of the State to impose taxes to support the higher education, and last week the rector of Grace Church in Newton contributed a thoughtful paper of similar import to one of the journals of that city. But both these gentlemen are earnest friends of common schools within what they consider to be the appropriate sphere of such schools. On the other hand, whatever Bishop McQuaid's opinions may be, there is a numerous party in the Catholic Church which would sincerely regret the

abandonment of common schools, although they do not pretend not to desire some modifications of the present system which would make it more satisfactory to those of their own faith.

The question at issue is not whether common schools shall be maintained. If the Catholics wanted to be rid of them they know well enough the American people will never seriously consider the question. The only question about which it is possible to have a reasonable and practical controversy is whether the schools, such as they are or may be, whether including the higher or only the fundamental education, shall be schools for secular and religious instruction, or for secular instruction alone. If they are to combine secular and religious instruction, we do not see any fair and honorable escape from the conclusion that a way must be sought and provided by which all children may receive that kind of religious instruction desired for them by their parents. We should deny strenuously the right of any municipality, the majority of which by chance may be Catholics, to enforce the reading of the Douay version of the Bible by the children of Protestant parents attending schools supported by public taxes. We respect the protest of the Jews against having their children taught in the public schools that Jesus was the Christ. We sympathize with the sincere Roman Catholics who think it a hardship to be compelled to pay taxes for the support of schools in which a Scripture that they esteem heretical is exalted as the most sacred revelation of the truth. There is but one way to avoid a struggle between religions for control of the school system wherever there is a chance of advantage, and that is to take the broad ground that the State shall avoid giving distinction and preference to any sect of religious believers, by omitting religious ceremonies and exercises from the daily routine of the schools.

The fear is, on the part of some, that such a policy would result in a general neglect of religion and a propagation of infidelity. These persons, we think, do not much regard the lessons of history. It used to be thought that unless the State sustained the Church the Church would die. But it has been found in our experience that vital religion has lost no force or power by leaving the responsibility for supporting its agencies entirely to voluntary effort. In view of this fact why should there be any doubt that if the entire responsibility for the religious education of children be intrusted to the Church and the family it will be quite as well attended to as now? We know that the Catholic Church will still make objection to the schools, or attempt to do so, but in the nature of things opposition will grow more and more impotent. The State, at all events, will not be amenable to the accusation of partiality to one religious sect to the disadvantage and prejudice of others. It will stand in the same relation to each and all. The pretence, if persisted in, that the State is hostile to religion, while it places no obstacle in the way of parental and priestly authority outside the schools, will not long appear to the intelligent to be anything more than a pretence. The public schools will accomplish their proper work, and the citizen who deprives his children of the instruction they afford will need to provide a good substitute, if he would escape their reproaches.—*Boston Daily Advertiser*, Feb. 22.

WHO ARE THE HEATHEN?

WONG CHIN FOO AT CONCERT HALL.

Owing to the rain-storm but a small audience greeted the heathen orator, Wong Chin Foo, who lectured in Concert Hall last evening, upon "The great Religions of China and Japan," and contrasted Confucianism and Buddhism with Christianity. His English is fluent and forcible, and without any foreign accent. He wore the costume of a "red-button" mandarin, as China bestows that little upon all her learned men, the degree of proficiency being indicated by the number and color of the buttons. On the platform sat his college-mate, Moung San-win. His listeners were so pleased with his graceful and easy manner that after the lecture they crowded around the rostrum to shake hands with him, an operation adverse to Chinese customs, but to which he sociably submitted. The following are extracts from the discourse:—

Ladies and Gentlemen:—I rejoice very much, this evening, to feel so free to express to you sentiments which, if presented in other lands, would, I fear, excite a great deal of prejudice for themselves; but we are in one of the greatest countries of the world, and where men can freely and fully express their ideas. Let us reason together upon one of the most important subjects of the time. There are more than five hundred millions of people who have never heard of the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. Now, according to your Scriptures, what is to be done with all these? Is it possible for a great and merciful God to care for one portion of the human family and neglect the other? I could see nothing reasonable or just in God's sending three-fourths of the human race to hell, for no other reason than the difference between their honest convictions and those of the rest of men. God has given to the various nations a way to salvation fitting their respective peculiar needs. A prevalent idea in this—I am at a loss to know how it originated—is, that the Burmese and Chinese have no proper idea of a Supreme Being. Why, before Germany or France or England knew the art of civil living—when their people were clad like the wild Indians of the West,—then China and Hindostan were as highly civilized as they are to-day. They knew the art of printing, and thousands of years ago some of the most useful instruments of modern times were invented by them. Is it possible that such people could bow down to wood and stone, and not know the difference between the Creator and

His creatures? I admit we have images. I lately saw an intelligent gentleman kneel before a cross; I did not disturb him, knowing that he was communing with his God. When he arose I asked: "Why do you kneel to a cross of wood instead of to God?" He told me that that cross represented the sufferings of the Lord Jesus Christ, and recalled to him the whole Bible; he did not reverence the wood as wood, but as a sacred memorial. In our temples we have images to remind us of God's greatness, and the more readily to inspire fear and humility in our hearts. We, like you, have the Ten Commandments of God; but we have not your first commandment, because the Chinese, unlike the Jews to whom yours was given on Sinai, never fell into idolatry. And yet the Jews were in direct communication with God. Here are ours: First, thou shalt not kill the smallest creature; second, thou shalt not steal; third, thou shalt not infringe the laws of chastity; fourth, thou shalt not lie; fifth, thou shalt not calumniate; sixth, thou shalt not revenge injuries; seventh, thou shalt not excite quarrels; eighth, honor thy father and mother; ninth, preserve faith in the Holy Writings; tenth, believe in immortality. The Golden Rule of Confucius is the same as the great Christian commandment, except, like everything else in China, which is on the opposite side of the earth you know, it reads backward, thus: "Whatsoever you would that men should not do to you, do you not to them." The Christian religion would not take in China; neither would Confucianism in this country, especially our rule: "Grieve not because thou art not promoted to high offices." You live in order to do well; we live in order to live well, loving our fellow-man, practicing morality, never thinking of death till the hour comes, and when it does come, if our lives have been good, we are prepared. People believe the Chinese government to be the most tyrannical in the world; that the Emperor has sole control over the lives of his subjects. It is not so. The Emperor cannot break our laws, and they protect the natural rights of all men. If, after a rule of three years, the head of a city does not improve his people in morality and intelligence, he cannot be promoted; and if a school-teacher, during the same period, make a similar failure with his pupils, he loses his position. In China we never knew slavery until of late years, when Spain, Portugal, and Italy carried off our coolies and little children to sell them in the West Indies and elsewhere. Trace back the history of China for four thousand years, and slavery will not be found on its pages. There all men are equal, as they are here; but we distinguish between the ignorant and the intelligent. Learning is so highly regarded in China that a man with a blue button on his cap can travel all over the country without a penny in his pocket; and when he passes all must stand aside and respect him as one from whom they have something moral and intellectual to learn; for no seminary in China dare issue a diploma to a man of known immorality. The moral is considered far above the intellectual. In making this distinction we obey Confucius, who says we should associate with none who are not equally intelligent with ourselves, lest we become degraded to their rank. The great doctor also says: "Let the public schools be carefully maintained; and let children be early instructed in morals." As the parents give birth to our bodies, so, we believe, our school-teachers give birth to our souls. Many say that we have no religion, but only moral principle. In our opinion, moral principle is religion. To show the similarity of the Buddhist with the Christian religion I will read an extract: "The oracle commanded Vishnu to become a man, and he born in the city of Matra, or Buddha. Vishnu replied: 'I will become incarnate in the house of Sadie, and will issue forth to mortal birth from the womb of Devaci (a virgin). It is time I should display my power and relieve the oppressed earth from its load.' When Devaci became pregnant her countenance was radiant with celestial light. Brahma and Seva, with a host of spirits, came to her and sang: 'In thy delivery, our favored of all women, all Nature has cause to exult. How ardently we longed to look and behold that face, for the sake of which we have come to exult; how ardently we longed to look and behold that face, for the sake of which we have coursed round the three worlds.' " "Put not upon thy neighbor's head a hat that hurts thine own," says Buddha, who stands as Christ does, an intercessor between the Almighty Father and man. Can we not infer, therefore, that man by following such principles as these may inherit the kingdom of heaven? What is a Christian? If I understand, it is to be like Christ. Christ was a good man; a man without sin; therefore, to be good, you must imitate Him. The Buddhist law, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy strength and all thy mind, with thy whole heart and thy whole soul, and thy neighbor as thyself," is also the Christian law. The speaker censured the Presbyterian article of faith which excludes from hope of salvation all who are not Christians. Let those who censure us study our religion and morals, find their faults, and show them to us. If reason prove them right and us wrong, we will concede; but, in this age of reason, never otherwise. Confucius won over his hundreds of millions, not by the sword, but by reason. His followers number four hundred million of the four hundred and fifty million people in China, one-half of the thirty-six million in Japan, nearly all the fifty-three million in Corea, and one-third of the forty-five million in Tartary. You cannot help admiring that great man, because he reasons. Through him those four great territories have been preserved thousands of years in happiness. Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you.

The speaker quoted copiously from Confucius and Brahminical writers, showing highly interesting analogies between Christianity and heathenism. He

caused great laughter in relating how customs in China are directly opposed to those of America, even as the one country is the antipode of the other. His suavity and eloquence made such an impression, that it was with difficulty that he disengaged himself from the friendly throng that besieged him when the lecture was over.—*Philadelphia Times*, Dec. 8, 1875.

DEAK AND KOSSUTH.

The death last week of the great patriot-statesman of Hungary, Francis Deak, naturally suggests comparisons between his career and that of his fellow-leader in the revolution of 1848, Louis Kossuth. After the short-lived Magyar Republic had been crushed by Russian invasion, both continued to labor for the liberation of their country from the tyranny of Austrian rule, but by different methods. Kossuth remained in exile, holding fast to his faith in the possibility of the establishment of a democratic form of government in Hungary, and from asylums on foreign soil continued to agitate for a new revolution. Deak returned, gathered around him, in the form of a compact and determined political organization, the intelligence and patriotism of the Magyar population, and while preserving the form of allegiance to the Hapsburg government, managed to make Hungary a constant thorn in its side. Thus weakened, Austria fought with France in 1859 and lost Lombardy, fought with Prussia in 1866 and was again defeated and crowded out of the German Bund. Deak, who had patiently bided his time, keeping alive the ardent desire of his countrymen for independence while repressing the dangerous zeal of his followers, now saw that the hour for action had come, and in the midst of the prostration and despair which followed the battle of Sadowa, he and his associates extorted from the Emperor a constitution for Hungary which gave her the full right of self-government, and as large a measure of liberty as had been demanded by the patriots of the revolution. Francis Joseph was brought to Pesth, crowned King of Hungary, and made to swear, sword in hand, upon the historic Coronation Hill, a mound of earth brought from a hundred battle-fields, that he would maintain and defend the Constitution and ancient right of a people that had long regarded him as their ruthless oppressor.

The victory of Deak was complete. An equal partnership was formed with Austria for the control of the foreign relations, the army and the navy of the new dual government. The name of the empire was changed to Austria-Hungary, and to the old imperial flag was joined the tricolor of 1848. A separate government, with a responsible ministry, was formed at Pesth, a national guard organized, the Hungarian Diet regained full legislative powers, and the Magyar language was restored in the schools and the courts of law. After the accomplishment of this bloodless revolution, Deak remained up to his death the leader of the Moderate Liberal party in the Diet, which went by his name, opposing alike the Radicals who desired a complete separation from Austria, and the Reactionists who intrigued with the Court party at Vienna to restore the old despotic order. Kossuth declined to return and take a seat in the Parliament of his liberated country, because the government was not republican in form, and the independence gained by his compatriots was not nominal as well as actual. For this he cannot be blamed, and ought not to be underrated. He was a theorist, and he held to his ideals. Deak did not believe in the feasibility of a republic surrounded by hostile monarchies, and resting upon the uncontrolled will of a population of mixed races, some of whom are to-day so little advanced in civilization that their peasantry wear garments of sheepskins with the wool on. Kossuth still lives—a lonely exile in Italy, grandly heroic in his devotion to his early principles, but almost forgotten in Hungary. Deak in his old age was idolized as the liberator of his country, and now that he is dead his memory will be revered as that of Washington is in our own land.

Many interesting anecdotes are told of the dead statesman, illustrating the Spartan-like simplicity of his life. Titles and decorations were offered him in abundance, but he refused them all. Lucrative posts were pressed upon him in vain. He would hold no office but that of representative of the people. A landed estate brought him in a small income. It is said that his expenses were only \$1,000 a year. He lived in a little apartment up two flights of stairs. Many were the attempts made by his friends, in collusion with his landlord, to persuade him to change his quarters to the floor below, but all were unsuccessful. The municipality gave his name to the street in which he lodged. That would no doubt have induced him to move had he not known that wherever he went the name would follow him. When summoned to meet the Emperor in the palace at Buda, to confer upon the new form of government, he went in a one-horse cab, wearing his every-day clothes. Probably he did not possess such an article as a dress-coat. The courtiers were scandalized that he should invade the sacred presence of majesty in such apparel, but he represented the organized will of the Hungarian nation, and the Emperor would have received him gladly if he had worn no coat at all. He used to ride to the House of Representatives in an omnibus that passed his door. A carriage was presented him, but he refused to accept it. Then some of his aristocratic admirers who were unwilling that their great leader should in his feeble health be crowded in a public conveyance bought one of the omnibuses of the line, and at the hour when he left his lodgings the vehicle regularly approached his door as if it had just come along, and had not yet picked up any passengers. As soon as he got in it drove directly to the Parliament house. After a while Deak discovered the cheat, and never entered

the pretended omnibus afterward. He accepted but one legacy, and that was the three penniless children of his dead friend the poet Petöfy, the author of the *Szozat*—the Magyar *Marseillaise*,—whose patriotic verses had made him much beloved by the people. As soon as it was known that Deak had undertaken the care of the orphans, a subscription was set on foot, and a fund amounting to over \$200,000 was raised for them in a few days. Thus they became rich, but their benefactor died as he had lived, poor as far as material possessions constitute wealth, but in a true sense the richest man in all Hungary. His wealth was the love of a whole nation, won by his unselfish devotion to the cause of freedom. Every patriotic Hungarian mourns his loss as that of a father and a benefactor.—*N. Y. Tribune*, Feb. 2.

WORTH CONSIDERING.

A Chicago ministers' meeting has recently debated the question, "Are the churches making men conscientious in moral conduct?" The inquiry is certainly pertinent to the times in which we live. The people of our country are just now much occupied with the obligations of personal religion. They flock to the churches and hear edifying discourses. Evangelists abound, who fill opera-houses, skating-rinks, and whatever structures can be had capable of containing large multitudes. Song is not wanting to work its spells and move to tears. The religious impulse is not limited to the small minority who keep to the quiet by-paths of life, nor to women nor children; it reaches the busiest workers of our cities, who set up prayer-meetings within ear-shot of the market and the exchange. They have drilled devotion till it has assumed the exactness of business method; they sing and pray by the minute, and in addressing the Almighty make sure of being "up to time."

If there are in the outworking of the prevalent religious feeling here and there slight eccentricities, there can be no question of its entire sincerity. No art, no artifice, could produce the results which spontaneously appear, East and West, North and South. But it cannot be denied that there appear at the same time exhibitions of American life which are in sharp contrast with these manifestations of pious emotion. Reverend forgers and lay defaulters, speculators who by a transition as slight as the lapse of a letter become peculators, betrayers of trusts, bribers and takers of bribes are so many, that a large part of the ample space of the *Tribune* is needed to detail their exposure and the mischief they have wrought. Which of these appearances is superficial it might for a moment puzzle an observer to determine. It may be said that the dishonesty is but a surface disease, not incompatible with a healthy condition of the social body; it may be nothing more, and yet it is alarmingly prevalent. There are not lacking desponding critics who maintain that the show of religious zeal now so common is deceptive, and that American society is corrupt through and through. This harsh judgment is, however, contradicted by the ordinary facts of our daily life. A well-ordered community of rogues is an impossibility, and the fact that American society holds well together is evidence that honesty—the cement that binds part to part—has not disappeared.

Be all this as it may, the question of the Chicago ministers is, in one sense, deserving of consideration. Do the churches give sufficient attention to making men conscientious in moral conduct, especially business conduct? That the churches must hold up before the people a lofty ideal of morality is inevitable; the standards to which they in common appeal require no less. But it is the office of the churches to warn men of the dangers to which they are most exposed, to trace prevalent evils to their sources in human nature, and to point out the importance of resisting the beginnings of wrong. At least this seems to the lay mind to be the office of the Church, and the lay mind is extremely puzzled to determine why it is that, at the present time, religion and dishonesty jostle so often against each other.

There is one solution of the problem which may be the correct one. Wide-spread vices will, in a healthy community, evoke an antagonistic force bent on their suppression. An era of paper money, it is well known, is usually an era of extravagance and fraud. The wave of religious feeling now sweeping over the country may be the reaction which, judging from former experience of the world, we are entitled to expect. Can, however, this force bring the nation back to a better observance of the obligations of commercial integrity, without frequent and exact teaching from those whose office it is to give lessons in morals? The suspicious bred of so much fraud have taken all the life out of business. Can the "revival" be made a revival of old-fashioned business integrity? Can it be brought to reach that chief of sinners, the United States government, and so lead it to pay down in solid cash in place of depreciated paper? It is not impossible; and once done would be worth as much to the country as a session of Congress.—*N. Y. Tribune*.

WILLIAM McCUTCHEON, some fifty-one years old, undertook to banter with a starving beggar who asked for alms at Britton's saloon, 126 Greenwich Avenue, New York, on Saturday night, Dec. 11, offering him some bread, and then refusing to give it to him. Finally he put the bread in his own mouth and turned away from the sufferer, bidding him go away. A moment afterward the attention of those in the place was attracted by a peculiar noise being made by McCutcheon, and rushing toward him they found him choking. In a few seconds he was dead. The bread which he had denied the mendicant choked him to death.—*Exchange*.

Poetry.

THE VICTORY OF THE ATOMS;

OR, THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION OF 1874.

Now glory to the Molecules, from which all creatures came!
And glory to the Scientist who spreads abroad their fame!
Oh, hear him tell the wondrous tale that old Lucretius told!
How danced, and jumped, and rolled, and thumped around
the Atoms bold,
Now hither, thither, up and down, through all the realms
of space,
Till every little Molecule was joggled into place.
Hurrah! Hurrah! A single speech hath beat the sermons
all,—

Before the Atomic theory all other systems fall,
There was a time in history—or many years before—
When men made Gods of dead ones, or even something
lower.

Then some of them grew wiser and laid the Gods aside,
But first the great Democritus the little Atoms spied,
Before the swarm of Goths and Huns o'er Greece and
Rome was hurled,

Which covered up for centuries the wisdom of the world.
And then wise Epicurus, who didn't care a fig
For life or death, or anything, for little Gods or big,
In his quiet garden sat, and watched them as they tumbled
o'er,

Till their "subsequent proceedings interested him no
more."

Next, the whirling Atoms struck the rude Tarpeian rock,
Evolving, as they fell, the great Lucretius from the shock;
And, after falling silently through all the realms of time,
Harmoniously arranged themselves in his resounding
rhyme.

But then, alas! for centuries the Molecules were hid
By Popes, and Monks, and Fathers, all beneath the Bible-
lid,

Who strove, with all the pupils of the stupid Stagirate,
By logic and theology to keep them out of sight;
Till Copernicus appeared and Giordano Bruno,
Gassendi and the bishop good (not quite so bright you
know);

While Bacon, Newton, Hobbes, and Boyle for Darwin
cleared the way,

To show how all creative power deep hid in Matter lay;
And slowly worked, age after age, to make or change a
feather,

Or teach the bees Economy and Euclid—both together;
How Wit and Wisdom, Love and Hate, and all that stirs the
soul,

Are only sparks that fall from Atoms, clashing as they roll,
To spread the glorious Gospel, which tells how it is rife
With the potency and promise of every form of life.
Let every age its dream contrive of all that lies beyond—
Fit labor for each mightiest mind to frame some fancy
fond,

While men shall come and men shall go, as clouds of Atoms
made

In Heaven's azure distance into viewless Atoms fade.
Then glory to the Molecules, from which all creatures
came,

And to the great philosopher who celebrates their fame!
Hurrah! Hurrah! The victory is with the Atoms small,
Before their undivided throne all combinations fall!

—*Boston Advertiser*, Jan. 27.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 26.

Mary S. Osborn, \$3.20; W. K. Rogers, \$3.25; C. Vail,
\$1.60; A. Angell, \$3.20; W. A. Leonard, \$3.85; E. P. Wright,
\$3.20; B. B. Hill, \$3; J. T. Brady, \$3.20; H. S. Thomas,
\$1.50; C. M. Cuyler, \$4; E. B. Foote, \$6.65; Henry Whit-
more, \$3.15; J. H. Allen, \$3.20; H. S. Griggs, \$3.20; A. J. S.
Wells, \$3.20; A. H. Roffe & Co., \$2.20; Cash, \$1; E. H.
Aldrich, \$13.20; Jonathan Sawyer, \$10; E. A. Hodadon, 20
cents; Mathias Tiel, 20 cents; James Nye, 20 cents; R. R.
Atchison, 10 cents; R. Lyon, Jr., 50 cents; Mrs. A. T.
Hagan, 25 cents; Mrs. J. C. Godfrey, 10 cents; Thos.
Tasker, 25 cents; Thos. Hughes, 10 cents; J. W. Sulist, 75
cents; J. Asemann, \$5.10; Geo. Hoadley, \$20; Robert Ormiston,
\$10; W. P. Chambers, \$10; G. H. Foster, \$1.75; John
Savary, 50 cents; Geo. Hes, 35 cents; W. V. Street, 25 cents;
A. G. Waitse, 50 cents; H. I. Boulderson, \$4.15; Hunter &
Co., \$2.20; W. J. Birchard, \$10; C. M. Gardner, \$3.20; T. G.
Oreagh, \$3.20; J. Van Blaricum, 50; S. E. Dorr, \$3.20; Dela-
no Patrick, \$3; Joseph Knight, \$10; J. D. Featherstonough,
\$3.25; W. J. Larned, \$3.20; S. C. Mason, \$3.20; G. T. Wood-
man, \$1; Cash, \$4; R. F. Schermerhorn, 10 cents; S. D.
Wakelield, 10 cents; R. C. Bassett, 10 cents; H. C. Lock-
wood, \$3; H. Molleaux, \$1.25; W. A. Jenkins, \$3.25; O.
Jettinger, \$3; D. B. Morton, \$3.25; A. J. Griffin, \$3.40; C.
A. J. Lindsley, \$3.20; T. P. Gere, \$3.25; A. Smith, \$3.20;
Mrs. H. L. Ambler, \$1.50; Mrs. Beckett, 34 cents; S. T.
Headley, 50 cents; J. J. Hoopes, 10 cents; G. B. Richmond,
10 cents; T. B. Skinner, 25 cents; N. P. Brame, 10 cents;
T. M. Lamb, \$11.20.

THE LAWS CONCERNING NEWSPAPERS.

1. Subscribers who do not give express notice to the contrary, considered as wishing to continue the subscription.
2. If subscribers wish their papers discontinued, publishers may continue to send them until all arrearages are paid.
3. If subscribers move to other places without informing the publisher, and the paper is sent to the former direction, they are held responsible. Notice should always be given of the removal.
4. If subscribers neglect or refuse to take their papers from the office or place to which they are sent, they are held responsible until they settle bills and give notice to discontinue.
5. The courts have decided that refusing to take a paper from the office, or removing and leaving it uncalled for, is *prima facie* evidence of intentional fraud.
6. Any person who receives a newspaper and makes use of it, whether he has ordered it or not, will be held in law to be a subscriber.
7. If subscribers pay in advance, they are bound to give notice to the publisher at the end of their time if they do not wish to continue taking it; otherwise the publisher is authorized to continue to send it, and the subscribers will be responsible until an express notice, with payment of all arrears, is sent to the publisher.

The Index.

BOSTON, MARCH 2, 1876.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 1, TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, REV. CHARLES
VOYSEY (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England),
DAVID H. CLARK, Editorial Contributors.

WE ARE requested to state that Sherwood Bonner, author of the satirical poem on "The Radical Club," is writing a series of letters from Europe in the *Boston Sunday Times*. She is now travelling with Mrs. Louise Chandler Moulton.

CANNOT you form a club of five new subscribers to THE INDEX, among your own friends and acquaintance? To clubs of five new subscribers the paper will be sent for a year at \$2.50 each; to clubs of ten new subscribers, at \$2.00 each. An extra copy will be sent free to the getter-up of the club. This reduction cannot be made to any whose names are now on our mail-list, as it is made in the hope that such new subscribers will renew at regular rates. Now is the time to help THE INDEX, if you really value its ideas and aims.

"I WOULD LIKE," writes a correspondent in Canada, "a couple of copies of THE INDEX for Feb. 17th, containing C. K. Whipple's 'Errors of Orthodoxy.' Such plain and pointed writings take well with the common people. The only thing against the increased circulation of THE INDEX among common readers is its high-toned literary character. The masses do not assimilate it easily, and with them lies a large portion of the moving power in Orthodoxy." It is amusing to see that THE INDEX is not in favor with the "unlettered"—Christians!

A BOUND VOLUME OF THE INDEX, either for 1871 or 1872, will be given as a premium to each new subscriber who remits \$3.20 for a year's subscription, or to each old subscriber who remits \$3.20 for a new subscriber obtained by means of his or her efforts. The volume will be sent by express at the recipient's expense; but no volume will be sent at all unless it is claimed at the time of making the remittance. This offer can only remain in force a little while, as the supply of volumes is small; but it is one which those who know the value of these volumes will hasten to improve.

THE "Religious Freedom Amendment," at the suggestion of an earnest friend of that measure, has been printed on half-sheets, for the use of all who are willing to interest themselves in getting it fairly before the people. Space is left below the Amendment for writing; and those who are willing to do a little unselfish work for their country at this crisis can use these half-sheets very effectively by sending them to the editors of daily papers, with a written request to publish the Amendment as a matter of common interest. Copies of this printed Amendment will be sent cheerfully to any address on application at this office.

THE *Maryborough and Dunolly Advertiser* (Australia), in its issue of December 13, 1875, quotes and comments on one of our last autumn's paragraphs: "The Boston INDEX thus summarizes the report of General Pope on the shameful conduct of the Indian Bureau in defrauding the original owners of the soil of their stipulated supplies: 'Contractors and rings have plundered the Indians beyond endurance. Border roughs play Ahab to Naboth, and steal his vineyard. The people of the whole West, with apparently few exceptions, are in favor of extermination, and rejoice to see starvation goaded into a warfare that can end in nothing else; while the government has connived at this cumulative wickedness till every honest citizen is made to feel himself an involuntary murderer. At last the army officers have united in protest, and forced an exposure which lies and tricks cannot any longer suppress. Is it too much to expect that justice will be done at this late day? What 'justice' have the strong races ever shown to the weak ones? Is not the question constantly ringing in the ears of every 'civilized' and powerful nation on the globe, 'Where is Abel thy brother?'"

SOME THOUGHTS ABOUT HONESTY.

"Honesty is the best policy," says the proverb. Perhaps so, and perhaps not. Is it quite safe to assume that dishonesty is always discovered and punished? That no dishonest act ever escapes detection or brings permanent profit to the perpetrator? That no "successful" man, as the world reckons success, has ever been guilty of dishonesty in any form or in any degree? We fear that these and similar questions are too easily answered. The spectacle of triumphant rascality is too common to leave faith in the old proverb altogether unshaken. No doubt there is a great deal of truth in it; no doubt that it is safer in the long run and on the average, even so far as concerns worldly expediency alone, to earn a reputation for honest dealing by uniformly strict regard to all that honest dealing requires. But there are very many whose observation of men and experience of affairs have led them to disbelieve the soundness of the proverb, as a general principle; and some of them go so far as to laugh at the notion that morality has anything to do with commercial or political success, provided one is shrewd enough to keep clear of statutory crimes. They say that what is sanctioned by general usage is moral enough for all practical purposes; yet it is not difficult to instance many customs and habits thus sanctioned which are utterly indefensible, if tested by any high code of morals. When it is declared that "honesty is the best policy," one should understand that the honesty usually meant is merely avoidance of dishonesty so glaring and reckless as to involve danger of incarceration in the State prison. The moment one conceives a high ideal of honesty, superior to the current practices of the business world, the proverb ceases to be true and becomes an obvious absurdity. Even when taken in the former low sense, it is extremely doubtful whether the proverb holds good in much more than a majority of cases; the exceptions are so numerous as to lead not a few persons to mistake them for the rule itself.

There is in the world a great deal more honesty, and also a great deal more dishonesty, both of the merely legal and of the ideal sorts, than comes to the surface of common life. We all grow so indignant over the details of exposures, scandals, investigations, scoundrelisms and crimes in the columns of our daily papers that we are tempted to believe our own generation the worst that ever lived, and to sigh for the pristine simplicity and purity of colonial days; forgetting all the while how the modern press rakes the world for items which got no publicity in older times. For one, we disbelieve utterly in the imagined moral superiority of the past. Robbers, thieves, and swindlers probably form a far smaller percentage of the population to-day than they did a hundred years ago; but they attract more notice because their infamous exploits are now blazoned everywhere in the public prints. Moreover, it is only the prevalent essential soundness of the public morality, at least as tried by the standards which the public practically adopt, that preserves society at all. Undiscovered or only half-discovered rascalities doubtless abound; nevertheless, undiscovered victories of high principle, seldom published even when discovered, undoubtedly abound much more. How could the world hold together, if we did not trust each other? And how could we trust each other, if in our own experience we did not encounter so much more honesty than dishonesty? And how could we encounter so much more honesty than dishonesty, if people did not so largely govern themselves by a nobler rule than—"honesty is the best policy"? Policy is simply a line of action determined upon to compass certain advantageous ends; and if everybody stopped to calculate the probable advantages or disadvantages of paying his debts or fulfilling a trust, the uncertainties of the case would often lead to fraud where now the debt is paid and the trust fulfilled. With all the rogueries daily practised, some detected and probably more undetected, we must not lose sight of the fact, which is a most cheering one, that in a vast majority of instances honest principles govern human action. If it were not so, society would fall into universal suspicion, paralysis, and disintegration. No—public opinion is overwhelmingly in favor of a certain degree of integrity and social morality, and it is sustained by those who generally live up to the standard thus established.

While all this, however, seems to be true, the need of a higher standard of honesty is painfully clear to all whose moral vision is not blurred. Even the average conscience is thrilled by such superb integrity as that of the Baring Brothers, who, having rec-

ommended the bonds of the Eastern Railroad as a good investment, and having found themselves mistaken in the matter, have voluntarily undertaken to pay some half-million of dollars as interest to those who bought these bonds on their recommendation. One such act as this, so contrary to the usages of business circles, is a better moral educator of the people than all the sermons preached in all the churches for a twelvemonth. Its very singularity shows the inadequacy of the received standard of honesty, and tends to raise it in a way that nobody can resist. When all business is done in that high-minded and self-respectful manner, it will become a school of the noblest virtues. Let us all be glad that such deeds are possible in these days of Winslows, and Tweeds, and Joyces.

THE REVIVAL.

They are doing it now in New York. The hippodrome is arranged for the new performances, and is filled nightly by people who enter for "the prize of the high calling." The Evangelists are in spirits. It looks as if they anticipated a more perfect triumph in the great city than they had achieved in the smaller ones. In their vision Babylon is fallen, and the New Jerusalem is visibly coming down out of the clouds.

There is no apparent reason for their hope. The enthusiasm has not reached a high point, nor does it seem likely to. Their task is heavy; not so heavy perhaps as in Brooklyn and Philadelphia, which are eminently "religious" cities; but still difficult, inasmuch as "religious" people are pretty much the same everywhere. In New York they are, if possible, more inaccessible than in other cities, because New York is more worldly than other cities, and "religious people" lead the worldliness.

Two classes offer to the Evangelists subjects for their regenerating work: the professed Christians, and the professed ruffians; the "elect," and the outcast.

The professed Christians, by which I mean not church-members in the strict acceptance of the phrase, but avowed believers in the "plan of salvation," are the majority in our community. They compose the great "middle class," if such an expression may be allowed. They are the active men of business, merchants, financiers, politicians, employers of labor, managers of affairs, controllers of practical interests. They lead the fashion, too, and sustain the institutions that are supposed to keep society together; respectable and conservative people, complacent and felicitous. Religion has encrusted upon them, and formed a hard integument like that of certain pachyderms. They are familiar with all the "experiences," are presumed to be well acquainted with the doctrines, and to have listened to the appeals. The path by prayer to the Throne of Grace is well trodden; the Bible is dog-eared by reading; "their heads are bald from the sermons that have hit them and glanced off." Seasoned like timber that no heat will open, they await the Holy Spirit in entire satisfaction. To reach these well-protected crustacea is of prime moment. It is not intelligence that stands in the way, for they do not know much; they neither read nor think; they are prepared by long docility to believe anything unreasonable, and will oppose no intellectual obstacle to the "shafts of the Almighty." They are simply callous from overmuch conversion. The spiritual soil is lifeless from frequent burnings with holy fire. It is interesting to watch the effect of the Evangelists' efforts to plant living seed in these arid, thin fields. They have begun in earnest. The "subjects" crowd the platform and fill all the seats. The Evangelists give them pungent lessons; pungent for them, rapid and trashy enough to the others. Will they succeed in breaking the rock of self-complacency, and causing a stream of fresh feeling, manward and Godward, to flow out? That is the question.

If they do, the other part of their task may be "antedraped" and taken in hand; namely, the conversion of the actual sinners whom no quickening influences reach, the licentious, the drunken, the dissolute, the dangerous classes that put society on the defensive.

At present, the only form of religion that reaches them is Romanism, the worst form possible for such as they are, for it prevents the growth of the humanity by which alone they can hope to be saved. They need a conscience. Romanism gives them a priest. They want a feeling of social responsibility. Romanism gives them book and rite. They need the sense of personal reliance and courage. Romanism makes them slaves to authority. Romanism may be a proper religion for the cultivated and elegant who

can afford to be symbolical and sentimental, and can please their taste with the luxury of a priest. But for the poor, and darkened, and vicious, different treatment is necessary, a treatment vital, and searching, and swift, such as none can administer as well as "Evangelists" can, if they be genuine Evangelists, wielding the "Sword of the Spirit."

There seems no probability that this work will be attempted, or, if attempted, that it will prosper. The Gospel errs on the side of sentiment. It is too sweet,—even saccharine. The old revivalists burned sulphur freely, and found it valuable as a disinfectant. Mr. Moody substitutes the fragrant words. Can revival-work be carried on in an atmosphere heavy with the perfume from censers? The "good old devil" is a valuable auxiliary on such occasions. He may be too much neglected. The gospel of damnation may have lost its efficacy. But is it safe for those that work to "bring souls to Christ" to presume that it has?

O. B. F.

WOMEN IN THE COURTS.

For more than a year Mrs. Lavinia Goodell, of Janesville, Wis., has been admitted to practise law in the Twelfth Judicial Circuit. A few days ago she appealed to the Supreme Court to practise in said Court; but the honorable judges denied her application. They decide that the rules of construction applying words of the masculine gender to females is only permissive to aid in construing the statutes according to legislative intent, and neither in nor out of the statute can any such intent to admit women to the bar be found. They say that, if this rule of construction were to apply to other statutes to which it is equally applicable, it would break down all distinctions of sex in the State government, and also admit women to nearly all public offices—legislative, executive and judicial.

How it is that the statutes admit a woman to practise in the Circuit Courts, but not in the Supreme Court, is not clear to your correspondent. If the intent of a statute is to decide its application, and there is no such intent in the statute, it would seem that the Court was constrained to deny the prayer of appellant.

As the Supreme Court of the United States lately decided that a woman could not claim the privilege of suffrage, under the Fifteenth Constitutional Amendment on the ground that she was a "citizen," because it was not the intent of the statute to include her, so our Court has decided that she cannot practise law before the Supreme Court of the State because a woman is not a "man" in the intent of the statutes. We may regret the limitations of the statutes, but the remedy is not in over-leaping or crawling through them, but in so amending them that the legal rights of woman to an enlarged sphere of activity shall be clearly specified and recognized.

But the judges show their animus when they add to their judgment this gratuitous advice: "The Court is not sorry that no statute can be found admitting women to the bar of the State courts, for it does not think it the proper place for the exercise of her peculiar qualities, or for the preservation of her purity." Indeed, learned gentlemen, who has asked for your opinion on the proper sphere of woman? As private individuals, you may entertain what opinion you please as to the "proper place" of woman by *Nature*; but, as a Court, you are called upon to decide only what her proper place is by *law*. Your business is to decide what is law, not what the law *ought* to be. You are judges, not advocates.

We submit that neither our supreme judges, our clergymen, nor our physiologists who write so wisely about "sexual cerebation" and the "genesis of woman," have any authority to decide what sphere her "peculiar faculties" shall be limited to. Leave the question of fitness to woman's choice and competition. Experience should teach us better than to decide *a priori* what is the "proper place" of woman. In the Middle Ages politics was regarded as beyond the "sphere" of everybody except the clergy and the army. The original charter of Delaware put the government into the hands of a royal commission, on the ground that "politics lie beyond the profession of merchants." Ignorance was the great accomplishment of women in France two centuries ago; and how long ago was it that the stage, or the pulpit, or a clerkship in public offices was considered no "proper place" for woman in this country?

We are inclined to think that sex is a greater factor in the problem of woman's occupation than most of the female suffragists have admitted; but we still think that the question of woman's sphere of activity should be left entirely to her own free choice and

fair competition. As Stuart Mill says: "One thing we may be certain of—that what is contrary to woman's nature to do she never will be made to do by simply giving her nature free play. . . . What women by Nature cannot do, it is quite superfluous to forbid their doing." If Mrs. Goodell's nature leads her to argue points of law before judges and juries, let her follow her bent of mind. If she succeeds, she has found her calling; if she fails, she simply deserves the sympathy which failure in honest effort always merits.

But, they say, it would be a dangerous place "for the preservation of her purity" to allow woman to practise in the Supreme Court. That depends upon the character of the supreme judges, we suppose, and of the higher class of attorneys. If they are a set of rakes, Mrs. Goodell might be a good deal safer in the bosom of her family. The New York Nation has apprehended danger from such business connections; so does the Roman Church, and forbids her priests to look upon a woman with thoughts of matrimony, and imprisons "purity" in monasteries and nunneries, while the Turk keeps his wife locked in a harem, and only allows the attendant physician to feel her pulse in an arm thrust through the curtain. What amount of intimacy between the sexes is conducive to the highest virtue and strongest character is always debatable; but one cannot see why women are more dangerous as lawyers than as clients, as preachers, teachers, clerks, or servant-girls. If women are in danger in the courts, it is a disgraceful confession,—an insult which every lawyer of honor should resent. But what sort of justice is that which excludes woman from the courts on the ground of her "purity," and admits man to his superior rights because he is a "man," and a being unfit to associate with pure-minded woman? The less virtue, the more rights!

W. H. S.

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY R. C.

The Senate has amended previous bills which authorized the refunding of a portion of the national debt in 4½ per cent. bonds,—extending the time to thirty years, and increasing the amount to \$500,000,000. The present bill, which is said to have been framed with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, and at the request of several European bankers, passed almost unanimously. The Senate also adopted the report of the Conference Committee on the District of Columbia Debt Bill, which puts an end (if the House concur) to the further issue of District bonds by "Boss" Shepherd's Board of Audit. The Senate passed also a bill providing for the sale of timber-lands in the States of California and Oregon, and in the Territories; and agreed with the House resolution making the 22d of February a legal holiday. The House passed a bill intended to prevent the useless slaughter of buffalo in the Territories, and a bill to reorganize the Judiciary; but the provisions of the latter bill are not considered of sufficient importance to be reported in the newspapers. The standard of importance, by the way, of certain Washington correspondents is incomprehensible by the average reader. Mr. Kerr has recovered his health sufficiently to resume the Speakership, Mr. Cox's temporary occupancy of that position, it is said, not having increased his chances of permanently occupying it hereafter. The Democratic Caucus Committee on Finance has not been able to present a bill for the approval of the Democratic Congressman, notwithstanding concessions on the part of the hard-money men, the soft-money men demanding the unconditional repeal of the Resumption Act.

The Republican State Convention of Indiana was held on the 22d. The platform adopted was a long, rambling, and altogether discreditable piece of work. It contains twenty-one resolutions, some of which declare that "the United States is a nation"; that "equal justice should be done to all"; that no State "should interfere in the execution of national laws," and similar incontrovertible propositions. It declares in favor of soft-money, and in favor of common schools; tells how the "patronage of the government" should be disposed; desires amicable relations between the people of the North and South; talks in a meaningless way about taxation, revenue, and economy; praises Grant's administration; and recommends Morton for the Presidency. In view of present national exigencies, it is difficult to imagine a body of men, pretending to the possession of common-sense, adopting a more puerile set of resolutions. Even Morton must be troubled a little by the action of the Convention, as it will now be necessary for him to jump over again to the "soft" side of the fence;—the Convention apparently forgot that his last speeches were upon the "hard" side of the fence, or at least that he faced in that direction while delivering them. Mr. G. S. Orth, an inflationist, was nominated for Governor.

The Democratic State Convention of Connecticut met on the 23d. The platform adopted contained but ten resolutions, and three or four of these contained praises of the Democratic party, congressmen, and State officers. The remainder of the plat-

form advocated Civil-Service reform, a tariff for revenue only, the preservation of public lands for actual settlers, economy in public administration, and the early resumption of specie payments,—proposing, for this last purpose, two practical methods for the consideration of Congress. The platform was outspoken upon the essential questions of the day, contained no verbiage or political cant, and, aside from some expressions of party bias, was worthy the acceptance of honest and thoughtful men of any party. The Convention renominated the present Governor, Mr. C. R. Ingersoll.

The proceedings of the above conventions are worthy of some consideration when we remember that in Congress Mr. Blaine declares that the Republican party is in favor of hard-money, and Mr. Kelley declares that it is not in favor of hard-money; and at the same time we know that the Democratic Caucus of Congressmen seems hopelessly divided between "hard" and "soft." It would seem as though the members of neither political party could be brought into agreement with respect to the fundamental questions of national policy—civil service, currency, and the tariff,—and that both parties therefore must soon dissolve and new parties be formed. But old parties do not easily dissolve, and it may be, therefore, that the old organizations will be preserved until after the next presidential election. If this be the case, it is safe to predict that the result of that election will be determined by the votes of a large body of men who have ceased to regard the interests of either party, as a party, and who in voting hereafter will pay little regard to the name of the party, or even to the platform adopted by the party, but who will be influenced almost entirely by the character and known opinions of the man who is nominated. And it is safe to predict, also, that if either party should nominate a shifting politician—like Morton among the Republicans, or Hendricks among the Democrats,—it would have itself only to blame for its defeat.

It now appears that, notwithstanding positive statements to the contrary, General Schenck has not resigned, has no intention of resigning, and, moreover, that General Grant does not know of any reason why he should resign. To the Congressional Committee now investigating the relations of Schenck to the Emma Mine affair, Secretary Fish has sent word that, in his opinion, General Schenck had no intention of doing anything wrong; and Schenck himself has telegraphed to General Garfield, asking if he is to be sacrificed by a Confederate Congress,—a very shrewd question, under the circumstances, and one which shows that, in the present little game between him and the offended dignity of the American people, he has not forgotten the statement contained in his little book on "Draw-Poker," that one of the main elements of success is "plenty of cheek."

At a serenade given to General Babcock after his acquittal by the St. Louis jury, Colonel Hatch, according to newspaper report, made a speech in which he congratulated General Babcock on the result of the trial, and stated that "the verdict was another evidence of the closing of the gap between the North and South, and the restoration of peace and fraternal feelings." If Colonel Hatch meant by this peculiar statement that the jury had acquitted General Babcock not so much because they believed him to be innocent as because they knew him to be the private Secretary of President Grant, he then expressed the view of the matter which will be taken by not a few people. There may not have been sufficient evidence introduced to prove General Babcock guilty of conspiring to defraud the revenue, but on the other hand he was not shown to be innocent. His promised explanation of the mysterious telegrams was not given, but the introduction of the telegrams as evidence against him was opposed with all the skill of his lawyers. In Scotland the verdict would have been Not proven, instead of Not guilty. General Babcock has escaped imprisonment, but with a badly-damaged reputation. The people of the country are to be congratulated that our President's Secretary has not been sent to jail; but even the little consolation to be derived from this reflection is impaired by the report that "Boss" Shepherd sat in the telegraph office at Washington waiting for the verdict, and was the first man to carry tidings of the acquittal to the President. Some people yet have faith in the old saw, "A man is known by the company he keeps."

The Advisory Council of Plymouth Church adjourned after the adoption of a report which in substance confirms the action of Plymouth Church in the dropping of members, and in other matters of church discipline. It however recommends that church "to empower a commission of five"—to be created by a committee of three, out of twenty persons whose names are given—"to receive and examine all charges against the pastor which they (the commission) may regard as not already sufficiently tried." The "main question," as it was termed by Dr. Bacon, is still left open, therefore, for future examination.

The Beecher scandal has made prominent a fact of considerable importance; namely, that Christian men and women may, without reproach, be guilty of conduct which certainly violates many accepted principles of honor and decency. Mr. Bowen went to the house of Mr. Halliday, last week, in order to place before the Examining Committee the proofs of his charges against Mr. Beecher, but found assembled with the Examining Committee a company of forty or fifty persons, including Mr. Beecher and several members of the Advisory Council. After reading a

document, the contents of which have not been made public, he attempted to leave the room when a Plymouth Church deacon locked the door in order to prevent his departure. This locking of the door, as has since been explained, was done as a "burlesque," or out of pure facetiousness; but Mr. Bowen, not appreciating the mirthfulness of the occasion, started for another door, through which he successfully escaped, several articles of furniture being overturned in his progress. At the subsequent Friday evening prayer-meeting of Plymouth Church, the members seem to have had a "high old time," laughing at Bowen's adventure, and sneering at his charges against their pastor. We do not pretend to know what Mr. Beecher will do with Bowen,—we know only what the self-respect of an innocent man would require; namely, if Bowen is a malignant wretch, he should be forced by judicial proceedings to retract his charges, or to pay the penalty for having made them. If he is let alone, or only excommunicated from the church, decent people may as well hereafter drop all present interest in Mr. Beecher and Plymouth Church, and leave them to wallow in the nastiness from which they refuse to cleanse themselves.

According to the latest reports from France, the Legislature will have a Republican majority in both Houses, and the larger part of this Republican majority, we are assured, is made up of Conservatives of various shades of opinion, the extreme radicals being in a decided minority. The news from Spain is contradictory, of course, but the Carlists appear to be losing ground quite rapidly, and a termination of the war may soon be looked for. The Archbishop of Toledo and other prelates have petitioned the Cortes to prohibit all but Catholic worship in Spain. In the matter of religious toleration, it does not seem possible for Spain to learn wisdom by past experience. The contagion of our recent forgeries seems to have spread as far as Italy, where a noble Marquis is reported to have forged the name of Victor Emanuel to a note for a large amount. English Parliamentary proceedings have not as yet been of general interest, and no news of importance has been received from Turkey during the past week.

Communications.

RARE AND CURIOUS LITERARY PRODUCTIONS.

NEW YORK, Feb. 4, 1876.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

There has recently fallen under my eye a couple of rare and curious literary productions, an account of which may interest some of your readers. One is a French work published in 1860, under the title *Manuscrit Pictographique Américain, par l'Abbé Em. Domenech, Membre de la Société géographique de Paris, et de la Société ethnographique, etc.*, etc.

It purports to be a fac-simile of a hieroglyphic manuscript of the North American Indians of New France in the seventeenth century. It consists of 228 pages of picture-writing, and 119 pages of text. In his preliminary notes, the author states that he found this manuscript in "La Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal," of Paris, where it had been for nearly a century, enclosed in a box, and bearing in the catalogue the title *Livre des Sauvages*. It was done in black and red crayons, upon thick paper manufactured in Canada. He supposes that the Marquis de Paulmy, who formerly owned this library, received it as a present from some traveller, as he had received many Chinese and other Oriental manuscripts from missionaries. Further than this he had no knowledge of the antecedents of this *Livre des Sauvages*. He says it was pointed out to him by the superintendent of the library as a most curious work, and perhaps the only one of the kind in existence.

The Abbé, who was an apostolic missionary, and who had travelled much among the Indians of America, seized upon this treasure as promising to throw much light upon the religious ideas of the Red skins, and seems to have applied himself with the utmost enthusiasm to the work of deciphering the precious manuscript. The possession of great ingenuity and imagination must certainly be accorded to him, as exhibited in his interpretations of these strange characters. Through the French Minister of State, M. Domenech set before the Emperor, Napoleon III., the important fruit of his labors, who, appreciating the very valuable results of his services to literature and to ethnography, took upon himself the responsibility of defraying the expenses of publication at the cost of the State. An edition was printed, and sent forth to produce its sensation upon the world.

But, alas, what a downfall awaited the pride and the expectations of the religious and learned Abbé in his hopes of becoming not only a benefactor of his race, but also of being regarded as a second Champollion! And what a mortification to the government which had fostered his labors, and under whose auspices the remarkable work had been published! Here and there, among the hieroglyphics, were scrawled, in rude letters, forms which had the semblance of words, but to which the Abbé seems to have given little importance. Unfortunately for the expected fame, the work fell into the hands of a learned German, who soon discovered traces of German words and names in the scrawly letters, and who, by other means, verified the fact that the whole thing must have been the work of some German boy, who, for his own amusement, had devoted himself to the production of this series of grotesque figures.

M. Domenech attempted some defence; but, not succeeding, the whole of the edition of the works unsold was suppressed, and that part which had been

sold was as far as possible bought up. But here and there some stray copies remained, and now and then one gets into the hands of a bookseller, and, being regarded as a great curiosity, and being also of extreme rarity, it commands, unbound, the high price of thirty or forty dollars.

The other work referred to, also unbound, is about four inches square and half an inch thick, and for similar reasons as the above sells as high as three dollars a copy. It has the title, *The New Guide of the Conversation in Portuguese and English, by Pedro Carolino*. As is implied, it is designed as a Phrase-Book in teaching English. The general style of the English phrases may be guessed from that of the extracts from the preface which are here given:—

"A choice of familiar dialogues, clean of gallicisms, and despoiled phrases, it was missing yet to studious portuguese and brazilian youth. . . . We sought all we may do, to correct that want. . . . The first part includes a greatest vocabulary proper names; and the second part three Dialogues adapted to the usual precisions of life. For that reason we did put, with a scrupulous exactness, a great variety own expressions to english and portuguese idioms; without to attach us selves (us make some others) almost at a literal translation; translation what only will be for to accustom the portuguese pupils, or—foreign, to speak very bad any of the mentioned idioms. We were increasing this second edition with a phraseology in the first part, and some anecdotes, idiomisms, proverbs, and to second a coin's index. . . . We expect then, who the little book (for the care what we wrote him, and for her typographical correction) that may be worth the acceptance of the studious persons, and especially of the youth, at which we dedicate him particularly."

This little book has been given by a certain physician to convalescent patients, to help on his cure by the stimulus given to their risibles.

A copy of each of these rare works is at present to be found at the Foreign Bookstore of Mr. F. W. Christern, 77 University Place, in this city.

Quite different as to authenticity and importance, is Lord Kingsborough's fac-simile collection of Mexican Antiquities, to be seen in the Astor Library. Not being able to obtain originals of these valuable manuscripts, Lord Kingsborough resolved to get copies of all he could gain access to. This work he gave in charge to M. Augustin Agillo, who, for five years, travelled through Europe, devoting himself to the task of making reproductions of such Mexican hieroglyphical, or painted records and rituals, as were known to exist in libraries and private collections. It was published in London in 1831, and the cost to Lord Kingsborough is said to have been about \$400,000.

The work is in nine thick folio volumes, several of which are occupied by text endeavoring to prove that the ancient Mexicans were the descendants of Jews. There is a good deal of nicety in the more abridged hieroglyphics; and, while the drawing is altogether defective, the colors used in the paintings, and supposed to have been obtained from the simple juices of plants, are very clear and beautiful. In some instances, the interpretation of the figures is quite apparent, while in others it seems altogether arbitrary.

It was my good fortune to listen to explanations of these picture-writings by Dr. Valentini, a German gentleman who has spent thirteen years in Mexico, who is familiar with this mode of writing, as well as with the relics of antiquity to be found there, and who is about to publish a work upon that country.

A. H.

REVIVALISM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

We have revivalism to-day in Pennsylvania in the form of an epidemic—a disease that is preying upon the vitals of reason and common-sense. Were it really producing a radical regeneration of the wicked, as it is pretended, I, for one, could applaud the movement; but that it is, on the contrary, doing infinitely more harm than good, by dethroning reason and making popular a sort of emasculated, sentimental religion, is plainly evident to the unprejudiced observer. The converts in this State, under the ministrations of Moody and Sankey and Hammond, are numbered by thousands, and, as Newville boasts (regretfully I say it) of having produced a part of this "stupendous whole," I have become thoroughly acquainted with the mode of operation.

Rev. Mr. Hammond conducted the initiatory services. His methods of procedure are to bring his powers to bear upon the weak side of human nature. While his actions are like those of a drunken man—a similarity that is increased by a brain affection that causes him to be continually grasping his head in a semi-ludicrous manner,—yet by dramatic manipulation of his active Christian hearers he manages to spread abroad an emotional sensation, under the pressure of which the weak and vacillating portion of his congregation are brought to submit to his dictations. His favorites are little children, whom, of course, he can influence to his desired ends with little difficulty. His leading illustration is the comparison of Jesus to a magnet, and the people to nails of various sizes, from the tack to a railroad spike. The tack typifies little children, and he shows how readily they cling to the magnet. A simple touch, too, attaches the shingle nail, which he likens to a youth. The larger nails are less and less affected, until the big spike—a tough old sinner of the most intractable kind—will not stir under the influence. His management of the little ones, having them weeping and professing beliefs beyond their understanding, should have been denounced instead of applauded. He requests his converts to sign a "covenant" to the effect that they hope they have found

Jesus to be their precious Saviour, and that they will love and serve him all their lives; and some of the little ones who affixed their signatures, when asked if they were Christians, admitted with unsuspected honesty that they did not know.

Mr. Hammond has gone elsewhere to pursue his vocation, but the revival has been continued, and five hundred conversions are claimed. Among them are church-members of long standing, who, under the pressure, have stated that their past religion was a profession merely, and not a reality, and, as some of these solemnly officiated in the administration of the sacrament heretofore, their confessions will detract from rather than add to public confidence.

To the observant, the success of these meetings is no surprise. The labor and money depression, the popularity, the moral pressure, the emotional influences, and numerous social and other features, all brought to bear upon the thoughtless, can have but one result. The new profession is taken on so easily, too. You merely stand up at one stage of the meeting, signifying a desire for prayers, and at another stage of the next meeting, signifying that you have become the "new creature," and the thing is accomplished. As the necessary result of such a mode we have a large number who have much religion in their mouths, but who know nothing of its stern realities. Even the more confident of the old Christians do not expect more than one-tenth of the so-called conversions to be permanent, so that, in order to make "shining lights" of fifty persons who were not really immoral before, four hundred and fifty hypocrites are made. Is it not degrading? Notwithstanding various claims have been made in regard to the conversion of infidels, I am positively aware that not one person who has carefully studied the religious problem in all its bearings, and taken a stand outside the Christian name, has been converted.

While these revivals may aid the cause of free-thought by causing intelligent persons to consider the religious subject thoughtfully, and while they can never array intellect against liberalism, yet it will give to orthodoxy and bigotry numbers, money, and influence, against which the struggle for mental freedom must be long and bitter. For this reason, included in a desire for the elevation of humanity, we must deplore these revivals, notwithstanding we deem them interesting as forming probably the last phase in the conflict between Christianity and civilization.

H.

NEWVILLE, Pa., January, 1876.

THE CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION ON SUNDAYS.

NEW YORK, Feb. 13, 1876.

EDITOR INDEX:—

Dear Sir,—Among the "Glimpses" in last issue of your paper, you repeat a suggestion for those favorable to having the Centennial Exhibition opened Sundays to write the Director General, Mr. A. T. Goshorn, about the matter.

Some time since I was impelled to do so, feeling it right to protest against the Exhibition being governed by Evangelical rules, even though my protest might not be noticed. During the early part of January I addressed a few lines to Mr. John Welsh, Chairman Centennial Commission, having been informed that he was the proper person to address, and briefly and respectfully made my protest. I do not repeat here the words I wrote him, as they were substantially repeated afterward in writing to Mr. Goshorn.

The same day Mr. Welsh received my letter, he replied, informing me that Mr. Goshorn was the one in authority to whom such questions should be submitted. A short note which I then sent to Mr. Welsh was replied to by him, giving me Mr. Goshorn's address, and other general information about the progress of the Exhibition.

On January 20 I sent the following:—

"A. T. GOSHORN, Esq., Director General U. S. Centennial Commission, 903 Walnut Street, Philadelphia:

"Dear Sir,—I presume all citizens are supposed to be interested in the success of your exhibition, and are at liberty to criticise your plans, if they criticise in a proper manner.

"Deeming it my duty to take issue with you on one point, I addressed a few words to John Welsh, Esq., being informed he was the gentleman to whom I should write. I learn from him of my mistake, and also your address. And now allow me to very earnestly and respectfully protest against the reported decision of your honorable body in regard to closing the Centennial Exhibition on Sundays.

"There are many like myself, clerks, who may find it nearly or quite impossible to attend the exhibition if it is closed on Sundays. Yet were this the only reason, I for one would waive it. The mistake in the matter, as it is presented to my mind, is in presuming that this is a 'Christian' nation, and that it is correct on your part to oblige those not believers in the 'Christian' religion to defer to those who are, and observe one day as holy instead of all days. And the fact is that the Exhibition, if opened Sundays, would not compel any Christians to unwillingly attend, while its being closed Sundays would compel all not Christians to conform to Christian customs. Yet pardon me if I seem to invite any discussion. I am but a simple citizen, yet would claim equal right with others to criticise and equal interest in the true success of the national Centennial. Wishing your Commission and the Exhibition success, and with respect for you as Director General and personally, I am,

Yours truly, "A."

Again, on February 12, I wrote as follows:—

"A. T. GOSHORN, Esq., Director General, etc.:

"Dear Sir,—May I add a word to my protest

against the policy of closing the Centennial Exhibition on Sundays, which protest I expressed to you in letter dated January 20, and to which I have as yet received no reply?

"The fact was therein stated that this is not a 'Christian' country, and the conclusion was drawn from that fact, that the Centennial Exhibition should not be conducted to conform to 'Christian' customs in this country where the citizens are of various beliefs."

"And, now that the Congress of the United States will no doubt donate the sum of \$1,500,000 to aid in completing your national work, would it not be proper to consider a moment whether one portion of the people should control the policy of your Exhibition, while the money to be voted for your Commission will be by taxes paid by all, whether Christians, Jews, Infidels, Freethinkers, or those of other beliefs?"

"I am yours very respectfully,"

"A."

As yet I have had no reply to either of above letters; but as I enclosed in each a stamped envelope addressed to myself, I presume I shall have a reply. If I am so favored will inform you.

Meantime I would urge on all who believe in the justice of our Centennial being national, not "Christian," the propriety of expressing to the Director General their views about the matter, briefly and respectfully. Whether our earnest efforts in this direction avail much, the future will decide. We should do our duty when it is clear to us, even if our efforts are not sure to meet with success.

I was very glad to read the article "Reassurance," by O. B. F., in INDEX, February 10.

With firm assurance of the final success of our good cause, believe me,

Yours truly,

"A."

THE RADICAL CLUB AND THE CENTENNIAL.

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 6, 1876.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

The enclosed document, written by Mr. A. B. Bradford, was adopted by our club. A copy was sent to the *Christian Statesman* to publish. The original is sent to you at the request of the author.

Respectfully,

E. M. DAVIS,
President Radical Club.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "CHRISTIAN STATESMAN":—

In your paper of the 22d of January, you publish in part the communication which, in the name of the Philadelphia Radical Club, I sent recently to the *New York Tribune*, touching the question, whether the International Exhibition, next summer, should be opened to the public on all days alike. In this city, and throughout the country, "one man esteemeth one day above another; another man esteemeth every day alike." I agree with the Apostle Paul, whose words I quote, that every man should "be fully persuaded in his own mind." As you have the reputation among the Radicals of being a fair and candid opponent, I hope you will give place in your columns to what I now write.

When my *Tribune* article was an argument, bearing in all its parts on the question whether it was right to close the doors of the Exhibition on the first day of the week, was it altogether courteous in you not to lay it as a whole before your readers? Your paper is read chiefly by those who agree with you in opinion. Do not the interests of truth require that, on so important a subject as the one now under discussion, you should let your readers see what can be said on both sides of the question?

While you admit, and seem to feel the force of, the fact that in the treaty with Tripoli the government of the United States did declare to the world through its constituted authorities that it "was in no sense founded on the Christian religion"; and while you admit that the treaty is a part of the supreme law of the land, you nevertheless wish, seemingly, to avoid the legitimate conclusion resulting from these premises, by saying that the statement in the treaty is not true. But, my dear sir, if, as you allege, the government of the United States is "a moral person," capable of speaking the truth, is it respectful in you to say, either that it was so ignorant that it did not understand its own history, purpose, or function; or that it falsified, when it declared that it was in no sense founded on the Christian religion? I fear you have placed yourself within the sweep of the Apostle Peter's censure, when he says of some of his reckless contemporaries, "Presumptuous are they, self-willed; they are not afraid to speak evil of dignities."

As I give you credit for a desire to have the question at issue fairly and fully discussed, I hope you will lay the whole of my *Tribune* article before your readers, since in all its parts it bears upon the question now becoming so interesting to the public.

Respectfully yours,

E. M. DAVIS,
President of the Radical Club.

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 2, 1876.

REFLECTIONS ON FREETHOUGHT.

It is a serious thing to commune with oneself. Call that being which thinks and feels what you please, the mere function of organized matter or the immortal spirit of man, you cannot pause in the fleeting course of life and enter the secret chambers of thought without being awed by the deep, solemn mysteries that surround you. How vainly do we flaunt our little acquisitions of knowledge before each other. How arrogantly do we boast of our intellectual attainments, when we have successfully predicted an eclipse, or foretold the time and locality of a cyclone! But how our vanity subsides when we

turn to ourselves and ask, "Whence?" and "Whither?" Have the agonizing inquiries of ages answered this startling question satisfactorily for the race?

True, now and then in the history of mankind, a spiritual Archimedes has fancied he has discovered the true solution of the golden problem, and cried to the world, "Eureka!" but the masses have never beheld such rapturous visions. Around all except a favored few the dark unknown is so near and dense that life, with all its light, is little more than a sombre prison, whose walls of impenetrable mysteries mock the ceaseless struggles of the captive spirit.

In my Orthodox associations I have heard many religious "experiences" told by the "faithful followers of Jesus"; and I have observed that doubt, despondency, and fear form a large per cent. of the "Christian warfare." I should like very much to attend an "experience meeting" of the readers of THE INDEX, and hear the old disciples of freethought till their real struggles with the world without, and there own reason and conscience within. What sublime heroism there must be in those lives that have determined to know nothing except the truth as it is in Nature, and in unswerving fidelity to this resolve have through long years of eager study bared their minds and hearts to the realities of thought and feeling! But how much of their investigations have been in the shadowy land of speculation, where still the night of the unknown is dark, and the promise of dawn but fitful and delusive!

Are not these the "times that try men's souls"? There is much to encourage and cheer in this age of irrepressible inquiry. We feel strong and hopeful at times, and rejoice that our lot was cast in an age of intellectual and moral revolution; but we also feel the heavy press of this deep, elemental agitation, and need the generous sympathy of noble hearts no less than the bold guidance of daring minds.

H. CLAY NEVILLE.

KENTON, Mo., Jan. 1, 1876.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH CONGREGATIONAL SOCIETY OF BOSTON.

DEAR EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Your word for the "Memorial Hall" is most fitting and wise. Boston ought, indeed, to be proud of the institution that preserves to us the name of the greatest man that ever lived in her city. Theodore Parker was indeed one of the saviours of the race,—equally great with the sixteen saviours who had the honor of crucifixion, and his spirit still rests upon Boston. Although the cypress tree near the column of Frederick William marks the spot where his sacred dust lies buried in the lovely garden in Florence, I can fancy that his noble spirit, like the mother in the German legend, comes at the hour of service of the Twenty-eighth, and breathes a blessing upon the few who carry on the divine work he began. Let them remember his last words some short time before his departure:—

"Above all things else I have sought to teach the true idea of man, of God, of religion, with its truths, its duties, and its joys. I never fought for myself, nor against a private foe; but have gone into the battle of the nineteenth century, and followed the flag of humanity."

"Now I am ready to die, though conscious that I leave half my work undone, and much grain lies in my fields waiting only for him that gathereth sheaves."

I am deprived of the pleasure which many of your city readers enjoy—of seeing the "light-house," and walking in the bright, radiant, and cheerful beams, else every Sunday would witness to my high appreciation of the noble work of Theodore Parker, and willingness to help it forward, a living blessing to humanity.

SAUGUS, Mass.

THE HIGHEST PERFECTION.

SALEM, Ohio, Feb. 16, 1876.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

I am afraid you must be wearied with this controversy that your definition has drawn about your ears; but pray allow me to say a few words more in reply to your remarks on my letter of Jan. 20, and then forever hold my peace.

I did not at all mean to imply (as perhaps, strictly construed, my sentence can be made to mean) that, in seeking "deliverance from our finiteness," we also sought to lose our identity; but that in intercourse with the infinite we strive to lose sight of our finite and changing nature, and to rest in the immutable and absolute perfection of the great first cause. So, also, in the contemplation of Nature, the most ennobling and delightful effect is, that it leads us to forget our material, superficial existence, and feel ourselves a part of the great whole, from the highest to the lowest. Yet these experiences, I think, only intensify our consciousness of our innermost, highest self, which is part of the divine essence, and our most glorious possession.

I know these aspirations tend to the perfection of man, and consequently our views agree in the result; but, as I said before, I do not think the desire for perfection to be the impelling cause, but the unconscious result.

Truly yours,

M. E. S.

THERE is a colored man living in Lake City, Minn., who goes by the appellation of "Rawberry." A few evenings since, in the Methodist revival-meeting here, he arose and said: "Brethren and sisters, if a man loses his farm, he can get another one; if he loses his wife, he can get another one; if he loses his baby, he can get another one; but if he loses his soul, then Johnny is a goner—he can't get another one!"

Sanctuary of Superstition.

WHAT MEN ALL ARE WITHOUT CHRIST.—Christ is the way: men without him are Cains, wanderers, vagabonds. He is the truth: men without him are liars, like the devil of old. He is the life: men without him are dead in trespasses and sin. He is the light: men without him are in darkness, and go they know not whither. He is the vine: men that are not in him are withered branches, prepared for the fire. He is the rock: men not built on him are carried away with a flood. He is the Alpha and Omega, the first and the last, the author and the ender, the founder and the finisher of our salvation. He that hath not him hath neither beginning of good, nor shall have end of misery.—John Owen, before the English House of Commons.

HELL.—The Methodist preachers of New York and vicinity held their regular weekly meeting in the Mission Rooms of the Methodist Book Concern, Broadway and Eleventh Street.

The following questions were proposed for discussion at the next regular meeting: Shall the wicked be finally destroyed? Will the wicked in hell finally become extinct? Are the future punishments of the wicked permanent? Are the conscious punishments of the wicked endless, or are the punishments of the wicked in hell parallel to the eternal bliss of the righteous in heaven?

An elderly gentleman said that there was a disposition to ignore this subject of hell. The foundation of the Church stands upon this question. If there is danger, let the people see it. Why shut out the light? During the past week I have been approached by the members of my congregation, saying, "I see that the Methodists are dropping their eternal damnation." If the punishment of the wicked is not endless, then the joy of the righteous is not. One doctrine stands with the other. If the views promulgated by Dr. True be allowed to go unanswered it will make me desperate. My very soul is absorbed. It's an awful thing with me.—N. Y. Tribune.

A MICHIGAN MIRACLE.—A letter is published in Detroit, Mich., from Rev. S. E. Warren, pastor of one of the Methodist churches of the city, which makes these remarkable statements: "Mrs. Williams, of this city, a daughter of J. C. H. Woodhull, thirty years old and a widow about eleven years, for fifteen years has been out of health, and for nine years under a doctor's care. For the last ten months she has not been able to walk, and for six weeks could not sit up in bed. So rapidly was she sinking that her friends deemed her speedy demise certain. For six days before the event we record she suffered acute pain, which her emaciated body seemed scarcely able to bear. On Monday, the 13th of December, she felt impressed to pray for her immediate recovery, and she asked of God the gift of health. She realized at once that her bodily ailments, which were many, were giving way, and in a few moments she was able to sit up and read her Bible. Her whole system seemed to undergo a change, and her appetite immediately returned. The next morning she dressed herself. On the Thursday evening following she was at a prayer-meeting, and on Sabbath was at church three times, and ever since then has seemed to be entirely well. She walks, rides about the city, and is able to attend to her household duties. From long illness, through emaciation, she had become very weak, but she has been gaining in strength every day. Her physician, Dr. Webber, a member of the Central Methodist Episcopal Church, says that her recovery cannot be attributed to human skill, but to prayer."

A TALE OF CONVERSION.—Some time ago a man at a prayer-meeting said: "A year ago I came here out of mere curiosity. I had no belief in the existence of a God. I was a complete infidel; and I had become so by devoting myself to investigations in philosophy, falsely so called. I was fully content with my situation. I thought I had sufficient reason to deny the being of a God. But in this meeting I felt the influence of a supernatural power, and I could not help confessing it divine. I came again and again, a silent spectator of all that passed. But when one day I saw here a very large number of business men, I said to myself, 'Certainly it is not human power that leads these men to leave their business to come here and pray. This meeting would long ago have come to an end, if it had originated merely in human consideration.' Thus I was forced to acknowledge that there is a Spirit above these human spirits, moving them to this union of action; and so my reason was thoroughly convinced of the being of a God. Soon I went further, and acknowledged that if there is a God, he must have a plan of government, and that he must be able to reveal himself to man in order to communicate his will to him. And this led me to accept the Bible at once with all its claims. Soon after this I felt that my mental peace was gone. I could find no rest. I was forced to confess that, if the Bible was true, I was a great sinner. I began to feel the need of a Savior, and with all my heart I received Jesus Christ as the Savior adapted to my need. A year ago I was here, an infidel, denying the existence of a God. To-day I am here to confess my faith in Christ as my Lord and my God. All things are become new to me; my wishes are new; my plans are new; my hopes are new."

The consistency, the faithfulness, the manifest sincerity of these Christians spoke silently, but mightily. This was the still, small voice, which the heart of the infidel could not resist.—Watchman and Reflector.

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To substitute knowledge for ignorance, right for wrong, truth for superstition, freedom for slavery, character for creed, catholicity for bigotry, love for hate, humanitarianism for sectarianism, devotion to universal ends for absorption in selfish schemes.

In brief, to hasten the day when Free Religion shall take the place of dogmatism and ecclesiasticism throughout the world, and when the welfare of humanity here and now shall be the aim of all private and public activities.

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OR,

AN INQUIRY INTO THE PRINCIPLE OF RIGHT AND OF GOVERNMENT.

By P. J. PROUDHON.

Prefaced by a sketch of Proudhon's Life and Works, by J. A. Langlois, and containing as a Frontispiece a fine Steel Engraving of the Author. Translated from the French by BENJ. R. TUCKER.

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VOLUME 7.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, MARCH 9, 1876.

WHOLE No. 324.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fairs shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

Therefore, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

- ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF ———.
- ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in ———, and thereby to effect the total separation of Church and State in fact as well as in theory.
Also to send delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League, when organized, and to cooperate heartily with all the liberals of the country in furtherance of the above-named object.
- ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.
- ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.
- ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.
- ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League.
- ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

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ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification for any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

ion. No person shall ever in any State be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious practices shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

WILL SOMEBODY explain to the unsophisticated what it is to be "interned"?

ITALY has her Winslow in the Marquis Montecassino, who forged the King's name for \$40,000.

PROFESSOR TYNDALL was married on February 29 to Miss Louisa, daughter of Lord Claude Hamilton.

CARDINAL McCLOSKEY has purchased the Le Grand Lockwood mansion, at South Norwalk, Connecticut, for a new Catholic college.

"WE DO NOT pretend to say," remarks the New York Tribune, "whereabouts in the mass of contradictory testimony the truth may lie." We venture to suggest that the truth never lies anywhere.

SAYS THE *Civiltà Cattolica*: "The Church is God himself, who is master and ruler of mankind through a visible organism, and of this the head and mouth is the Roman Pontiff." That is Ultramontanism in a nut-shell.

SIR HENRY MAINE says in his *Ancient Law*: "No society which preserves any tincture of Christian institutions is likely to restore to married women the personal liberty conferred on them by the middle Roman law."

MR. SMALLEY writes to the Tribune that a London "yellow fog" has "about the color and consistence of soup made from dried peas." All that the poor want in the world's metropolis, to avert starvation, would seem to be a plenty of spoons.

THE PEOPLE at large, not the churches only, must now utter their voices on the school question. That is what the Liberal League is meant for—to give utterance to the common sense of enlightened patriotism, which declares that purely secular schools alone, not Catholic and not Protestant schools, can be justly sustained by general taxation.

THE INDEX is not specially a political paper, though it has no religion of which *honesty*, political just as much as commercial, social, or intellectual, is not the core. In the interest of honesty alone, it is high time for the independent voters to speak loud enough to be heard in this day of national shame, mortification, and disgrace; and, as merely one of these uncounted voters, we nominate Secretary Bristow for President of the United States.

IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, according to a quotation from the New York Herald in the Boston Advertiser of March 4, the population, within a quarter of a century, has increased about twenty per cent.; and, taking this increase into account, primary education has become about six times as general. Yet, in the same period, pauperism has diminished more than twenty-five per cent., while serious crime has diminished by nearly seventy per cent. This is a most pertinent reply to Bishop McQuaid's intimation that non-Catholic education does not tend to diminish crime.

LIKE A THUNDERBOLT from a blue sky fell the announcement of Secretary Belknap's bribery, resignation, and impeachment, on the public mind. Notwithstanding an element of piteous pathos in some of the facts, pity itself was paralyzed in the great storm of indignation at such base betrayal of a nation's honor, such sordid and long-continued treachery to a nation's sacred trust. Let the House

of Representatives be applauded to the echo that for once it showed a becoming sense of the outraged dignity of the United States—that it stood quibbling about no legal technicalities touching the "constitutionality" of impeaching a public officer after his resignation, but impeached him within an hour. It was the blow that is the only possible answer to an insult for which there can be neither apology nor redress. No: to have dealt it would have been absolutely unpardonable; America would have stained her scutcheon forever, if she had held her hand at such an intolerable moment.

IT WAS at first reported that, only partially confessing his shame to the President, General Belknap exclaimed, "I wish I had killed myself!" and that the President replied, "I wish you had." Such a reply, if made, would have uttered the truest friendliness; for what friend of the General would not have felt relief, if he had shot himself on the spot? Inability to survive his honor was the one virtue that remained possible to the disgraced soldier. That he still lives is the saddest proof of the depth to which he has fallen, and, falling, has dragged his country. When the Tribune says that suicide would have been "a cowardly act," it shows how the namby-pambyism of Christianity has rotted away the very ideal of courage and honor in the Orthodox mind. Suicide would have been confession that, though he had grown callous to the protesting conscience in his own breast, he could still reverence the outraged conscience in the eyes of his fellow-men. There is nothing that this country so profoundly needs as a little unadulterated paganism. If the Japanese law of *hara-kiri* could be introduced here, and every official proved corrupt were compelled by public opinion to rid the nation of his noisome presence in the shortest possible way, the moral tone of the United States would be raised infinitely higher than the Christian gospel has left it. Poor Belknap! We cannot help pitying him, after all; for he had not pluck enough or honesty enough to die. He can endure to live, and behold his country plunged by his own act into the abyss of a world's awfully merited scorn.

AMHERST COLLEGE, the Orthodox home of Prof. Julius H. Seelye (who is both a member of Congress and a staunch champion of the Christian Amendment to the United States Constitution), has a new sensation in a "Radical Club" recently organized among the students. This has fifteen members, all of the Junior Class, who stand among the highest in point of scholarship: three of them were editors of the *Ohio*, and four are editors of the *Student*. The Club meets on alternate Sunday evenings, to converse on some question introduced by appointment; such, for instance, as "The Bible in Literature," "The Bible in the Public Schools," "The Culture, Mental and Spiritual, of Radicalism," "The Inspiration of the Bible," etc. That these young men are representative of the best ability and highest moral earnestness to be found in the college, seems to be conceded. The Springfield Union of February 24 says: "We think our correspondent greatly exaggerates the importance and significance of the Club. College boys must have some outlet for the sap that is in them, and it might as well take one course as another. That it should in this case take the line of free thought is no more surprising than that the Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy at the college should abandon his chair for a seat in Congress." We doubt if any one of these independent young men is green enough to make so very "sappy" a remark as this. Free thought is neither a disease nor a symptom of juvenility, but the healthiest sign of sympathy with the spirit of the age. We expect to hear more of these active young minds in the future. Twenty years hence it is more than probable that they will have established a valid claim to be regarded as the flower of their Class.

"The Public School Question as Viewed by the Liberal American Citizen."

EIGHTH LECTURE BEFORE THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION, IN HORTICULTURAL HALL, BOSTON, FEB. 20, 1876.

BY FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT.

It is my duty this afternoon to speak to you upon the "public school question as viewed by the Liberal American Citizen," terms which I understand to indicate merely the point of view occupied by those who look at this question in the light of well-recognized American principles, and with reference to the interests of the whole people and their self-chosen government, as distinguished from the point of view occupied by those who look at it in the light of other than American principles, and with reference to the interests of a party, a sect, or a church. There is a sectional, and there is also a national, aspect of every great public issue; there is a partisan, ecclesiastical, and sectarian view of the school question, and also a universal, secular, and strictly non-sectarian view of it. It is the latter view alone that I hold, and I shall try to represent faithfully this afternoon all who hold it. That they are only a portion, though a very large portion, of the entire population of the country, I of course admit; but that they look at this question in the light of their own interests as a party, and not in that of the equal interests of each and every inhabitant of the land, I emphatically deny. In other words, I maintain, contrary to the plausible and ingenious misrepresentation sometimes put forward, that the secular party to this school question is not a "sect," and cannot be justly so considered from the mere fact of its not embracing the whole population. If that fact alone were decisive, then unsectarianism is an impossibility so long as a difference of opinion exists among men. But what really makes a party partisan or sectarian is the selfish endeavor to sacrifice the interests of the whole people to their own interests as a mere part of the people; while, if any party aims honestly at securing the interests of the whole people by rendering equal and exact justice to every individual, it is a strictly non-partisan and non-sectarian party. For instance, the Republican party, whatever its subsequent sins, was an organized national and non-partisan party during the war of the rebellion, because it aimed at the true interests of the whole nation, including the very South which was in rebellion; and to-day the great body of honest men who are opposed to the army of corruptionists in politics is an unorganized national and non-partisan party, because it aims at establishing politics on the basis of common honesty, which is really the equal interest of all. Precisely in the same manner I maintain that the secular party on the school question is a strictly non-sectarian party, and not a sect at all, because it aims solely to settle this question on the basis of that equal justice which is the common and supreme interest of all mankind. What I have to say on the school question, therefore, will be said in the interest of no part of the people, but of the whole people; for, unlike some others, I belong to no party or sect which has interests separate from, or hostile to, the interests of the whole people.

But how comes there to be any school question at all? The public school system was established, and has been sustained, by the people itself, solely for the purpose of supplying a universal want: namely, the education of the people's children. Nothing human is perfect, and the school system is not perfect; but it was honestly founded for the good of the whole people, not of a party or sect, and can be improved. Why is there to-day a "school question" to be settled?

THE CATHOLIC PROTEST.

Since the year 1840, when the Roman Catholic Church, under the lead of Archbishop Hughes, began its attack on the public school system, there has been a persistent and determined protest against this system on the ground that it is unjust and oppressive to the Catholic conscience. Whatever the grounds of this complaint, its earnestness and sincerity are unquestionable in view of the fact that the Catholics of the country have voluntarily taxed themselves sufficiently to establish and sustain a great system of Catholic Parochial Schools for the education of their children, under the sole control of the Catholic priesthood, and that now about four hundred thousand children are receiving instruction in them, to the total neglect and disuse of the public schools. A protest manifestly so sincere, urged in the sacred name of conscience, deserves to receive the most respectful and dispassionate consideration of the majority. If the protest is a reasonable one, and if the public school system really infringes the undeniable rights even of a single citizen, reform and redress are the only right course to be adopted; and if not, the fact of even an unreasonable protest on the part of so large and so rapidly increasing a portion of the people is cause for grave disquietude in the minds of all intelligent patriots. The school question thus raised is complicated still further by the fact that the great body of non-Catholics who heartily support the public school system are themselves divided as to the relation it ought to bear to religion—one part holding that the schools should have a distinctively Protestant Christian character, the other part holding that they should be wholly colorless or neutral with respect to religious beliefs. The former maintain an intermediate position between the positions of the Catholic and the secular or liberal parties, and are in fact attempting to reconcile irreconcilable principles. But their consistency or inconsistency does not immediately affect the main question of the support or the abolition of the State school system. Protestants and liberals are nearly unanimous in supporting it, and differ only on

the question whether the schools supported by the State shall be wholly or only partially secular. But the protest of the Catholic Church strikes at the very foundation of State schools; it denies the right of the State to educate at all, and claims the whole field of education as part of the domain of the Church itself. Let us, then, concentrate our attention for the present on the Catholic protest, and consider without passion and without prejudice, how far this protest is grounded in justice and in truth.

MINOR OBJECTIONS.

On the minor objections urged by the Catholic Church against the public school system, I shall touch very lightly, reserving my chief attention for the one great and central principle of its protest.

It is charged, for instance, that the public school system, as compared with the Catholic parochial school system, is unduly expensive, and the merit of superior economy is pleaded for the latter. This may be true to some extent, and is easily explained when the two kinds of education imparted are compared as to their intrinsic value. Economy is not always secured by buying cheap articles; and the cheapness of Catholic education is no argument in its favor, when its character is considered in the light of certain Catholic admissions which might easily be quoted. But that the universal adoption of the voluntary denominational system, supplanting the public schools with church schools established by each sect in its own sectarian interest, could possibly reduce the total cost of education on the whole, is incredible. The cost of so many sets of schools would greatly exceed the cost of our present school system, if the same number of children should be educated with the same degree of thoroughness as now.

Again, the gradual expansion of the common school system, by the establishment of State high schools, normal schools, and universities, is dwelt upon as a great evil, which will ultimately involve the destruction of denominational institutions of the corresponding grade. Perhaps no higher encomium, in the eyes of every enlightened friend of education who knows the worthlessness of most denominational colleges, could be passed upon our present system. Whoever is competent to compare Cornell University and Michigan University with sectarian colleges that could easily be named will see that this objection is of the nature of a boomerang, and returns to damage the unskilful launcher of it. It would be foreign to my present subject to discuss the equity of sustaining high schools, normal schools, and universities, as State institutions, since we are now concerned only with the elementary public schools as such; but I would enter a general denial of the assumption that the lower grades of State schools are inequitable because of the supposed inherent tendency of the system to expand into higher institutions of learning. Certainly a very strong argument can be made, on grounds of a thoroughly democratic character, in defence of that tendency, if it exists.

Again, the argument that the secular education given in the common schools not only does not tend to diminish crime, as is claimed by their friends, but on the contrary does tend directly to foster immorality both in teachers and pupils, was urged on this platform last Sunday by Bishop McQuaid. But statistics of unquestionable accuracy are against him on the former point, as any one may learn from the "Report of the Committee on Education of the New York City Council of Political Reform on Compulsory Education," published in 1873; while on the latter point it is sufficient to say that moral abuses tend to creep into every great institution, and that infinitely worse stories are told, on authority at least as good, of the immorality practised in Roman Catholic convents, nunneries, monasteries, and so forth, than have ever been told of American public schools. This is a very dangerous argument for Roman Catholics to use; it will hurt their own Church a great deal more than it can possibly hurt the public school system; but it is one which I have little inclination to go into, and one which will certainly draw upon the Catholic Church a host of assailants, if the Church is incautious enough to give them an opportunity. The wholesale charges brought by Catholic writers against the public schools with respect to their so-called immoral tendencies will not always be suffered to go unchallenged. Whatever truth there is in them should be made manifest; whoever is guilty should be exposed and punished; but wholesale insinuations against the teachers and pupils of the public schools will call out at last a species of reply not very agreeable to those who have indulged in this mode of warfare. No argument against the justice of taxing the whole community for the support of public schools can be drawn from any such local and incidental abuses as were referred to last Sunday; whether actual or invented, they are neither part nor product of the public school system as such; and I pass them by, not simply because they are irrelevant to the argument, but also because, if the debate is diverted to a discussion of the relative moral influence on society of the public school system and of the Roman Catholic Church, the latter will have all it can do to defend its own principle of ecclesiastical celibacy and the historical record of its effect on public morality.

THE CATHOLIC CONSCIENCE.

It is not these minor and subsidiary objections to the system of State schools—their alleged expensiveness, their tendency to supplement themselves with public high schools and colleges, or the insinuation of their necessarily immoral influence (which, if the insinuation could be sustained by proof, would be anything but a minor objection)—that constitute the real strength of the Catholic protest against the public school system. Its strength lies in the claim that the Catholic conscience is violated and oppressed by this system. This is a claim which demands the

most patient, serious, and candid attention of every just man. No matter whether the claim of an aggrieved conscience is made by a great party or by an obscure and unsupported individual, it is a claim which commands instant and reverential heed; and no institution can be solidly built or stable which rests on disregard of one man's outraged conscience. Unless the foundations of the school system are laid on the rock of absolute equity and impartial justice, it is built upon the sand, and must fall; and the examination of the soundness of its foundations cannot be postponed, if only a solitary voice is raised in solemn protest against it.

Nevertheless, it does not follow that every protest made in the name of conscience must be obeyed or yielded to, even if made in most absolute and unquestioned sincerity. Conscience itself is under law; it is bound to be reasonable. So far as the individual is concerned, his private conscience, whether in fact reasonable or not, must be obeyed; for it is to him the expression and measure of his moral reason, beyond which or above which he cannot go. But so far as his claims on other men are concerned, his individual conscience is not, and cannot be, the ultimate law of their conduct. They too have consciences, as sacred to them as his to him; and the one common law of reason is binding on all alike. Hence the Catholic's claim of an injured and wronged conscience is not of itself a sufficient warrant for the immediate abandonment of the school system; he must first prove it to be a just and reasonable claim. Uninstructed and perverted consciences are altogether too common in this world—foolish and wrong things are too often demanded or done in conscience' name—to make it either wise or right to give up a great public institution of proved beneficence, or to surrender the necessary conditions of its existence, the very first moment that it is challenged. Despite his infallible standard of right and wrong, the Pope's *ex cathedra* deliverances, the Roman Catholic in this free country must waive his Divine authorities of Pope and Church, and consent to plead his case before the bar of the universal reason of mankind. This Bishop McQuaid did last Sunday; from this platform he addressed his plea to the public intelligence of the country, just as if no Pope had ever sat on the throne of the Vatican; and he never once quoted the authority of his infallible Sovereign as the supreme confirmation of his own words. The Catholic Church itself, Pope and all, must do the same; it protests against the school system, and addresses the protest to the general intelligence of the country; and by the verdict of this intelligence the protest must stand or fall. Therefore I say that the Catholic claim of an outraged conscience, with the tacit but evidently implied sanction of Bishop McQuaid and every other Catholic who consents to reason his case before the public, must be judged by the laws of reason; and, if it is adjudged to be unreasonable, such Catholics cannot without tergiversation repudiate the legitimacy of the verdict they have invoked and thereby sanctioned in advance.

What, then, is the essence and the rational ground of the claim that the Catholic conscience is wronged and trampled on by the maintenance of the public school system?

WHAT THE CATHOLIC CONSCIENCE CLAIMS.

1. The Catholic conscience demands, in the apt phrase of Cardinal McCloskey, "Catholic education for Catholic children." But by whom is this demand refused? Surely not by the State, which imposes on no child any particular form of religious education. I admit that the practice of Bible-reading in the public schools is a wrong and infringement upon the rights of Catholics, Jews, and all non-Protestant-Christian children; but that this practice prevents Catholics from giving Catholic education to their children, it would be preposterous to pretend. They are doing it at this very time. Certainly the demand of "Catholic education for Catholic children" is granted in advance, unless it means that the State should furnish such education. That is a very different matter. Whoever wants sectarian education is perfectly free to get it; but it must be at his own cost. The State ought to furnish education, but not sectarianism; that is his own affair altogether. The right and wrong of this matter are evident: the State should not and does not prevent "Catholic education for Catholic children"; but equally it should not and does not furnish it.

2. The Catholic conscience demands freedom of exercise, says Bishop McQuaid; and he proceeds to declare: "The majority of the people rule, by the power of numbers, that a large minority shall not be free to educate their children according to their conscience." I can only pass over this assertion in mute astonishment. The simple fact is that Catholics are educating their children according to their consciences, either at the public or at the parochial schools, as they freely elect.

3. The Catholic conscience demands "equal rights." Very well: that it ought to have. The equal rights of the Catholics, like those of the liberals, are infringed by Protestant worship in the public schools. Equal rights will be secured when the Catholics have as much right to have their religion taught in the schools as the Protestants, Jews, or radicals—that is, no right at all. The trouble with the Catholics is that this equality of rights does not satisfy them; they feel aggrieved unless their own religion is positively taught in the schools to which their children go. But, so far as the public schools are concerned, this is to demand unequal rights; and this is to have a very unreasonable conscience.

4. The Catholic conscience demands, in Bishop McQuaid's words, "the non-interference of the State in Church or in school." On the other hand, the secular conscience requires the non-interference of the Church in State or school. To which shall the school belong—to the Church or to the State? That

is indeed the clean issue. But I do not see any way to reconcile here the two consciences. I suspect they are equally stubborn, equally unable to yield; but which is the more reasonable, is a point which must prove in the end decisive.

5. The Catholic conscience claims to be violated by a system which supports Protestant schools at the public expense; and the justice of this claim must be allowed. To make the public schools Protestant by requiring or permitting Protestant worship in them is truly a violation of all but Protestant consciences. But it is easy to rectify this wrong, and to establish a perfect equality of rights in the case, by simply secularizing the schools altogether. If this would satisfy the Catholic conscience, a permanent settlement of the school question could be effected; but the Catholic conscience is not satisfied with equality—it demands *privilege*, which is a very different matter.

6. The Catholic conscience claims to be still more violated by a system which should support secular schools at the public expense. Now what is a secular school? A school in which the elementary branches of an English education—reading, writing, arithmetic, and so forth—are taught, and in which religion is not taught; one which teaches nothing but what all children, whether of Catholic, Protestant, or liberal parentage, alike need to know, and which is scrupulously protected from all usurpation by any class of parents in the matter of religion. To pretend that this careful exclusion of all religious worship and instruction is to teach irreligion, is an instance of unparalleled audacity. It is impossible to teach the alphabet or multiplication table and the Catholic Catechism at one and the same instant; and even in the Catholic school a certain time is devoted to teaching the alphabet and the multiplication table exclusively. Is that to teach irreligion? It is undeniably to separate religious and secular education for the time being; but is that to teach irreligion? I must press this question: Is it teaching irreligion to devote a portion of time exclusively to teaching arithmetic or geography? If it is, then Catholic schools also teach irreligion just so long as they are teaching arithmetic or geography, and they should be denounced just as sweepingly as the public schools. But if not—if it is not teaching irreligion to devote in Catholic schools one or two hours exclusively to instruction in secular knowledge,—then it is no more teaching irreligion to devote in the public schools three or four or five hours to the same instruction. The Catholics may choose which horn of the dilemma they please: either the Catholic schools teach irreligion part of the time, or else the public schools do not teach irreligion at all. The sole ground of complaint against secular schools is that they omit to teach positive Catholic doctrine; and the attempt to twist this omission to teach Catholicism into a direct teaching of the contrary is a very desperate shift. Let me illustrate. I go to a carriage warehouse where buggies are advertised for sale, and order a horse and buggy. "But," replies the proprietor, "I do not sell horses; I only sell buggies." "That will do very well for those who want buggies only," I answer; "I don't believe in separating horses and buggies, and my conscience forbids me to purchase them separately." "I should be glad to accommodate you," replies the puzzled proprietor, "but really, my dear sir, I have only buggies for sale." "Then," I exclaim, "I denounce you for a violation of equal rights and for a secret purpose to outrage the community by abolishing horses. You grant all they ask to those who conscientiously want buggies alone; but you refuse what I ask, when my conscience demands a horse and buggy, one and inseparable. This is an invidious discrimination against my equal rights, a direct assault on the very existence of all horses; and now I propose to shut up your establishment altogether!" This is exactly what the Catholics are doing; they propose to shut up all State schools, if they can, because State schools can teach only secular knowledge, and not religion at the same time. They have profound scruples of conscience against buying buggies without horses.

7. But the gist of the claims made by the Catholic conscience is that Catholic parents ought not to be taxed for any but Catholic schools, since they cannot conscientiously send their children to any other; and, since the State cannot support Catholic schools, Catholic parents ought to be relieved from school taxes altogether, or else to receive back their own taxes from the State to be expended under their own control for Catholic schools. This is the beginning, middle, and end of the Catholic claim: all other claims of the Catholic conscience grow out of this. Bishop McQuaid says distinctly: "Catholics who are thus taxed are, to the extent of the taxes they pay, punished—persecuted for religion's sake." And again: "It must not be lost sight of in this argument that our rights go where our money goes."

It is in the name, therefore, of *Catholic parents*, who are taxed by the State for the support of the public schools, that the whole protest of the Catholic conscience is entered. But in truth the State deals exclusively with individuals in this matter of taxation; it deals with them neither as Catholics nor even as parents, but simply and solely as *citizens*. The State does not ask whether the tax-payer is a Catholic, or Protestant, or Jew, or freethinker; it does not ask whether he is married or unmarried, a parent or childless; it only asks him to pay his fair proportion of the school expenses as an *individual member of the civil community*. Now the question whether the State, which wholly ignores the inquiry as to the tax-payer's religion or family relations, has a right to tax all citizens indiscriminately for the support of the public school system, will presently come up for independent discussion; but I wish to point out that this general question is not raised by the Catholic conscience, which claims exemption from the public school tax for *Catholic parents* as

such. It is the duties imposed by Catholic parentage which constitute the ground of the demand of "Catholic education for Catholic children"; and it is the rights inherent in Catholic parentage which constitute at least the ostensible grounds of protest against taxation for the public schools. The protest is essentially a denial of the general obligations of citizenship in the name of church membership and family ties. Before discussing the right of the State to tax all its citizens for public schools, I must first consider the astounding claim of Catholic parents to be treated as if they were not citizens at all, but to be excepted, set apart by themselves, and permitted to receive the benefits of the State without discharging the corresponding obligations. The Catholic claim is—not to be taxed for non-Catholic public schools; and it rests wholly on the alleged absolute rights of Catholic parents as such. These rights, it is evident, must be closely scrutinized and analyzed.

"PARENTAL PREROGATIVE."

The protest of the Catholic conscience against taxation for a non-Catholic public school system grows out of what Bishop McQuaid has well described as "Parental Prerogative." But in this matter he speaks not for himself alone.

Chief-Justice Dunne, of Arizona, in a lecture delivered a year ago, laid down these two principles as the basis of the Catholic demand respecting the schools:

"1. Religious instruction is of paramount importance.

"2. Each parent has the right to say what religious instruction his child shall receive."

And he says in another passage: "This claim to the absolute control of our domestic affairs is a sacred right which we cannot yield to the State."

The *Catholic World* for January speaks in the same strain, laying the foundation for the Catholic demands in a seemingly very harmless proposition:—

"Whatever you do, keep your hands off the family altar. Do not set foot into the hallowed precincts of the domestic sanctuary. The family, though subordinate, is not to be violated by the State. Parents have rights which no government can usurp." (These rights are intended to include absolute control over the education of children.)

Rev. Father Müller, in his book called *Public School Education*, defines the doctrine of "Parental Prerogative" as follows:—

"It is not on the State, but on parents, that God imposed the duty to educate their children, a duty from which no State can dispense; nor can fathers and mothers relieve themselves of this duty by the vicarious assumption of the State. They have to give a severe account of their children on the Day of Judgment, and they cannot allow any power to disturb them in insisting upon their rights, and making free use of them. The State has no more authority or control rightfully over our children than over a man's wife. The right to educate our children is a right of conscience, and a right of the family. Now these rights do not belong to the temporal order at all; and outside of this the State has no claim, no right, no authority."

Again, condensing into a pregnant phrase the whole Catholic theory of "Parental Prerogative," Father Müller emphatically declares—and I would solicit special attention to the declaration:—

"The social unit is the family, not the individual."

Bishop McQuaid thus stated the same general position in a lecture at Rochester, New York, in March, 1872:—

"Parents have the right to educate their children. It is wrong for the State to interfere with the exercise of this right."

"By the establishment of Common Schools at the expense of all tax-payers, the State does interfere with this right, especially in the case of poor parents who find it a burden to pay double taxes."

Last Sunday the Bishop expressed the same general views as follows:—

"The last to be heard and consulted is the one to whom the settlement of the question first and finally belongs—the parent of the child. . . . In despite of all, the responsibility of the education of his child falls on him, and on no one else. . . . Parental rights precede State rights. . . . A father's right to the pursuit of happiness extends to that of his children as well. . . . Parental rights include parental duties and responsibilities before God and society." After quoting various authorities in defence of his position, the Bishop continued: "It is the Christian view of parental rights and duties which is here given. . . . The doctrine coming into vogue, that the child belongs to the State, is the dressing-up of an old skeleton of Spartan paganism, with its hideousness dimly disguised by a thin cloak of Christian morality."

I have quoted enough, I think, to give a fair view of this theory of "Parental Prerogative," on which the Catholic protest against the public school system is founded. Its principal points are as follows, restated in something like logical order:—

1. The social unit is the family, not the individual; and in the family the father is the supreme authority, or head,—both the wife and the children being required by the Catholic Church to "obey" him.

2. The father, representing the family, is charged with all rights, powers, and responsibilities concerning the education of the children. The State has absolutely no share either in the rights, powers, or responsibilities; for all education must be Catholic, and the State has neither capacity nor authority to impart it.

3. The State, consequently, by establishing a Common School System and taxing all citizens to support it, violates the sanctity of family rights, invades and usurps the "Parental Prerogative," and oppresses the father's conscience by requiring him to support a system of schools to which he cannot send his children, and by which all these wrongs are committed.

Here we have the core and pith of the Catholic protest against taxation for the public schools, so far

as it is deemed wise to address it to the general intelligence of the American people. It is the side of the Catholic conscience which is turned to the outside world, although there is another side of it which is turned towards the Catholic Church. We see that, so far as this protest is addressed to the universal reason of mankind, it plants itself on a doctrine of "Parental Prerogative" which is at bottom a general social theory: namely, that society has for its ultimate unit the *family*, not the *individual*, and that all the educational rights, powers, and responsibilities of the family are concentrated in the father as the Divinely constituted head of the family. Whether, therefore, the protest of the Catholic conscience against the public school system is an intrinsically reasonable conscience, or not, is a question which can only be determined by examining the social theory on which it rests. Should this theory not prove to be inherently reasonable, but to involve unreason and injustice of a grave character, then the school question will be fundamentally changed. It will no longer be the question whether we ought to abandon the public school system out of deference to the rights of an oppressed minority, but rather how we should most justly and most tenderly deal with the honest, but unenlightened and dangerously misguided, conscience of a sect which is discontented with the essential principles of republican institutions. This is certainly a question of the greatest gravity; but it is not so grave as one which involves the possible abandonment of all State education. If the Catholic protest is actually not based on sound reason and impartial reverence for the rights of all—if it turns out to be the stealthy and masked attack of an ambitious hierarchy on the bulwarks of popular liberty,—our minds will be at least relieved of much perplexity and embarrassment. What, then, is the intrinsic character of this doctrine of "Parental Prerogative"? Is it true or false?

THE CATHOLIC SOCIAL THEORY A RELIC OF BARRIBISM.

Remembering clearly the chief features of the Catholic social theory which lies at the bottom of the so-called "Parental Prerogative"—namely, that the social unit is the family, not the individual, and that all powers and rights touching the education of children are vested in the father, as the head of the family,—you will gain a clearer insight into the truth of this matter, if, instead of giving you any reflections of my own, I read to you some pretty copious extracts from a book which every well-read person will recognize at once as one which enjoys a world-wide reputation of the highest possible character. I refer to the treatise of Sir Henry Sumner Maine on *Ancient Law*, a work which by common consent ranks among the ablest and most valuable productions of the century. What he has to say on this subject will hardly be gainsaid by any but the uninformed; and I prefer to give his views in his own language without attempting to translate it into my own. Sir Henry Maine says:—

"The effect of the evidence derived from comparative jurisprudence is to establish that view of the primeval condition of the human race which is known as the Patriarchal Theory. . . . The difficulty, at the present stage of the inquiry, is to know where to stop—to say of what races of men it is not allowable to lay down that the society in which they are united was originally organized on the patriarchal model. . . . The points which lie on the surface of the history are these. The eldest male parent, the eldest ascendant, is absolutely supreme in his household. His dominion extends to life and death, and is as unqualified over his children and their houses as over his slaves; indeed, the relations of sonship and serfdom appear to differ in little beyond the higher capacity which the child in blood possesses of becoming one day the head of the family himself. . . . If I were attempting to express compendiously the characteristics of the situation in which mankind disclose themselves at the dawn of history, I should be satisfied to quote a few verses from the *Odyssey* of Homer: 'They have neither assemblies for consultation nor *themistes*, but every one exercises jurisdiction over his wives and children, and they pay no regard to one another.' . . . [Archæic law] is full, in all its provinces, of the clearest indications that society in primitive times was not what it is assumed to be at present, a collection of *individuals*. In fact, and in the view of the man who composed it, it was an *aggregation of families*. The contrast may be most forcibly expressed by saying that the unit of an ancient society was the *Family*,—of a modern society the *Individual*. . . . In most of the Greek States and in Rome there long remained the vestiges of an ascending series of groups out of which the State was at first constituted. The Family, House, and Tribe of the Romans may be taken as the type of them, and they are so described to us that we can scarcely help conceiving them as a system of concentric circles which have gradually expanded from the same point. The elementary group is the Family, connected by common subjection to the highest male ascendant. The aggregation of Families forms the Gens or House. The aggregation of Houses makes the Tribe. The aggregation of Tribes constitutes the Commonwealth. . . . No doubt, when with our modern ideas we contemplate the union of independent communities, we can suggest a hundred modes of carrying it out, the simplest of all being that the individuals comprised in the coalescing groups shall vote or act according to local propinquity; but the idea that a number of persons should exercise political rights in common simply because they happened to live within the same topographical limits was utterly strange and monstrous to primitive antiquity. . . . This was the principle of *local contiguity*, now recognized everywhere as the condition of community in political functions."

We thus see clearly that the Roman Catholic social

theory, according to which (in the very phrase of Father Müller himself) the "social unit is the family, not the individual," appears to be a mere relic of primeval barbarism, the survival of an antiquated and fossilized conception utterly out of harmony with the pervading spirit of modern society.

THE "PARENTAL PREROGATIVE" ONLY THE "PATRIA POTESTAS."

A closer investigation only reveals this fact more plainly. The "Parental Prerogative" of Bishop McQuaid is nothing but a modification of the "Patria Potestas," or Fatherly Authority, of the ancient Roman law. What this was, Sir Henry Maine shows as follows:—

"On a few systems of law the family organization of the earliest society has left a plain and broad mark in the lifelong authority of the Father or other ancestor over the person and property of his descendants—an authority which we may conveniently call by its later Roman name of *Patria Potestas*. No feature of the rudimentary associations of mankind is deposited to by a greater amount of evidence than this, and yet none seems to have disappeared so generally and rapidly from the usages of advancing communities than this. . . . In the mature Greek jurisprudence, the rule advances a few steps on the practice hinted at in the Homeric literature; and though very many traces of the stringent family obligation remain, the direct authority of the parent is limited, as in European codes, to the non-age or minority of the children, or, in other words, to the period during which their mental and physical inferiority may always be presumed. . . . The *Patria Potestas* of the Romans, which is necessarily our type of the primeval paternal authority, is equally difficult to understand as an institution of civilized life, whether we consider its incidence on the person or its effects on property. It is to be regretted that a chasm which exists in its history cannot be more completely filled. So far as regards the person, the parent, when our information commences, has over his children the *jus vitæ necisque*, the power of life and death, and *à fortiori* of uncontrolled personal chastisement; he can modify their personal condition at pleasure; he can give a wife to his son; he can give his daughter in marriage; he can divorce his children of either sex; he can transfer them to another family by adoption; and he can sell them. Late in the Imperial period we find vestiges of all these powers, but they are reduced within very narrow limits. The unqualified right of domestic chastisement has become a right of bringing domestic offences under the cognizance of the civil magistrate; the privilege of dictating marriage has declined into a conditional veto; the liberty of selling has been virtually abolished; and adoption itself, destined to lose almost all its ancient importance in the reformed system of Justinian, can no longer be effected without the assent of the child transferred to the adoptive parentage. In short, we are brought very close to the verge of the ideas which have at length prevailed in the modern world. . . . The movement of the progressive societies has been uniform in one respect. Through all its course it has been distinguished by the gradual dissolution of family dependency and the growth of individual obligation in its stead. *The Individual is steadily substituted for the Family, as the unit of which civil laws take account.* . . . Nor is it difficult to see what is the tie between man and man which replaces by degrees those forms of reciprocity in rights and duties which have their origin in the family. It is *contract*. Starting, as from one terminus of history, from a condition of society in which all the relations of persons are summed up in the relations of family, we seem to have steadily moved towards a phase of social order in which all these relations rise from the free agreement of individuals."

We are now in a condition to understand precisely the value of that "Parental Prerogative" on which Bishop McQuaid and other Catholics base their claim that the school system violates "parental rights." It is the "old skeleton of" Roman "paganism"—dressed up with a "thin cloak of Christian morality." It is the ancient and outgrown *Patria Potestas*, intruding itself into modern society with its claim of despotic authority for the father over his child, and ignoring both the personal rights of the child and the collective rights of society. It is the galvanized corpse of the old Patriarchal Theory, good enough for the days of Abraham, who in obedience to it undertook to murder his own son, but a disgusting anachronism in the nineteenth century and the Centennial Year. The school question cannot be justly referred for settlement to the "parents" alone; the children have something at stake—society has something at stake,—and parents must dislodge the notion that their despotic selfishness will be allowed to substitute the rights of one party alone for the rights of three parties to this issue. The Catholic social theory, with its claim that "the family, not the individual, is the social unit," is the unburied skeleton of pre-historic barbarism, the most ancient and best authenticated relic in the keeping of the Church; while the "Parental Prerogative" which is so confidently relied upon to crush the great public school system under its elephantine tread is nothing but the pale and powerless ghost of the ancient Roman *Patria Potestas*, with not enough substance in it to crush the life out of a daisy.

THE "PARENTAL PREROGATIVE" A MERE STALKING-HORSE OF THE POPE.

But I have not got through with this "Parental Prerogative" yet. It is a most shrewd and sagacious appeal to the very democratic instinct to which it is really opposed. It is an endeavor to rouse the jealous independence of the American father in repulse of a purely illusory attack on his reserved parental rights. That he has parental rights I am the very

last to deny; I am a parent myself, and not slow to defend the rights of a parent. But it is tyranny for a parent to forget or disregard the rights of his child; and it is usurpation for a parent to defy or despise the rights of society. Let the parent by all means stand firmly by his true parental rights in this school question; but let him be intelligent and self-restrained enough to recognize that he is not proprietor of all the rights in the case. Children are no longer the absolute property of the father. The plea of "Parental Prerogative" is well calculated to create a sense of wrong where no wrong exists—to sting ignorant parents into claiming a jurisdiction that does not belong to them, and to induce them to look on the Catholic Church as the bold champion of their rights against the assaults of a tyrannical majority. Such parents as these need to have their eyes opened; they are unsuspecting dupes. When the Catholic Church pleads "Parental Prerogative" to break down the beneficent public school system, and seemingly champions the rights of parents against the oppressions and aggressions of the non-Catholic majority, such parents ought to see that the Church does not recognize any "Parental Prerogative" at all as towards itself. No sooner has the Church succeeded in rescuing the Catholic parent from the imaginary jaws of the State, than it immediately proceeds to devour both parent and child with its own jaws. It claims for the parent, so far as the State is concerned, absolute and undivided authority over his child; but, as the Divinely deputed parent of all Catholics, it claims for itself absolute and undivided authority over both parent and child. It is well to understand this matter thoroughly. Whatever "parental rights" or "Parental Prerogative" the Church may claim for Catholic parents, it concedes to them no rights whatsoever that are inconsistent with its own autocratic dominion over them. Let no one for a moment imagine that the Church would tolerate any exercise of "Parental Prerogative" which should withdraw Catholic children from parochial schools to place them in the public schools. That sort of parental independence it is swift to punish with the severest penalties in its power to inflict. I must adduce some evidence of this statement, to convince you that I am not talking at random.

In the list of "damnable heresies" known as the *Syllabus Errorum*, denounced and condemned by Pope Pius IX. in 1864, the forty-eighth is as follows: "That method of instructing youth can be approved by Catholic men which is separated from the Catholic faith and from the power of the Church, and which has regard, or at least principally, to a knowledge of natural things only, and to the ends of social life on this earth." The condemnation of this proposition is the explicit condemnation of all secular education by the supreme and infallible Head of the Church; and it forbids all Catholics to sanction or approve anything but strictly Catholic education. The whole warfare of the Catholic Church in this country is the direct consequence of obedience to this command of the Pope; and the Church could not possibly recognize any "Parental Prerogative" which should dare to dispute it.

Further, in answer to the question, "Who is bound to obey the Church?" the Catholic Catechism replies, "All baptized persons, for we are commanded by Jesus Christ himself to obey his Church." What "Parental Prerogative" is left outside of this obligation of universal obedience?

But I do not adduce merely abstract declarations of *Syllabus* or Catechism. The *Dubuque Daily Telegraph* of January 3, only seven weeks ago, had this paragraph: "Father Ryan announced in St. Patrick's Church yesterday that the rule heretofore adopted of refusing the Sacraments of Penance and Holy Eucharist to parents who send their children to the public schools would be enforced and adhered to henceforth. He spoke emphatically on the matter, and advised parents who send their children to the public schools not to attempt to approach the sacraments, while they persist in refusing obedience to this law of the Church, alleging that such is the law." Remember that to refuse the sacraments to a Catholic is practically to condemn him to an eternal hell.

There can be no doubt that this is the law of the Church. Bishop Gilmour, of Cleveland, explicitly declared it to be the law in his Lenten Pastoral of 1873 as follows: "We solemnly charge and most positively require every Catholic in the diocese to support, and send his children to, a Catholic school. When good Catholic schools exist, where it may be honestly said a child will get a fair common school education,—if parents, either through contempt for the priest or through disregard for the laws of the Church, refuse to send their children to a Catholic school, then, in such cases, but in such cases only, we authorize confessors to refuse the sacraments to such parents as thus despise the laws of the Church, and disobey the command of both priest and bishop."

In Rhode Island, according to the *New York Independent* of February 10, 1876, "it seems that the father of a Miss De Fray made an affidavit in which he swore that the mother of the child had been excluded from the sacred rites of the Catholic Church, because she allowed her daughter to attend the public school, and was told that, so long as she persisted in doing so, she would not be entitled to the privileges of the Church." In consequence of this oppression, a bill has actually been introduced into the Rhode Island Legislature to prohibit such interference with family affairs. In other words, the State, which is denounced as violating "parental rights," is actually invoked to protect Catholic parents from violation of these very rights by their own priests!

I must not fail to add some personal testimony of my own to the same effect. Last Sunday evening, Bishop McQuaid lectured on "Catholic Education for Catholic Children" in St. Mary's Hall, Cambridgeport; and, desiring to hear him speak on this

subject to a Catholic audience, I attended the lecture. Among other things, he said substantially this (I may not give the exact words in every part, but I know I give the exact substance of his words): "Now I am going to read to you from the *Syllabus*, which is a bugbear to many people, as if it were the horn of the beast of the Apocalypse thrown into the world to make mischief. But the *Syllabus* is only the condensation of great truths which the world needs for its salvation." He then read the extract I have already quoted, condemning so emphatically all Catholics who approve of any education apart from the faith and power of the Church, and said, with a lowering of the voice and an intensity of manner and tone which well conveyed the verbally suppressed menace: "Whoever does not believe in the *Syllabus*, as the infallible truth of God, ceases to be a Catholic. He may perhaps attend Mass, and go to confession; but—" and he spoke with an emphasis sure not to be misunderstood—"I would not like to have the absolving of him!"

Such, then, is the extent of the "Parental Prerogative" which the Bishop so eloquently claimed for Catholic parents on Sunday afternoon, and as eloquently scattered to the four winds of heaven on Sunday evening. Nothing can be plainer than that the Catholic conscience hurled against the school system is not the free and independent consciences of individual Catholic parents, but rather the conscience formed irresistibly in them by the clergy to whom they listen with fettered minds, massed like an obedient and well-disciplined army in defence of the Church. It is not the unbiased conscience of the parents as such, left to form their candid opinions in profoundly respected liberty, but the coerced and yet honest conscience of spiritual slaves. It is, in short, not the conscience of free parents at all, but the organic conscience of the Church of Rome, knowing its own interests, oblivious of everything else, and determined to protect them at all costs. It is the conscience of the priests, the bishops, and the Pope, using the consciences of the laity as mere pawns in their desperate game with modern civilization. Let us understand the matter: the battle is between the corporate, consolidated, ecclesiastical conscience of the Roman Papacy, on the one hand, and, on the other, the multitudinous, independent, and secular consciences of the American Republic—nothing but that; and this whole theory of "Parental Prerogative," which is now held up high before the gaze of the outside world in order to compass the destruction of the public schools, and now trampled scornfully under foot within the precincts of the Church in order to build up the parochial schools, has no life, meaning, or veracity except as the Pope's stalking-horse. In saying this, I do not in the least question the sincerity of the Roman priesthood. Ambition is a terribly sincere thing; despotism is a terribly sincere thing. But the American citizen who is deceived by this talk of "Parental Prerogative," and consents to abolish the public schools out of tenderness for "parental rights," unbolts and unbars the cage of a tiger whose first leap will be at his own throat. The Church cares nothing for parental rights except as an outer wall of defence against the Republic's just claim to establish schools for the education of her own children. Before the Church, the parent has no right but to obey. The Pope commands the bishops; the bishops command the priests; the priests command the parents; the parents command the children; and the burden of the command is evermore the same—"Believe and obey!" That is the beginning, middle, and end of "Parental Prerogative." Shall any freeman be so simple as not to know slavery when he sees it?

THE AMERICAN SOCIAL THEORY.

No—it is high time for all who would enjoy liberty to understand the conditions of liberty. While the Church is built on the social theory which makes the family, not the individual, the social unit; while it binds the parent both to be a true and obedient Catholic himself, and to make his children also true and obedient Catholics; and while it teaches the doctrine of "Parental Prerogative" in this, and no other sense,—the free State is built on a social theory exactly the reverse of this. It recognizes the individual, and not the family, as the true social unit, the ultimate atom of human society; and it exists solely to guarantee and to protect the equal natural rights of all individuals. This is the distinctly avowed basis of the American Republic. The Declaration of Independence proclaims, as the first great principle of our national existence, that "all men are created equal;" *all men, all individuals*, not all families or all parents. The preamble of the United States Constitution, ordaining and establishing the fundamental law of the land, does so in the name of—"We the people;" that is, we the aggregated individuals who compose the people, and not, we the families, or, we the parents. In accordance with this initial recognition of individuality, and the rights of individuality, as the prime fact of human society, all our institutions are framed. Our national life consists in a fuller and higher realization of this supreme principle. While the Church binds women and children to domestic servitude under man, as the Divinely appointed head of the family, the State is coming more and more to abolish this irrational and oppressive supremacy of man. It is coming to recognize woman as man's equal before the law; it has long regarded marriage as a civil contract only, and this is leading to the gradual establishment of woman's equal civil and political rights. That is the deeper meaning of the woman movement, which aims to establish and protect woman's right to the enjoyment of her own free individuality. So also the movement for a better and more strictly universal education, the movement to extend and improve the public school system, is at bottom nothing but the State's growing consciousness that children

are also individuals, with all the rights of individuality,—not, as the Church makes them, the personal property of the father, but really wards entrusted to his fostering care during the period of their immaturity. Just as the movement for female suffrage is a growing recognition of the rights of women as individuals, so is the movement for better public schools a growing recognition of the rights of children as individuals. Whoever would consent to the abolition of State schools, which are necessarily imbued with this principle of the individual rights of children, consents to the substitution in their place of the inevitable Church schools, which are all more or less imbued with the principle of the Christianized Patria Potestas. Alas for the radicalism which, through jealousy of the State, would thus unwittingly hand over the education of children to the Church! The abolition of State schools means the inevitable establishment of denominational or Church schools. But the social theory and tendency of the State is the development of free individuality, while that of the Church is the development of ecclesiastical despotism. Which has the better claim to be the educator of those on whose shoulders must rest the responsibility of handing down free institutions to posterity?

Vicar-General Windischmann, of Munich, who clearly saw that the control of the future belongs to those who educate the children of the present, and who uttered the profound conviction and fixed purpose of the consolidated Roman hierarchy, did not exaggerate the importance of the school controversy, when he exclaimed: "The struggle for the school has the same importance in the nineteenth century that the struggle for the occupancy of the bishoprics had in the eleventh." It is indeed so. There are but two contestants in this great controversy—the despotic and remorseless Church of Rome, the democratic and humane Republic of America; and that one of the two which shall control the education of the common people will be lord of the land from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean.

RIGHTS OF THE CHILD.

I think it must now be sufficiently clear that, instead of handing over the school question for final settlement to the parents alone, as Bishop McQuaid recommends (of course with the reservation that the parents must settle it just as the Church dictates, on pain of being deprived of absolution for their sins), the question can only be justly settled by the whole community, after a careful consideration of the rights of the three parties interested; namely, the children, the parents, and the State. Parent though I am, I should refuse to be made judge in a case in which I am myself one of three equally interested parties; and I must decline election to the bench under such circumstances, even on so flattering a nomination. But I find it my duty to present to the community, the real tribunal, my view of the case as involving these three classes of rights.

The child's principal rights as an individual seem to be, briefly, these:—

1. The right to existence. The father has no right to deprive him of it, for that would be murder, and the State, the protector of rights, would not admit the plea of "Parental Prerogative" as any defence against the just punishment of the crime. Even before the child's birth, his individual right to existence begins; and foeticide is justly regarded as a crime of the blackest dye.

2. The right to proper maintenance, including food, clothing, and shelter. To withhold these is a crime against the laws of the State, which again stands ready to invade the sanctity of my household, if I press my "Parental Prerogative" so far as to wrong the little being entrusted to me by a wilful failure to provide for its fundamental wants.

3. The right to a fair education, as the necessary condition of a happy and useful career in the life for which I am responsible. This right is very imperfectly protected by the law; and it is a right which constitutes a claim not only on the parent, but on the State. Society has even a larger stake in my child's education than I have, since the larger portion of the child's life is to be spent away from my care and control. The child has a right to be educated, for his own sake and for society's sake; and society, having at least as large a stake as mine in his future, must share with me the duty and the expense of furnishing the education. The burden and the cost of the education by which society is to be benefited at last even more than I, and to which the child may plead justly a natural right, ought in equity to be divided between the State and the parent. The right of the child to education, therefore, constitutes in equity a joint claim on both.

4. The right to be protected by the State against parental selfishness, cruelty, ignorance, indifference, superstition. No parent has a right to overwork a child for the sake of his little earnings, or to work him at all to the neglect of his education. No parent has a right to abuse the child in any way. Such things as these are violations of the child's rights as an individual, and ought to be protected better than they are. The State is responsible for this protection, and sometimes affords it. An important case has just occurred in England, in which the State most righteously interfered to protect children from the unintentional cruelty resulting from mere superstition. *Harper's Weekly*, in its issue of December 18, 1875, says: "An important decision has been given by Lord Coleridge in the case of 'the Peculiar People,' which was carried up on appeal. A member of this sect, for neglect to provide medical attendance for his sick child, was charged with manslaughter. The conviction for this offence in the court below was affirmed by the judges. Baron Bramwell said that 'the man thought that to fulfil the duty imposed by statute was wrong; the law, however, did not excuse him on that account.' It

is part of the creed of this sect of the "Peculiar People" never to call in medical aid in sickness, but to rely only on prayer; and it was rightly held that the child's right to decent care in his sickness could not lapse by reason of the father's superstition. This is a very instructive case, and shows how respect for the rights of children is gradually abolishing the barbarous "Parental Prerogative." The plea of parental "conscience" in this instance is no justification for the infringement of the child's right to life; it may be found equally invalid in justification of infringement of his right to education. The child has a right not to be taught superstitions which shall unfit him to be either a good man or a good citizen. He has a right to be taught what the rights of others are, and what his own corresponding duties are. A school which should teach children that it is wrong to take or to give medical advice in sickness would be as mischievous and criminal in character as a school for instruction in the "fine art" of murder. The facts of the universe discovered by physical or moral science are a part of the great human heritage of which it is as much a crime to defraud a child as to defraud him of his share in his father's estate. Children's rights in these matters have yet to be studied and defined far more exactly, and protected far more efficiently, than is done to-day; and they have a very important bearing on the whole school question.

Children, therefore, have, as individuals and members of society, a right to life, a right to maintenance, a right to education in the knowledge of those facts of the universe which are essential to its social welfare, and a right to protection against its own ignorance of those facts, whether enforced in the name of "Parental Prerogative" or any other name; and the State, which exists to protect individual rights, should protect the child from violation of these rights either by its own parents or by the Church.

RIGHTS OF THE PARENT.

But the parent has also rights which are just as sacred as those of the child; and I am just as strenuous for the protection of them as Bishop McQuaid.

1. The parent has a right to exercise authority over the child so long as he does not violate the rights of the child or the rights of the State. His authority is that of the natural guardian of the child, not that of his owner or proprietor; and it can only be exercised within the limits of that relationship. The child's reason and conscience being undeveloped, the parent represents them during the child's minority, and is consequently bound to act from his own mature reason and conscience, not from his own arbitrary will or caprice. Being justly required to maintain the child, he has a right to such small services as the child may render without being deprived of the rights above defined; and he is no tyrant or oppressor in requiring from the child a general deference and obedience to his own commands. The natural affection for his offspring, and the natural wisdom derived from superior experience, which must be presumed to be his until the contrary is proved, entitle him to be free from all intrusive interference or petty supervision on part of the State in the exercise of his authority as the child's natural guardian; and it is only after a manifest and proved abuse of this authority that the State can justly interpose its shield over the child. From the nature of the case, there is little danger of too much interference by the State; the danger is all the other way.

2. The parent has also the right to supervise and direct the education of the child to a very considerable extent. Provided he does not withhold altogether the education to which the child has the right already explained, he may justly decide the place where it is to be acquired, and the agencies by which it is to be imparted. He may either educate the child himself, or send him to a public or private school at his own option. The child has simply a right to a certain amount of education; provided he is not deprived of this, places and times and instrumentalities are nobody's concern but the parent's. Especially with regard to religion and religious influences, the parent has an undoubted right to teach his child what he believes to be the most important of all truths. But there is a plain limitation of this right. Under the name of religion, he has no right to teach anything which shall lead the child to trample on the rights of others, or unfit him for the duties and responsibilities of good citizenship. The State has a wholly independent right to protect the child from such abuse of parental authority as this. No parent, for instance, has a right to teach his child that stealing is the proper way to secure a livelihood. If he does, the State has a right to interfere, and see that the child is taught to respect the rights of others with regard to property. There is a certain natural morality resulting from the mere co-existence of many individuals with equal rights in one society; and this the parent has no right to disregard in any instruction he may give to his child. But he has a right to teach his child whatever views of religion, outside of this natural morality, he may hold to be true and precious. All that the State has a right to require is that the child shall not be prevented from knowing what is essential to the discharge of his duties as a member of society, and shall not be taught what is inconsistent with those duties.

RIGHTS OF THE STATE.

Besides the child and the parent, the State has rights and duties of its own, absolutely independent of the Church. It does not ask any permission of the Church to exist or to ensure the conditions of its own existence. Rightly considered, the State is nothing but human society, acting collectively to preserve the equality of rights among all the individuals that compose it, and to guarantee to each individual the maximum of individual liberty which

is compatible with this equality of rights. If all individuals knew and respected the rights of others, there would be no need of the State as an organized power; and the power of the State will fall into disuse precisely in the proportion that all individuals do actually learn to know and respect the rights of others. The organized power of the State, however, must continue to be exercised until that day; and it does not exist by the sufferance of, or in subordination to, the organization known as the Church.

1. The first great right of the State, then, is to exist and to perpetuate its own existence. Whatever conditions are indispensable to its existence, it has an absolute right to require. It is based wholly on the social theory that the individual, not the family, is the social unit. On this theory, its right to exist as an organization rests on the prior rights of the individuals that compose it; and its whole function is to maintain, protect, and enlarge as much as possible, these antecedent individual rights.

2. The second great right of the State is to establish universal suffrage, as the necessary condition of its own existence as a society in which the rights of all individuals shall be equally respected.

3. The third great right of the State is to establish universal intelligence and social morality, as the necessary condition of universal suffrage.

4. The fourth great right of the State is to establish universal education, as the necessary condition of universal intelligence and social morality.

5. The fifth great right of the State is to establish a universal system of public schools, as the necessary condition of universal education.

6. The sixth great right of the State is to establish universal use of the means of education, by the instruction of all children either at the public schools, or at private schools, or at home, as the parents may elect; and, further, to establish public examinations of all children, at proper times and places. If the children pass these examinations successfully, the State will be satisfied, no matter how, or when, or where, they acquired the requisite knowledge; but, in the case of children who fail to pass the examinations, it will properly require them to attend such schools as shall furnish it.

All these six rights are involved in the right of the State to exist, as a society of individuals whose equal rights are universally known and respected. A knowledge of these rights and the corresponding duties constitutes that social morality which should be taught in the public schools; and it can be taught easily from text-books which do not infringe in the least on the religious beliefs of anybody. All religions profess to teach it; it can be taught, and should be taught, as a simple matter of positive knowledge, without stepping outside of the circle of the common relations of human life.

THE STATE'S RIGHT TO TAX FOR PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Now from what I have said it clearly follows that the State has a right to tax all its tax-payers for the support of public schools:—

1. Because the child's right to an elementary education is a joint claim upon the parent and the State; and the State can only discharge its own part of the obligation by maintaining a public school system.

2. Because the State finds the public school system to be an absolute condition of its own existence as a free society charged with the protection of all individual rights, including the rights of children as individuals.

3. Because the school taxes are collected for the support of the school system as a whole, of which all tax-payers alike receive the benefit through the perpetuation of the State as the protector of all individual rights, including their own. If the State has the right to tax all for any purpose, it has the right to tax them all for the public schools, which are the indispensable condition of its own continued existence. The school tax paid by each tax-payer is not the payment of his separate bill for the instruction of his own child, for he may be childless, yet justly taxed all the same. The school tax is only the just assessment on each tax-payer of his share of the cost incurred in maintaining the existence of the State which protects his individual rights in all their multiplicity. It is a distorted, false, and wretchedly contracted view of the matter to see nothing in the school-tax but a bill for the tuition of the tax-payer's own children. On the contrary, it is only a part of his general contribution to the support of the State itself.

That it is not only the right, but the duty, of the State to support a system of public schools, which can only be done by the impartial taxation of all, is no new doctrine. Daniel Webster said: "The power over education is one of the powers of public police belonging essentially to government. It is one of those powers the exercise of which is indispensable to the preservation of society, to its integrity, and its healthy action. It is evident, therefore, that popular cultivation, as diffuse and general as the numbers comprising the Republic, is indispensable to the preservation of our republican forms; and hence arises the great Constitutional duty of the government. It is the duty of self-preservation, according to the mode of its existence, for the sake of the common good."

Barsdow, the great-grandfather of Professor Max Müller, about a hundred years ago taught the true doctrine on this subject in Germany. *The German Biographia*, recently published by the Bavarian government, says in its life of Barsdow: "This one great principle he established: that national education is a national duty; that national education is a sacred duty; and that to leave national education to chance, church, or charity, is a national sin! Another principle which followed, in fact as a matter of course, as soon as the first principle was granted, was this: that in national schools, in schools supported by the nation at large, you can only teach that on which we

all agree; hence, when children belong to different sects, you cannot teach theology."

On this great right and duty of the State to perpetuate itself, and on the impossibility of its doing so, when its fundamental basis is the equal rights of all individuals, except by means of a State education which shall be universal and secular, rests the great, positive argument for the public school system, and the justification of the State in taxing all tax-payers equitably and impartially for its support. It is no wrong to any man to tax him for this purpose, even though he be childless; it is no wrong to tax him for it, even though he prefer to send his child elsewhere than to the public schools, as many besides Catholics do; for the protection of his individual rights in this free republic is a full and fair equivalent of his money. When the Catholic conscience, which is only the conscience of the Pope enforced on all Catholics, and not the free, independent conscience of Catholic parents as individuals, claims exemption from this just school-tax, it is a selfish, blind, and arrogant attempt to get the benefits of this free government without paying for what they get. It is a conscience essentially unreasonable and unjust; and reason and justice, therefore, command the American people to follow unflinchingly the better-instructed conscience which has built, and will still sustain, the grand American system of public schools. It only remains to make them absolutely just by making them absolutely secular.

The Index.

BOSTON, MARCH 9, 1876.

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TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
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THE PHILADELPHIA Liberal League elected officers on February 27 as follows: President, Mrs. Carrie B. Kilgore; Vice-President, James Buckle; Secretary, John S. Dye; Treasurer, Miss Mary Pratt; Executive Committee, D. Y. Kilgore, J. B. Beam, A. Loos.

THE OPENING LECTURE of this week's issue is commended to the careful, thoughtful, and conscientious attention of all our fellow-citizens. Our purpose has been, not to prove a point or win a victory, but solely to make plain what is just and right. If a valid reply can be made to our reasoning, we shall be the first to admit its force.

REV. JOHN WEISS has with great kindness sent us for publication his marvellously brilliant and bold lecture on "American Morals and the Atonement," delivered with startling effect last Sunday before Theodore Parker's Society, the Twenty-eighth Congregational, in this city. It will appear in the third issue of THE INDEX after the present, as next week's paper will contain Mr. Underwood's able lecture on "Modern Scientific Materialism," and the succeeding paper another of Mr. James' striking letters. When so much ability is concentrated in THE INDEX, we have a good right to ask the radicals of the country to "lend a hand" in giving it increased circulation. Its foes are many and strong; will not its friends be as earnest as they?

FATHER HENNING, a Catholic priest of St. Louis, shows by the boldness and explicitness of his language how confident the Catholic Church is growing in this country. *Harper's Weekly* of January 15 quotes a report of his public instructions from the Iowa Falls *Sentinel*, as follows: "It is the duty of every Catholic to vote for a Catholic candidate; for one who is not opposed to the Catholic religion, who is not an enemy to the Church; and it is the duty of every faithful Catholic to vote against those candidates who are enemies of our Church and our holy faith. . . . The Church, we are bound to believe as Catholics, is infallible. She is infallible in faith; she is infallible in something more; she is infallible in everything, in morals as well as in faith; and it follows that the State can never be absolutely separate from the Church; that the declaration of the independence of the State from the Church is simply political atheism. God has appointed the Church as His interpreter in morals; and as no State can exist without morality, no State can exist separate from the Church."

THE CENTENNIAL CONGRESS OF LIBERALS.

AN APPEAL TO THE EARNEST.

Our readers are aware that a convention of Liberal Leagues was held at Philadelphia on the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth of last September, to take preliminary steps towards holding a General Congress of Liberals in that city on or before July 4, 1876. This convention was reported at considerable length in THE INDEX of September 30. A General Centennial Committee (F. E. Abbot, D. Y. Kilgore, Prof. A. Loos, Prof. I. Rhen, B. F. Underwood, H. S. Williams) and a Centennial Committee of Finance (E. M. Davis, W. B. Thomas, E. H. Corson, J. Wetherbee, J. S. Dye) were appointed, with power to increase their respective numbers; but, the latter Committee through their Chairman, Mr. Davis, having requested the former Committee to relieve them of the duty of raising funds, it has become necessary to make a frank appeal for assistance to the general public.

In kind compliance with our request at this emergency, Mr. Kilgore has consented to share with us the labor of raising money for the Centennial Congress of Liberals, and will act as Treasurer, as explained by the subjoined communication:—

605 WALNUT ST., PHILADELPHIA, {
March 1, 1876.

To the Liberal Leagues and the Liberal Public of the United States:—

The General Centennial Committee, appointed at a convention held in this city last September for the purpose of making all necessary arrangements for a General Centennial Congress of Liberals next summer, have decided to call said Congress to convene at Philadelphia on Saturday, July 1, 1876,—further particulars to be hereafter announced.

Each organized Liberal League will be entitled to send five delegates as special representatives—three in addition to its President and Secretary. But all individual Liberals who sympathize with the general objects and aims of the Liberal Leagues will be equally entitled and welcomed to seats and votes in the Congress.

In order to lessen as much as possible the expenses of the delegates, each League is requested to elect them as soon as possible, and to report their names to the undersigned through its Secretary. All Liberals, delegates or individuals, who desire and intend to participate in the Convention are requested also to forward personally and immediately their names and full post-office addresses to the undersigned, that he may be enabled to make the most favorable terms possible for their accommodation. If notified early, he hopes to secure for them a considerable reduction in railroad fares, and to provide boarding-places at perhaps half the usual rates of the season.

The Centennial Committee on Finance having through their Chairman transferred their duties to the General Centennial Committee, the undersigned has been appointed to attend to the financial department, and hereby appeals to the Liberals of the country for voluntary contributions to the amount of One Thousand Dollars. This amount will be needed to make the Congress a complete success, though the utmost possible will be done with whatever is contributed. The officers of the union of Liberal German societies propose to raise the same amount for their convention, and have already raised \$600 of it. The Young Men's Christian Association here have already spent this year nearly \$100,000 in preparation for the Centennial, in the interest of Orthodox superstition; it would be a pity if all the friends of "Liberty and Light" could not do a hundredth part as much for the cause of national development and free humanity! The money will all be wanted (and much more could be advantageously expended) in providing suitable halls and headquarters, advertising the Congress liberally in advance in the chief dailies of the country, defraying the necessary expenses of desired and invited speakers, paying *verbatim* reporters, publishing a complete pamphlet report of the proceedings, etc., etc. What is done must be done speedily, since the arrangements should be completed, as far as practicable, by the first of May.

All sums donated will be duly acknowledged in THE INDEX, and a full report of all expenditures will be sent for publication in the same paper. Remittances should be sent to the undersigned, 605 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. Will not all friends of the movement respond heartily and at once?

DAMON Y. KILGORE,
Acting Treasurer.

Mr. Kilgore is a member of the Philadelphia bar, and we believe him to be a man of unquestioned and unquestionable personal integrity. Whatever is contributed, we have not a shadow of doubt, will be honestly and economically used in furtherance of the Congress and its cause. Every friend of this movement should go to attend the gathering, if possible, and in any case should remit without delay such sum as he can spare, whether great or little. Two men within our personal knowledge, neither of whom is well able to do it, some time ago pledged twenty-five dollars apiece, if needed, to help defray the expenses of this convention; a third wrote to us, making inquiries and spontaneously offering assistance, if anything practical was proposed to be done about it.

The time has come: it is proposed to do something very practical; the promise of success is great; money only is wanted. Shall it not be had? We believe that the Liberal League, and the great principle of STATE SECULARIZATION it stands for, are destined before long to command, not to solicit, the attention of the entire country; and the day will yet come when it will be a proud thought—"On July 4, 1876, I was one of those who began the New Century with the New Declaration of Independence."

For what is wanted now is that the State should declare emphatically its absolute and total independence of the Church. To-day it is not independent of the Church, as the "Demands of Liberalism" sufficiently indicate; nor is the country really a unit in demanding such entire independence. The Roman Catholic Church, notwithstanding its smooth professions of acquiescence in the American system, is secretly plotting to make the State the mere subservient tool and slave of its own theocratic Pope. The great bulk of the Orthodox Protestant population demands that the State should plant itself, if not on the Church, at least on "unsectarian Christianity," and thus take its law from the Bible and the Christ, the Church's sacred Book and the Church's sacred Lord; and this demand is only uttered with boldness and frankness by the party which has proposed the Christian Amendment to the United States Constitution. Here, then, is the flag of the Catholic Church, representing the empire of the Church over the State; and here is the flag of the Protestant Church, representing a disastrously "entangling alliance" of the two. But where is the flag of the great party of unchurched American citizens who believe and demand that the State should stand solely on its own natural foundation, the Rights of Man, and know nothing of churches, sects, creeds, or priests? Where is the flag representing that august principle of STATE SECULARIZATION, by which this democratic republic must stand or fall? Nowhere! There is nowhere a clear, strong, bold, emphatic affirmation of this great principle, in all the majesty of its naked simplicity, except in the Liberal League. It is to run up this, the true flag of the Republic, and to nail it at the mast-head, that the Centennial Congress of Liberals has been called: to adopt and proclaim to all the world, in such tones that all the world shall hear, that new Declaration of Independence which should give dignity and meaning to this Centennial Year.

Liberals! Fellow-citizens! Men and women who comprehend the great need of the hour and the dazzling destiny of America! I appeal to you, with all the energy and earnestness of my whole soul, to give us your indispensable aid in raising, befittingly and betimes, the great Flag of the Future—the only pledge that the shadows shall not move backwards on the dial-plate of the ages—the only principle that can transmit to our children and our children's children the religious liberty we ourselves enjoy. Above all the uproar of the times, above all the conflicts of parties and the multitudinous clashing interests of the hour, towers this mighty and transcendent issue, appealing to every mind that can think, to every heart that can feel, to every unselfish and noble nature that can act. The clock has struck; the hour for action has arrived: who will not answer—"Ready!"

FRANCIS E. ABBOT,
Chairman of the General Centennial Committee.

MR. MORSE'S BUST OF THEODORE PARKER.

We hope that all friends of Theodore Parker who remember his living presence will take advantage of Mr. Morse's invitation to see the full-sized marble bust which he has completed, and which is, we believe, to be placed in Parker's native town of Lexington.

This bust is not an enlarged copy of the half-size bust which Mr. Morse modelled a few years ago, and which, although possessing much merit, was not entirely satisfactory to all Mr. Parker's friends. Mr. Morse has made an entirely fresh and independent study of the head for this new work, and so, while reaping the advantage of the knowledge of his subject gained by the former attempt, he has escaped the danger of repeating its faults, and has embodied in it the riper experience of thought and the greater knowledge of his art gained in that time.

As it now stands, the bust is a sincere, frank, manly, dignified representation of the great reformer and preacher, and, we think, combines more of his characteristic traits than any other bust that has been modelled. Adequately to portray Mr. Parker's head was one of the most difficult of tasks. His feat-

ures had not the classic symmetry which sculpture loves; and their flexibility and variety of expression make it very hard to select any special aspect which will satisfy all who knew him.

But Mr. Morse has given a great deal both of the strength and of the tenderness of his character, and even of the humor which was so strikingly characteristic of him.

Mr. Parker was not only a great reformer and preacher, but his services to literature and education were very great; and this bust ought to have a place in the Public Library in which he took so warm an interest, and to which he bequeathed his dearly loved books. There on Sundays, many a little urchin, as he pores over his book, might look up at this kind and helpful face, and gather encouragement to imitate the labors and virtues of one who started with as few worldly advantages as himself. We do not wish to forestall the opinions of our readers on this excellent work of Mr. Morse's; but we do urge them to go and see it for themselves, and ask if they do not recognize "this great friend to all the sons of men," even in "his very habit as he lived."

E. D. C.

LONDON LETTER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—In your paper of January 27, there appears a letter signed "Frank J. Mead," taking exception to some few words at the close of my letter in THE INDEX of December 30. This is the second time an objection has been made in your columns to that passage, and although with your usual tact and promptness you have given an editorial note more than half explanatory of my position, for which I sincerely thank you, still I think it right to say something more in reference to Mr. Mead's letter. I am at this moment lying under the disadvantage of not having access either to my own letter of December 30, or to THE INDEX containing the former of the two objections which have been made to it, as my INDEXES are gone to be bound.

The passage of my letter which is objected to is as follows:—

"Believe me, it is not atheism, but rational faith that can cure these deadly maladies. Atheism plays into the priests' hands, and drives many a trembling but honest inquirer back into the narcotic slumber which awaits him in the weird embraces of Rome."

In the first place, let me deal with the fact I have stated; namely, that atheism drives people back into the superstitions they were beginning to shake off. My meaning would have been much clearer, had I said, "The fear of atheism" does this. I am continually meeting with people who say, and say honestly, "We would become Romanists to-morrow, if we thought we should be logically compelled to embrace atheism as the only alternative." As a matter of absolute fact, hundreds of people have, after a little awakening to a spirit of inquiry, gone back into more determined dogmatism and Orthodoxy than ever, through sheer dread of losing all faith in God. I have seen too many instances of this kind not to insist upon the fact in spite of all Mr. Mead's remonstrances. He may explain it how he will; there is the fact; and from it I draw the inference that atheism will not help people to throw off their superstitions; but, in the present state of feeling, it will make them cling to them more closely than ever.

Ask any of these people what it is which they dread losing, and they will tell you—one and all,—*"We are afraid of losing God altogether."* Rightly or wrongly, the average man and woman does cling to this idea of God, no matter how well or how ill defined. Your readers must know by this time that I yield to none in my aversion to dogmatism, in my reluctance to embody in any conception, anthropomorphic, or other, my idea of God. Terms of some kind we must use. To feel reliance or trust in any being, we must, of course, attribute to him some qualities of trustworthiness, such as wisdom and benevolence. But we do this without any idea of impersonation in form or localization in space. I am as willing as Mr. Mead to acknowledge the unknown and unknowable mode in which God may exist; but my firm faith in him and in his capable good-will to myself and all other beings is not irrational, but rather all the more rational because not hampered by metaphysics, or open to palpable conviction of impossibility or absurdity.

Mr. Mead's expression for God—namely, "the very essence and spirit of all life, coextensive and coexistent with the universe"—(to me) full of incomprehensible terms, scarcely less puzzling to the mind than the phrases of scholastic theology. They do not help my conception of God, in the least, nor does any other language that I have heard of. I may be

deluded, but I apprehend what I call God by sensations which I cannot communicate, but which are felt and understood by so many of my fellow-men that we can understand one another when we speak of "faith in God." The atheist is one who denies that there is any God to have faith in. And, were it not for Mr. Mead's objecting to my quoted remarks, it would be difficult to classify him as an atheist from the rest of his letter. He seems to me to be trying to speak from both sides at once. As an atheist he recommends atheism as a cure for superstition; as one who is not an atheist he gives us his definition of God whose existence none but a fool or a madman would deny.

Which is he, an atheist, or a believer? If he be an atheist, let him not be so inconsistent as to attempt to define God, or even hint at his relation to the visible universe. If he be a believer, let him not reproach me with repudiating a position which he says could only be occupied by a madman or a fool.

I do not know how to argue with him, for he is first on one side and then on the other. Professedly my opponent, he yet betrays that he has some belief in God which is not exactly mine.

I am not sorry, Mr. Editor, that you publish these adverse replies. We do not want to have it all our own way. We would not have a faith that cannot bear attack. But while I read with equanimity and patience letters advocating atheism, or bordering closely upon it, I am more than ever resolved to attack and denounce atheism, if I can do so in a proper way, and in the right spirit. It is incumbent on us all to speak our honest minds right out; and, though it is more pleasant to agree together and talk smoothly, it does us more good to have a tussle sometimes, and bring our varying opinions into open conflict.

I believe atheism to be alien to human nature,—to be the direct offspring of lying creeds, and, when seen in its true light, certain to scare the timid and those who are mere surface-thinkers away from the region of inquiry and back into the dungeons of superstition. These are facts which cannot be denied. Mr. Mead may draw from them what inferences seem most reasonable. He may proclaim himself an atheist, or he may reveal that he too believes, even while claiming a title which belongs in his opinion only to the madman or the fool.

I, in turn, think my rational faith the best antidote to superstition, or I should not hold it; and, although I would not bring myself to define my God, or treat any attempt to do so otherwise than with scorn, I will not go so far as to call even the atheist ill names, or attribute his want of faith to discreditable conditions of mind. I believe every one would believe in God, and would believe rightly too, if only he could.

I am very truly yours,

CHARLES VOYSEY.

CAMDEN HOUSE, Dulwich, S. E., Feb. 11, 1876.

MR. WILLIAM J. HEADY, of Louisville, announces himself as a Democratic candidate for the United States Senate, and pledges himself, if elected, to introduce, vote for, and urge the passage of the following amendment to the Constitution of the United States:—

"ARTICLE 28. SECTION 1. The United States shall render just compensation to the owners of private property taken for the public use of the United States during and since the late war, to wit: property taken for supplies and subsistence of the United States army; property in persons held to service or labor in the State of Kentucky, and other States which are named by the laws thereof, and recruited as soldiers in the United States army, or taken into the United States service in any other capacity, and thereby lost to the parties to whom such service or labor was due; and property in persons held to service or labor in the States of —, Kentucky, and under the laws thereof, and emancipated by the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution, and thereby lost to the owners and parties to whom such service or labor was due. Such compensation shall be paid to said owners, their heirs, assigns, representatives, successors, and distributees, in whole or in part, in United States currency and in United States bonds, payable in — years, if not sooner paid, bearing — per cent. interest, payable semi-annually in United States currency, at the capitals of the States respectively of the holders of said bonds. Said bonds shall bear date and interest from the date of the loss of the property."

Mr. Heady is a worthy Southern Democratic candidate. He speaks right out, boldly, and without suppressing it until after the Presidential election, what he knows to be the real intents and purposes of the masses of Southern Democrats. This frankness is refreshing, and it should really be in the Senate, so as to squarely, manfully, and rightly represent the Democracy of Kentucky, so that the North might know beyond dispute exactly what Kentucky Democracy is, and what the ascendancy of the Southern Democratic party really means.—*Detroit Post.*

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY R. C.

The subjects of most exciting interest during the past week have been, of course, the sad fall of Mr. Belknap, the Secretary of War, and the many rumors of disclosures yet to be made of corrupt practices on the part of other government officers of high position. The completeness of the details of Mr. Belknap's corruption, and the suddenness of their disclosure, have had a startling effect upon the minds of many people, although the certainty that any close search on the part of the numerous investigating committees would result in something of the kind must have been a foregone conclusion to any careful observer of public affairs at Washington. When the most intimate associates of the Chief Executive are "Bosses" and "Toms," when he sends pawnbrokers and poker-players to represent the United States in foreign countries, and when he retains as Private Secretary a man proven to be the dear friend of whiskey thieves,—who can wonder that his subordinates not only have similar associates, but learn also to commit the actions of thieves, gamblers, and "Bosses"?

In speaking of the corrupt practices of Belknap and others as natural results of the administration of General Grant, we do not mean in any way to cast suspicion upon the personal integrity of the President. General Grant furnishes only another illustration of the well-known fact that a man may be a successful general, and at the same time be utterly unfit to perform successfully the duties of civil administration. He completely lacks the delicacy of perception necessary to test fitness for prominent civil position. His tastes are coarse. The vulgar moral precepts—those which forbid stealing, murder, and adultery—he apparently understands and lives up to; but of any high standard of honor he evidently has no conception, and any sense of the fitness or propriety of social requirements, or of the dignity of exalted official station, he knows nothing about. His appointments have been continual surprises from the time of his first going to Washington. Their singularity was excused at first on the ground that their originality was in keeping with the character of the independent soldier, and, when notoriously unfit appointments were made, many people actually endeavored for a long time to convince themselves that Grant's penetration had discovered in the person appointed some previously unsuspected excellence. It was long before people in general were willing to admit, and many are yet unwilling to do so, that their military idol lost all his picturesqueness when transplanted from the crude surroundings of camp-life to be enthroned in the presidential mansion.

Together with the pain which every sincere lover of his country must feel at the spectacle of a Cabinet officer selling official appointments, there may well be a general feeling of gladness that the revelation of these abominable practices has been made at the present time. The effect upon the coming presidential nominations and election cannot help being beneficial. For the past month, at least, there has been a growing impression in the minds of most impartial observers of political movements that the Republicans were destined to elect the next President, and unless recent or coming events should create intense disgust for the very name of the party which has so long been tolerant of impurities in high places, we know of no reason why the impression should not prove to be correct. The great danger to the country has been that Morton, or Conkling, or any one of a dozen similar and well-known politicians, might manage to secure the Republican nomination, and that thus (if elected) we should retain all the worst features of Grant's administration for another four years. Belknap's downfall will prove "a blessing in disguise" if it awakens the country to the absolute necessity of a thorough reform in the civil service,—a reform which no mere politician can possibly carry out, but which requires for success not only a President of courage and of unblemished integrity, but one who possesses also the instincts of a gentleman.

At last we are in a fair way to get at the "bottom facts" connected with the Emma Mine affair. Mr. James E. Lyon, who claims to have been the original owner of the Emma Mine, has appeared before the Congressional Committee which is investigating the connection of Mr. Schenck with the swindle, and has given a full outline-history of the whole matter. His account, which does not seriously differ from other accounts heretofore published, implicates badly not only Messrs. Park and Schenck, as well as ex-Senator Stewart, of Nevada, but also, we deeply regret to add, Professor Silliman of Yale College, who seems either to have allowed his scientific sagacity to be foiled by the devices of a set of sharpers, or to have made a false report for the sake of a large fee. General Schenck has already sailed from England, in order to appear before the Committee; Senator Stewart has been summoned to appear and testify; and Professor Silliman has published a card in which he states that he also at the proper time will be happy to give a full explanation of his connection with this notorious piece of rascality. Warned by sad experience, we advise our readers not to allow their expectations to become unduly excited because of the appearance upon the scene of Messrs. Schenck, Stewart, and Silliman; but, while hoping to receive a large amount of clear explanation, to be prepared to accept a very little with becoming resignation.

Mr. Bowen's statement read before the Examining Committee of Plymouth Church has been made public. It charges Mr. Beecher with a succession of adulteries, and corroborates some of the main asser-

tions made in the public statements of Mr. Tilton. The names of Claflin, Johnson, Mr. and Mrs. Richards, Mrs. Stanton, and Miss Anthony are given in support of some of his statements; and on Wednesday evening, of last week, in the presence of Mr. Beecher, at a business meeting of Plymouth Church, Mr. Bowen made the following proposition: "If you still demand all the names and particulars, and if Mr. Beecher demands them, I will do this: I will tonight, at this moment, meet Mr. William McKay, A. H. Garbut, and S. V. White, alone, or in the presence of Mr. Beecher, in the adjoining room, and there give to them the facts in my possession which long ago convinced me Mr. Beecher is an adulterer. I shall only require that these gentlemen shall preserve the names and identifying circumstances secret; and I shall make no request of them for any action in the case, leaving that to their discretion and to yours. Will you accept this offer?" With reference to this offer, the Boston Journal, which has always been favorably disposed toward Mr. Beecher, comments as follows: "Here was an offer on Mr. Bowen's part to go before a committee of Mr. Beecher's friends, and in Mr. Beecher's presence, and give the names and particulars which have been sought for with so much appearance of eagerness. The offer was fair to all parties; why was it not accepted? Until this question can be satisfactorily answered, a cloud must rest upon the sincerity of the Plymouth Church proceedings. Here were the 'bottom facts' almost reached, but Mr. Beecher refused to go farther. Why?"

For a few years past, numerous wealthy men of Boston have been quietly changing their residences,—that is, while continuing to do business in this city, they have acquired legal residences in neighboring towns, either by the purchase of a country-seat therein, or, in some instances, by simply boarding there for a portion of each year. Owing to this transfer of residence, their personal property has been taxed outside of the city, and, as the towns selected for residence have relatively low rates of taxation, many men have thus managed to save very large sums of money. The Chairman of the Board of Assessors asserts that the city has thus lost in the last seven years over \$20,000,000 of taxable property, seven-eighths of which still belong to men who are for all practical purposes (taxation only excepted) residents of Boston. Legislation is asked for to remedy this state of affairs, but it is difficult to understand how legislation can be made efficient without becoming inquisitorial and arbitrary to an excessive degree. In fact, the whole question of the government of great cities is involved in this matter, and we are glad to find that pecuniary interests are likely at last to bring this important subject to the attention of the men by whom it must be settled, but who have heretofore seemed indifferent to its importance and its urgency.

The Senate, early last week, passed the Colorado Bill, which provides for the organization of a Constitutional Convention, and for the formation of a State government in that Territory. The bill had already passed the House. The Senate also passed a bill for extending the time (until Feb. 1, 1877) for the redemption of lands held by the United States under the several acts levying direct taxes; the West Point Appropriation Bill, increasing the amounts appropriated by the House; a bill appropriating \$75,000 for the St. Louis Custom House; another, regulating the leave of absence of army officers; and a bill which came up from the House, "recommending the people of the several States to assemble in their respective counties or towns on the approaching Centennial Anniversary, and to cause to be delivered a historical sketch of the county or town from its formation, copies of which be filed in the County Clerk's office and in the Library of Congress, so that a complete record may thus be had of the progress of the Republic." In addition to this last bill, the House also passed an appropriation of \$400,000 for building a Custom House at Memphis; a bill amendatory of an act relating to the filing of railroad reports; and a bill to encourage the growth of timber on Western prairies. The House also passed a resolution of impeachment against W. W. Belknap, Secretary of War, and appointed a Committee to notify the Senate, to prepare articles of impeachment, and to conduct the case before the Senate. The principal debate of the week took place in the House upon a motion to restore to the pension-roll the names dropped therefrom because of the sympathy of their owners with the Southern rebellion.

In the Associated Press report of the proceedings of the Senate one day last week appears the announcement, "Various bills passed," but of the character of these bills we are told nothing. It is not difficult, however, to imagine their character; they were undoubtedly "private" bills, of interest only to those whose names appeared in them, and to the members of Congress who proposed them. Of the great number of these private bills passed at every session of Congress, people in general have little conception. One member alone has already introduced during the present session no less than forty, and other members have introduced almost as many. These private bills are mainly responsible for the maintenance of lobbyists, and are also the source of not a little existing political corruption. It is these bills, so lavishly introduced by Southern members of Congress, which have helped to float the assertion that the South is in favor of "the old flag and an appropriation." Under any rational system of legislation, 99 per cent. of these bills would have no place in Congressional proceedings, but would be settled by general laws, or, in case of dispute, by judicial

proceedings; and the fact that they are not thus provided for, shows how incompetent is the average legislator to perform in an adequate manner the work which he undertakes.

The war in Spain is ended. Don Carlos passed over the frontier into France early last week, and reached England last Saturday. He formally announces that he has withdrawn from the contest at present, and it is to be hoped that hereafter he and his family will cause no more bloodshed by striving for the possession of a throne to which they have never had more than shadowy claims. The Spanish government has already granted amnesty to all Carlists who surrender before the 15th inst. Spain is now at liberty to devote herself to the pacification of Cuba, a task to which—for the benefit of certain American politicians, if not for her own sake—we trust she will proceed at once and with vigor.

Communications.

THE "COMMON FORCE."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—I have been reading with much interest the letters from Mr. James, your comments on them, and letters from others which were the results of both. Now I also would like to address you on the subject, though I hardly hope to do more than express my surprise that you see no essential difference between your view and that of Mr. James with respect to the means through which the universal brotherhood is to be reached. And yet let me try.

It is of course evident that, when we shall have a perfect society, creation will reflect the creative perfection. Earnestly desiring this, you say the individual members that must compose society ought to seek self-perfection; while Mr. James objects, on the ground that "the only force at the basis of human affairs is common force." According to you, individual force has to precede social reflection; but, according to Mr. James, the common force has to precede the individual reflection.

You, it seems to me, are pre-Harvey, while Mr. James is post-Harvey. For you, as it were, cry out to each member: "Perfect yourself, that the whole body may be reformed and made beautiful." But Mr. James has learned not only about the circulation of the blood, but that without it the members could have no existence. He, therefore, counter-cries, and proclaims that the blood forms the members, and that the members consume their life-force in vain in trying to reform the body. Mr. James craves that the members should recognize their constant source, and the commonness of their life-force, because he believes that a perfect reformation, an harmonious and enduring strength and beauty, would very speedily result.

Even now, when the Divine beauty is so imperfectly reflected, we say that we see it most in those who are least conscious of self, and who cannot therefore be striving to attain to self-perfection. Phenomenal individuality is full of self-assertion, but I imagine that the true, the lasting individuality, which Mr. James expects instead of the present transient phase, will not be in the least self-conscious, while it will delight all beholders. True individuality will be thoroughly conscious of the individuality of others, but it will not see its own. I cordially unite with you and Mr. James in craving a perfect society, and am,

Truly yours,

A. D.

NEW YORK CITY, Feb. 23.

[It is true that we differ from Mr. James, when he says that "the only force at the bottom of human affairs is common force"; for we affirm common force and individual force at the same time. "Common" to what, if not to all individuals? There is no question of precedence, but of existence; is there, or is there not, a veritable individual force? Mr. James thinks he can have society without it; we think that the bare fact of society presupposes and implies it; and we find that Mr. James does actually presuppose and imply it, even while he imagines he is dispensing with it. All we seek to preserve is the roundness and wholeness of the truth, as opposed to a partial and fragmentary view of it.—ED.]

THE RELIGIONS OF PERFECTION AND OF DEGRADATION.

MR. EDITOR:—

Your definition of religion, "the effort of man to perfect himself," to my mind is not quite correct. It is as often the effort of man to degrade himself as to perfect himself; at least history shows this to be the fact. I should say that "the effort of man to perfect himself" is comprehensive of the highest, the most perfect religion possible. We must accept the meaning of the word religion as it is most commonly used; namely, as the word that signifies the acts of man that are prompted by his feelings concerning his spiritual existence. There is in man a desire, a longing, so strong, so prominent, so predominating, that it justly entitles itself to a place as a faculty, an attribute of his nature, which can be called most properly a religious faculty.

Man has other faculties or attributes (which are very well classified by phrenologists) all of which are the sum total of the man; also he is a sympathetic being, surrounded by psychological influences. Now as his predominating faculty and his psychological surroundings, so is he (or, I might say, as is his

psychological surroundings, so are his faculties. I suppose properly that the psychological surroundings are the soil from out of which grows the spirit). The man that has grown up free from hereditary taint, with well-balanced faculties, with mathematical and moral axioms and reason, the governing principles of life, will be the man with the most perfect religion. His erect, commanding manhood, facing God or Nature, and man, life, death, and eternity will be a lasting monument to the fact that the most perfect religion lies in the effort of man to perfect himself; while the story of the self-degrading religious performances—the self-torturing of mind and body of the people of those idolatrous nations of Asia, Africa, and the islands of the sea—is a lasting record on the page of history that tells of the effort of man to degrade himself.

Between these two extremes lie all the varied religions of the world; and religion is the proper name for each and every variety; and every belief or act that satisfies the longings or desires of this faculty in the mind is religion to that being, no matter what form it may take. Thus it is that religion is the effort of man both to perfect and degrade himself. And such is the Janus-faced religion of the Orthodox Church of to-day. Our degradation, as set forth by Mr. James, clearly runs into annihilation; while the other—yours, Mr. Abbot—takes the individual man nearer and nearer to God. H. D. S.

MILL RIVER, Mass., Feb. 6, 1876.

[Probably our correspondent does not mean that even the "idolatrous nations of Asia," etc., intend to degrade themselves by their religion. That may be, and often has been, the actual effect of religious belief and practice; but it cannot be the conscious intention. In other words, all religion, so far as it is sincere, aims at perfection, not at degradation; and what is wanted is a more intelligent conception of what constitutes it.—ED.]

THE "RECOMPENSE OF REWARD."

TIPPECANOE CITY, Ohio, }
Feb. 21, 1876. }

EDITOR INDEX:—

After reading Mr. James' third letter, and before reading your reply, I wrote on a piece of paper before me the following: "Then society is made of individual selves, and selves are nothings. Society is then one gigantic Nothing, and should be represented this way: 0+0+0+0+0=0."

Then I paraphrased a well-known verse as follows:

"This world's a dream, an empty show
For man's illusion given;
The smiles of joy, the tears of woe,
Deceitful shine, deceitful flow;
There's nothing true, but Nothing."

This may be: who knows? At death I think we shall waken up with a little more light on the subject. This I can't help hoping for. But if not, we all shall "sleep the sleep that knows no waking," and be as happy as he who feels and knows nothing; and man can never be that elevated intelligence he has so longed for, but must content himself with being but one unconscious block in the great pyramid of intelligence which Nature appears to be intent on erecting. A work worthy of a God!

After reading your reply, I wrote the following:—

"If Mr. James and Mr. Abbot could only see that 'self' is the great central magnet, drawing man on to perfection—that God, in the nature of things, has not made or required man to act without regard to himself! He should have an eye to 'the recompense of reward,' and, if his instinct or moral nature does not hit upon the best way of securing such reward, then the reformer should 'tug away at man's intellectual suspenders' until he is elevated to such a height that he can see the obvious truth, that 'self interests and social interests are the same.' That would be encouraging. Mr. James appears not to see self at all, yet he appears troubled how to get clear of it; Mr. Abbot sees the great Social must be made up of selves, and, if the parts are not perfect, the whole cannot be. But he does not see the great truth that God, in the nature of things, has made it impossible for man to act without regard to himself. Hence he keeps tugging away at the wrong suspenders. But I would by no means insinuate that he is not, in the main, doing a master's work in the right way." E. L. CRANE.

[Since our chief endeavor has been to show that "self interests and social interests are the same," and that, in living for the interests of mankind, each man lives for his own as well and achieves the highest perfection attainable, we do not see what Mr. Crane adds to this statement, unless it be an insistence on the necessity of "having an eye to reward." Perhaps we are in error in thinking that the desire of personal reward drives out the unselfish spirit, and necessarily obscures the claim of social interests to our supreme attention; but we at least perceive that whoever lives for all mankind lives for himself so far as he is a part of mankind. Does not this cover all that Mr. Crane intends to say? If not, we shall be glad to hear from him again. One cannot easily defend himself against a charge of blindness; but the only way to convince him that he is blind, is to state exactly what he has failed to see. Abstractly, we concede that we may be as blind as the eyeless fishes in the Mammoth Cave; but we shall more cheerfully concede that we are, when furnished with a precise description of the objects so visible to our critic-seer.—ED.]

A LADY'S FOUR QUESTIONS.

GROTON, N. Y., Jan. 25, 1876.

DEAR EDITOR:—

While reading some of your articles in THE INDEX, a few questions have been suggested to my mind upon which I would like to know your opinion, if you can reasonably grant me a reply at your own convenience. It is quite possible that you have already answered these questions, substantially; but an editor's patience may be supposed to reach twice around the world, and tie in a good, generous, double bow-knot.

Yours with profound gratitude and esteem,

[This letter was "not intended for publication," and so we suppress the name of the writer; but we could not possibly make so graceful an introduction as by printing the above, with its humorous and characteristically feminine metaphor. The questions follow:—

"1. Are some people morally better with belief in Christianity than they would be with belief in Free Religion?"

"2. Ought we to make any effort to shake the faith of our friends who are perfectly satisfied with Christianity?"

"3. If the individuality (or 'atomicity') of the soul is an argument in favor of its continuance in being, does the eternity of God argue its existence as an individual or atom?"

"4. Should you become convinced that the actual truth respecting God and immortality would, if known and universally received, tend to lower the moral status of mankind, would that fact lessen your reverence for truth itself?"

We must make our answers brief:—

1. No: because they could not believe in Free Religion without thereby believing in a better morality than the Christian,—which could not, of course, tend to make them morally worse than they now are.

2. It is no part of good morals or good manners to be intrusive. But how could the world ever grow wiser, if teachers forbore to instruct children—who are perfectly satisfied with their ignorance? Nothing but ignorance is ever "perfectly satisfied": knowledge, like Oliver Twist, always "asks for more."

3. Not at all.

4. If we should become idiotic, probably our reverence for truth would be lessened; but we should have to be pretty far advanced towards idiocy in order to become convinced of the "fact" supposed. Morality depends on social, not theological, considerations.—ED.]

NO DANGER FROM CATHOLICISM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Your correspondent "H." asks whether I do not "believe that, if the (Catholic) Church ever acquires power, the Pope, as head of the Church, would crush each and every liberal, each and every INDEX, each and every free school, till none but loyal Catholics were left."

I would say in reply that I believe that, if the earth should suddenly cease to revolve in its orbit, and fly off on a tangent toward the sun, very serious consequences would result to the unfortunate inhabitants thereof. I do not believe in the possibility of the one occurrence any more than I do of the other.

When we of this generation have lived to see the complete overthrow of the Pope's temporal authority, the weakening of the bonds of the Church in all nominally Catholic countries, until France tolerates and honors a Renan, and Spain tolerates and honors a Castelar; when we have lived to see the statesmanship of Bismarck hold back with firm hand the Ultramontane influence of the Catholic Church in Germany, and everywhere the State declaring its supremacy, while the Church is powerless to resist, it seems to me that one must have wonderfully little faith in the inherent vitality of free institutions to consider, even as the remotest possibility, the acquisition of power in our own country by the Catholic Church.

There are no facts or figures which I have ever seen that excited my fears of such a possibility. Everywhere during the last decade has the secular idea been gaining ground, and one by one are the temporary advantages which have been granted to the Church in a few localities by unscrupulous politicians of both parties, overthrown.

Whenever any question involving the integrity of our public school system has been raised in the Catholic interest, the people have overwhelmingly sustained the schools and rebuked their opponents. It was so in New York and New Jersey, where the Catholic influence is most powerful, and it will be so wherever the question is raised. Intelligent Catholic laymen all over the country are sustaining the schools and the State against the dictum of Pope and priest, and the Church is too weak to crush this internal opposition, or expel the recalcitrant members.

Possibly my answer to your correspondent's question might be in the affirmative, did I admit the possibility of the consummation suggested by his "if"; although when we see in the Catholic nations of Europe constant progress toward the separation of Church and State, the toleration of other religions, and the steady advancement of civilization, I think we might logically conclude that it is safe to have faith in the sufficiency, under all circumstances, of

the eternal law of evolution, in politics and government as well as in the material universe.

The radical thinker surely ought to be wise enough to see that all organizations—churches or what not—are mere forms, through which, if it may, over which, if it must, civilization advances, conquering and forever to conquer.

Yours faithfully, LEWIS G. JAMES.

ORTHODOX "READERS" IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

SOUTH MOUNTAIN, Idaho, Jan. 3, 1876.

MR. FRANCIS E. ABBOT:

Dear Sir,—In your paper you take strong grounds for the secularizing of the public schools. This all liberals strongly favor, and you are doing great service in this cause. You have our heartiest sympathy and support, and may you succeed in your gallant effort!

But I would respectfully call your attention to one thing you seem to have overlooked, and is a grievance to the liberals on the coast. I refer to the use of such books in our schools as Willson's series of *Readers*, published by Harper & Brothers. Why banish the Bible and retain these *Readers*? We may as well retain the Bible. It seems to me the Catholics are right to attempt to divide the school fund when their children are forced to read and use such *Readers*.

It is too much that the bigotry and fanaticism of Christianity cannot content itself with ostracizing us liberals, but it must force on our children books overflowing with pious twaddle and silly balderdash. The commonest occurrences of life give ministers an opportunity to "point a moral," and we can endure it; but to mix knowledge with superstition under the guise of *Readers* is a little too much.

Please give us your views on this subject in THE INDEX, and greatly oblige

FRANK LESSMANN.

[Mr. Lessmann justly complains of such *Readers*. The use of them in public schools, however, is the result of local school regulations, not of State enactments; and this fact throws the responsibility for their introduction on each particular community which tolerates such encroachments of Orthodoxy. An earnest Liberal League could do much to abate this nuisance in their own neighborhood; and there is little likelihood of any reform in this direction until the liberals combine to protect themselves.—ED.]

THE "FREE RELIGION BELL."

DEAR INDEX:—

At a recent meeting of a literary society connected with one of our colleges, a member read Bungay's poem, "Creeds of the Bells." At the close of the recitation he improvised, by request, the following stanza:—

"Ho, ye who love man's liberty to tell!
In loyal tones pealed forth a bell.
'Progression is the law to-day;
Progress lights the Eternal way.
Yet, whatsoever ye leave behind,
Bring peace, good-will, to all mankind.
Love well, Love well, Love well, Love well,
Sweetly chimed the Free Religion Bell."

DIVINITY HALL, Cambridge, Feb. 8, 1876.

MR. BRADFORD'S LECTURE.

BEAVER FALLS, Pa., Feb. 21, 1876.

ED. INDEX:

Dear Sir,—Rev. A. B. Bradford, of Enon Valley in this State, favored us with a rare treat by reading in my parlors to a select company his masterly lecture in favor of secular schools, the taxation of church property, and the maintenance of a purely secular government. The profound reasoning and boldness with which Mr. Bradford presented the "Demands of Liberalism" entitles him to rank among the first advocates of freethought.

J. E. EMERSON.

[We should be very glad to receive Mr. Bradford's paper for publication, for the high quality of his work is well known.—ED.]

THE WORD "REVEREND."

NEWPORT, R. I., Feb. 21, 1876.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—Now that the judiciary committee of the Privy Council, speaking through the Lord Chancellor, has decided in the case of Peet that the word "Reverend" is not a title, but only an epithet, a mark of respect and reverence, and nothing more, and not exclusively vested in the Church of England, I hope to see your editorial contributor, Mr. Voysey, follow the example of the rector of Little Petherick in Cornwall, and drop the prefix.

Very respectfully,

SAM'L R. HONEY.

THE FOLLOWING extract from the *Catholic Times* indicates the growth of freethought principles in the very home of religious bigotry and political serfdom: "The grave scandal recently presented in the Assize Courts of Rome gives pain and anxiety to every honest man. There are men now in the city of the Popes, where but a few years ago religion was all in all, who refuse to take the oath because they openly declare themselves atheists and unbelievers, and the magistracy blushes not to say that, 'an oath is a mere formality which does not bind the conscience.' It seems like a dream, but it is a painful reality,

that the actual rulers of the once Holy City have now gone to a depth below Paganism itself which recognized, at all events, an avenging God, and taught that it was easier to find a city without foundations than a people without religion. . . . But the Italian government officially approves such infidelity and unbelief, inasmuch as it allows its magistrates to declare that an oath is a mere formality that does not bind the conscience. It is difficult to conceive anything more scandalous pronounced from the very seat of judgment than that the solemn oath instituted by law in criminal proceedings for the protection of truth should be declared a mere formality, and that too by a State which declares that the Catholic religion is its basis, and offers itself to the world as the guardian of the august head of religion."

Poetry.

[For THE INDEX.]

BLIND.

Bars of crimson and amber,
Dashes of purple and gold,
Wrought in the western glory
That is old as the world is old—
Falling and deepening ever,
Trembling with splendor untold?

Oh, eyes that are weary of seeing
The brownness and bareness of earth,
Oh, eyes that are heavy with revels,
And know only tears of mirth!
Gaze long on the beauty vouchsafed you,
That giveth the soul a new birth.

Crimson, say you, and amber?
Ah! crimson seems warm, like your love;
And amber I fancy delicious
As sweet-scented airs of a grove;
And the gold and the purple are surely
In symphonies' souls interwove.

How fair must the hour be that gladdens
The world with such beauty supreme;
How blessed the eyes that behold it,
Though gazing hot tears between!
Rejoice, be ye glad of the vision;
I only can see in a dream.

The time would be long, love, without thee,
While in bitter life-darkness I bide;
The way would be rugged and thorny,
I know not what pain would betide;
Love's magic doth change hours to moments,
Rough places and thorns it doth hide.

Loving, untiring magician,
Doth thy patient heart never quail?
From mine eyes, if for only a moment
Of rapture, were lifted the veil,
And I might see thee—all unheeded
The Heavens might flush and grow pale.

CARROLL GODFREY.

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PUBLISHED BY THE

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this respect, all that the intelligent padre and Bishop McQuaid said of the efficiency of properly exercised parental authority in keeping sectarian fervor vivid.

Without paternal boots of considerable thickness, no sectarian belief can be made hereditary in any family for more than one generation or two. On this alone depends the difference between what we see, in this respect, in Europe and in this country. The letter of the law, with regard to paternal authority, is, in this country, pretty much what it is in Europe—Draconian. But in Europe it is enforced with Draconian rigor, and therefore in Europe sectarianism is, with very few exceptions, strictly hereditary. In America the Draconian rigor of the law becomes an empty spectre in presence of the common sense of the people. Parents do not avail themselves of power which the law gives to them upon their children, who, as soon as they reach puberty, are here, in most respects, practically as free as if they had reached majority. This is right so far as it goes; and if a change is demanded it is the letter of the law that should be accommodated to the manners of the people, and not the contrary. The authority of the parent upon the child is legitimate as long as the child is a child; but even then it should not be used in enforcing upon a youthful mind the sectarian fancies of another time and of less happy countries. Against such a tyranny we, men, will protect the consciences of our fellow-citizens, whether children or not, whether the children of Catholics or the children of other persons. The declamations of Bishop McQuaid on the sanctity of parental authority and the liberty of parental conscience from State interference are very fine. But in substance what does all that mean? That monks and nuns shall have the power of enforcing Roman Catholic beliefs and practices on the children of Roman Catholics through the whip, the college prison, and the bread-and-water pittance, just as is done in France and elsewhere; and that if the children revolt and run away, the Protestant sheriff (notwithstanding the beautiful preface about the absence of State interference) shall be required to catch the fugitives and bring them back to the detested abode.

BALAM'S PROPHECIES.

BY WILLIAM DENTON.

Balaam, an Eastern soothsayer, is rather singularly elevated into the rank of a true prophet, and his language in the Bible is adduced as proof of its divinity. The Israelites in their travels came to Moab; and the King of Moab, being afraid of them, sent for Balaam to come and curse them. This he at first refused to do, but after much persuasion went to the King of Moab, when he uttered repeated blessings on the people he had been paid to curse.

Who informed Moses what was said by Balaam we are not told, but must believe he received it by direct inspiration. He prefaces his prophecy with a false eulogy of the Israelites: "He hath not beheld iniquity in Jacob, neither hath he seen perversion in Israel. The Lord his God is with him, and the shout of a king is among them. God hath brought them out of Egypt; he hath, as it were, the strength of an unicorn."

And this, too, after the worship of the golden calf; after they had murmured for water, and desired to return to the flesh-pots of Egypt; and after God had said to Moses: "Let me alone that I may destroy them." And God impressed Balaam that "he hath, as it were, the strength of an unicorn!" God Almighty as strong as a rhinoceros!

The prophecy states that Israel's king should be higher than Agag; but how high Agag was we have no means of knowing. From the account, we may suppose him to have been a petty king of the Amalekites, and there would be nothing wonderful in Israel's king being higher than he.

"There shall come a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel, and shall smite the corners of Moab, and destroy all the children of Sheth."—Num. xxiv., 17.

The star and sceptre are here supposed to denote some illustrious king or ruler, and this prophecy is said by Bishop Newton to have been fulfilled in David, for we are told in Samuel that "David smote Moab." But where is the proof that the account in Samuel is true? Or, supposing it to be true, who can tell that the prophecy was written before Moab was smitten? Granting that the whole was just as recorded, what was there wonderful in foretelling that one nation would smite the borders of another nation in the space of several hundred years? It would have been much more wonderful if they had not.

The prophecy says nothing about Moab's smiting Israel, and yet the Israelites were the slaves of Moab for eighteen years.—Judges iii., 14.

The same sceptre was to destroy all the children of Sheth. If Sheth means all the sons of Adam, then all mankind were to be destroyed by it. If it does not mean that, what does it mean?

"And Edom shall be a possession: Seir also shall be a possession for his enemies, and Israel shall do valiantly. Out of Jacob shall come he that shall have dominion, and destroy him that remaineth of the city." (18th and 19th verses.) Edom and Seir were to be possessions for his enemies. Whose enemies? The enemies of Israel, or the enemies of Edom and Seir? If the enemies of Israel, then they had possession already; if the enemies of Edom and Seir, the same prophecy might be made regarding every country then existing, for nothing was more common than for countries to become the possession of their enemies, and it needed no prophet to foretell such a fate.

The prophecy states that out of Jacob shall come he that shall have dominion, and destroy him that remaineth of the city. It would have been strange if a nation had produced no one who had dominion, and nearly as strange if he had not destroyed some city; and since no time is fixed, no individual pointed out, and no city mentioned, Balaam was quite safe in making the prophecy.

Some think the prophecy had an ultimate fulfillment in Jesus Christ; and doubtless it refers to him just as much as it does to David, and to Martin Luther as much as either.

"The Kenite shall be wasted till Asshur shall carry them away captive." Whether this was fulfilled or not, the Bible does not enlighten us.

"Ships shall come from the coast of Chittim, and shall afflict Asshur, and shall afflict Eber, and he shall also perish forever."

What country is meant by Chittim nobody knows. Some think it refers to the coast of Cyprus; others to Italy; and others still to the eastern coast of the Mediterranean. If by Asshur is meant Assyria, which is generally acknowledged by commentators, and Chittim was in or near the Mediterranean, then it was impossible for the ships of Chittim to afflict Assyria, for to do so they must have doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and navigated the shallow water of the Euphrates in ships large enough to accomplish such a voyage. But Assyria was not circumnavigated till centuries after Assyria ceased to be a nation. Of Eber there is nothing to be learned, either in the Bible or out of it.

So much for Balaam's prophecies.

Newton, commenting on them, says: "It appears that Balaam was a prophet divinely inspired, or he never could have foretold so many distant events, some of which are fulfilling in the world at this time."

When viewed by eyes divested of Orthodox spectacles, it is very clear that the prophecies in the Bible attributed to Balaam are altogether unworthy the name of prophecy; and that cause must be weak that requires to be established by such evidence.

JUDGE TAFT CALLED TO THE CABINET.

HIS NOMINATION AS SECRETARY OF WAR.

Judge Taft is a lawyer of wide experience and great ability. No man in South-western Ohio is better known or more highly respected. He served for a short time on the bench of the Superior Court in Cincinnati, and delivered a minority opinion in reference to the Bible in the schools. This created a prejudice against him in certain quarters, although the opinion of his colleagues was subsequently overruled and his own sustained by the Supreme Court on appeal. Last summer he was a prominent candidate for the Republican nomination for Governor of Ohio, and he would undoubtedly have carried the Convention against Gov. Hayes if it had not been for the school and temperance questions. His strength was in the cities; the Cincinnati and Cleveland delegations united in his support, but the country delegates urged that although his decision on the school question might be for the best interest of the common schools, it would be impossible to make their constituents understand his position. On the eve of the Convention Gov. Hayes telegraphed to one of the delegates: "I cannot allow my name to be used against Judge Taft. He is an able and pure man, and a sound Republican. I would not accept a nomination obtained by a contest with him." The Republican leaders, however, felt that it would be unwise to nominate a man whose record on two important issues would have to be explained on the stump, and Judge Taft's name was withdrawn after 186 votes had been cast for him. He explained his views on the school question at a meeting held in the evening to ratify the nomination of Gov. Hayes. "The division of the school fund among the churches or sects," he said, "would be as fatal to our school system as the dissolution of our political Union would be to our political power. Without our common schools our liberties are endangered, our ballots dangerous. I believe that they who would now divide the schools will sooner or later be satisfied to leave religious instruction and worship to the family and church, while the State attends to the great duty of making this education universal through the great system of common schools." Judge Taft took an active part in the canvass. With the single exception of last year's campaign, however, he has studiously kept out of politics, and has devoted all his time and energy to his profession.—*New York Tribune*, March 8.

WORSHIP OF THE GOLDEN CALF.—What we need is a higher and more exacting public morality, severer judgments upon lapses in honorable conduct, sharper self-criticism, the elevation of the tone of business conduct, the private social punishment of political offenders, and the denial to a man of a leading seat in the church or in society who does not come with clean hands. The only question is, How are we to do the things required? So long as the rich man—no matter how bad his public life, no matter that he may be known to every member of the church as a bribe-taker and public plunderer—is received with open arms in any church to which he offers himself for membership, how can we expect a higher tone in business, social, or public life? Now, to our thinking, the very basis of all our present private and public rottenness has its seat in the dishonesty of the churches. There are but few of our readers who do not know as well as we do, that the shortcomings of the poor members of churches are visited with stern punishment, while the sins of the rich members are passed over in silence. We remember a case which made a sensation some twenty-

five years ago. A woman was brought up for discipline in the old John Street Methodist Church. She was charged with the reading of novels. She admitted her heinous offence, and was either censured or expelled, we forget which. A low fellow among the members asked her who were the publishers of the novels which she read. She answered that the publishers were the Harper Brothers. This low fellow moved that the Harpers, who were members of the church, be disciplined for publishing novels. He was "sat upon" immediately by the whole body of deacons. There was one law for the poor woman and another for the rich publishers. So long as the churches are corrupt and subservient, can we expect to see a high standard of honor among business men, faithful performances of duty by public officers, or a higher social tone? While the teachers of morality bow them down in worship before the Golden Calf, can they expect their pupils to do otherwise?—*N. Y. Dispatch*.

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Books.

THE MOVEMENTS AND HABITS OF CLIMBING PLANTS. By Charles Darwin, M. A., F. R. S., etc. Second Edition, Revised. With Illustrations. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1876.

THE NATURE OF LIGHT, with a General Account of Physical Optics. By Dr. Eugene Lommel, Professor of Physics in the University of Erlangen. With 188 Illustrations, etc. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [International Scientific Series.]

FILTH-DISEASES AND THEIR PREVENTION. By John Simon, M.D., F.R.C.S., Chief Medical Officer of the Privy Council and of the Local Government Board of Great Britain. First American Edition. Printed under the Direction of the State Board of Health of Massachusetts. Boston: James Campbell. 1876.

THE INDIAN SAINT; or, Buddha and Buddhism. A Sketch, Historical and Critical. By Charles D. B. Mills. Northampton, Mass.: Journal and Free Press Office. 1876.

THE PROTECTION OF MAJORITIES; or, Considerations Relating to Electoral Reform. With other Papers. By Josiah Phillips Quincy. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1876.

THE CHRIST OF PAUL; or, The Enigma of Christianity. St. John never in Asia Minor; Irenaeus the Author of the Fourth Gospel; The Frauds of the Churchmen of the Second Century Exposed. By George Reber. New York: Charles F. Somerby. 1876.

TEXT-BOOK OF PROSE; from Burke, Webster, and Bacon. With Notes and Sketches of the Authors' Lives. For use in Schools and Classes. By the Rev. Henry N. Hudson. Boston: Ginn Brothers. 1876.

THIRTY DISCUSSIONS Bible Stories, Essays, and Lectures. By D. M. Bennett. New York: D. M. Bennett. 1876.

Pamphlets and Periodicals.

MRS. LIMBER'S RAFFLE; or, a Church Fair and its Victim; A Short Story. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1876.

THE COTTON STATES IN THE SPRING AND SUMMER OF 1875. By Charles Nordhoff. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

THE LITTLE JOANNA. A Novel. By Kamba Thorpe. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1876.

FOUR-LORR AND FAIRY TALES. By W. A. Leonard. Bristol (Eng.): Arrowsmith, 11 Quay St. 1874.

SERMONS BY O. B. FROTHINGHAM: "Knowledge and Faith," New Series, No. 14; "Infidelity," No. 15; "Religion and Childhood," No. 16. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1876.

SERMONS BY JOHN W. CHADWICK: "Self-Respect," February; "The Higher Reverence," March. New York: Charles F. Somerby. 1876.

SERMONS BY THE REV. CHARLES VOYSEY: "The Burial Strife," Dec. 5; "Society and the Individual," Dec. 12; "Doubt and Dissent," Dec. 19; "Getting On," Dec. 26; "The Light of the World," Jan. 2; "Protestant Safeguards," Jan. 9, 16, 23; "The Fear of Death," Jan. 30.

PUBLICATIONS OF THOMAS SCOTT, ESQ., 11 The Terrace, Farquhar Road, Upper Norwood, London, S.E.—"What is Truth?"—"On Inspiration."—"Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion"; No. II. By David Hume.—Signs of the Times for February.

THOMAS PAINE. An Essay before the Minneapolis Liberal League, Jan. 16, 1876. By Frank J. Mead. Published by the League. 1876.

A CENTENNIAL SERMON IN MEMORY OF THOMAS PAINE, Feb. 6, 1876. By Rev. W. E. Copeland. Lincoln, Neb.: 1876.

THE FUTURE GREAT CITY OF THE WORLD. By J. W. Scott. Second Edition. Edited by F. J. Scott. Toledo, Ohio: 1876.

THE CLAIMS OF CAPITAL CONSIDERED. By William Brown. Montreal: John Lovell.

CUPID'S YOKES. By E. H. Heywood. Princeton, Mass.: 1876.

ERRORS OF AMERICAN STATESMEN; Possible Impeachment of Grant. By Salvador. New York: 1876.

THIRD REPORT OF THE Newton Home for Orphan and Destitute Girls. Boston: 1876.

ANNUAL REPORT OF Northwestern Branch, National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers. 1875.

UNITARIAN REVIEW, February, 1876. Boston: L. C. Bowles.

THE WESTERN, January and February. St. Louis: Western Publishing Association.

PENN MONTHLY, February and March. Philadelphia: Penn Monthly Association.

HERALD OF HEALTH, February and March. New York: Wood & Holbrook.

THE SANITARIAN, February. New York: McDivitt, Campbell & Co.

The Index.

BOSTON, MARCH 16, 1876.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 1, TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

The transition from Christianity to Free Religion, through which the civilized world is now passing, but which it very little understands, is even more momentous in itself and in its consequences than the great transition of the Roman Empire from Paganism to Christianity. THE INDEX aims to make the character of this vast change intelligible in at least its leading features, and offers an opportunity for discussions on this subject which find no fitting place in other papers.

N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

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DAMON Y. KILGORE, Acting Treasurer.
 605 Walnut St., Philadelphia.

AS REPORTED above, Mr. Kilgore has received the first subscription to the fund for the Centennial Congress of Liberals, just in season for acknowledgment in this issue of THE INDEX. We hope it will prove to be the first of a long list. Mr. Kilgore writes: "Perhaps you will see fit to extract a word from Mr. A.'s letter, it is so good. 'I give myself the pleasure of handing you enclosed \$5.00 for the good work'—has the true ring. Time will prove it to be the most honorable money ever expended, and his children's children will be proud of it." P. S.—Three other subscriptions have also just been reported.

MR. UNDERWOOD'S lecture this week on "Modern Scientific Materialism" will command deserved attention as a very able and careful paper. If we desired to offer any criticism, it would be that his premises seem to us to be those of a purely subjective idealism, and not to warrant the assumption of the objective existence of any "material" world at all. But we desire only to thank Mr. Underwood for favoring THE INDEX with so fine a statement of a philosophy which, even if not the whole truth, certainly presents a part of the truth, to which very imperfect justice is still done.

THE ACQUISITION of an accomplished lady correspondent in England, the first of whose weekly "English Sketches" will be found in another column, is an event upon which we must specially congratulate the readers of THE INDEX. Mrs. Besant has already earned a high reputation at home, both as a popular lecturer and as one of the most talented writers for the London *National Reformer*, Charles Bradlaugh's vigorous and fearless journal; and Mr. Moncure D. Conway, some months since, drew in the Cincinnati *Commercial* a most charming portrait of her as she appeared before an English audience (a portrait which, by the way, he himself assured us fell far short of the truth). Wholly unsolicited, and moved by generous friendship for THE INDEX, she offered a few weeks ago to write these letters regularly for our columns, and we accepted the offer with alacrity and gratitude. That our readers will appreciate the favor so kindly conferred on them and us, we are assured beforehand. But we wish that the high eulogy she passes on the American people—"You have preserved for us the honor of our common name"—were not so sure to bring the hot blood to their cheeks, as the accumulated disgraces of this evil hour rush to their recollection. Mrs. Besant did not mean to be satirical in the least; but, alas, into what a terrible satire do Schenck and Belknap and their brood turn her innocent and admiring words! Yet she is not wrong—America is indeed sound at the heart; and we shall none of us be the worse to find that high and noble things, despite all evil seeming, are expected of us still as a mere matter of course. If we are knaves and slaves, we shall soon enough be found out; if we are honest freemen, we must do the deeds of honest freemen.

THE PRIESTLY INTIMIDATION OF CATHOLIC PARENTS.

A bill has been recently introduced into the Rhode Island Legislature designed to protect Catholic parents from priestly interference and intimidation. The occasion of its introduction was an affidavit by the father of a Miss De Fray, who swore that the child's mother had been excluded from the sacred rites of the Catholic Church for sending her to the public school, and had been told that the exclusion would be continued as long as she persisted in her rebellion against Church authority. The first section of the bill reads as follows:—

"No person shall hereafter threaten, dissuade, hinder, or obstruct by denouncing, threatening, intimidating, or otherwise interfering with any parent or guardian who may send or wish to send any child under his control to any public school in this State which such child is qualified to enter; nor shall any person, other than a parent or guardian, attempt to hinder or prevent any child from attending a public school from which such child shall not have been expelled, or which he is not prohibited from attending in consequence of some law or regulation of such school."

The third section imposes a fine of fifty dollars for each and every offence of the kind specified in the first section.

On this proposed law the New York *Independent* comments as follows:—

"The best thing to be done with this proposition is to lay it on the table and then leave it there. As a law it would be an outrage to religious liberty and a disgrace to the State of Rhode Island. If Catholic parents choose to be influenced by any threatened denial of the privileges of the Church, or by any spiritual anathemas of the Catholic priesthood in respect to the question of sending their children to the public school, then so be it. This is their business, and with it the State can have nothing to do without exceeding its own province. This is a free country for Catholics as well as Protestants; and, hence, no law should attempt to provide any protection for Catholic parents against the Church influences of their priests. The question is one which they must settle between themselves, and any regulation of it by the civil power would be simply an act of despotism. Law can supply no remedies for the victims of superstition. It must assume their competency to take care of themselves. Nor can it justly interfere with the right of any one, be he priest or layman, to denounce and oppose the public school system, and do what he can, without any act of violence, to induce parents to send their children to private rather than to public schools."

The general principle on which the *Independent* rests these criticisms,—namely, the impropriety of State interference in the internal regulation of Church affairs,—is undeniably a sound one; and the *Independent* evidently intends to apply this principle in all fairness to the case in question. If there were no civil rights involved—if it were simply a case in which purely ecclesiastical penalties had been threatened for purely ecclesiastical offences,—there could be no reasonable objection to the *Independent's* solution of the difficulty. If a Catholic, for instance, should neglect to go to confession, and should in consequence be refused the sacraments by his priest, he ought not to look to the State for redress of such a grievance; for refusal of the sacraments is not a civil wrong, and cannot be recognized as a wrong at all by the courts or the legislature. But the present case is one of more difficulty, and we are inclined to differ from the view of it taken by the *Independent*. Bearing in mind that this whole school question (as we have shown at length in the lecture published in THE INDEX of last week) involves the rights of three parties, the children, the parents, and the State, let us analyze the case a little more closely, and see whether there is not a manifest justice in some such law as that now proposed in Rhode Island.

1. The right of the child to a rudimentary education is sufficiently regarded, if he actually receives such an education; and it is no concern of the State, in that case, where the education is imparted. The State's duty as the protector of the child's rights is discharged, if it does not permit the child to be deprived of his education by parent or priest. So much as this is required by the principle of "compulsory education," which will yet be recognized as essential to the democratic form of government; but more than this would be inconsistent with it.

2. If the Catholic parent prefers to send his child to a Catholic school, and sees that the child is actually instructed there in secular knowledge to the requisite degree,—if he freely chooses to submit his conscience to the dictation of his priest, and voluntarily surrenders the exercise of his conscience as an independent individual,—then again there is no civil wrong, and no call for the State to interfere.

But suppose that the parent conscientiously be-

lieves that his child will receive a better education at the public than at the Catholic school, and therefore feels bound in conscience, for his child's sake, to send him to the public school; then it is an essential part of his "religious liberty" to obey his own individual conscience in this matter, without interference by any outside party. He may still remain a sincere Catholic on the whole; he may believe in all the dogmas and rites of the Catholic Church, and in every other respect intend to submit to its authority; but he has become so far independent as to desire to exercise his "religious liberty" as an individual, in respect to the education of his child. We admit that he is taking the first step outside of Catholicism, and ceases to be wholly faithful to its inexorable logic; nevertheless, he is a citizen, with all a citizen's rights, and, notwithstanding his inconsistency, is entitled to protection in those rights by the State. If only strict logicians could enjoy their civil rights, we fear that there would be very few to enjoy them; but it is necessary to secure their civil rights to all who do not forfeit them by crime.

But, now that the Catholic parent makes this first beginning in the exercise of his individual conscience, and thereby really begins to fit himself for worthy citizenship in a State based wholly on the rights of individuals, the priest steps in, takes advantage of the parent's still undiminished faith in the Catholic doctrines, and threatens to deprive him of Catholic privileges which he still believes essential to his salvation, unless he yields absolute submission to the priest and sends his child to the parochial school. It is of no sort of consequence what particular beliefs the priest appeals to, in the effort to intimidate the parent in the exercise of his "religious liberty," his individual conscience; it is perfectly immaterial whether the priest threatens death to his body or damnation to his soul; the fact remains that the parent is intimidated and coerced in his conscience, and that this attack on his free individuality is a direct and grievous infringement of his most precious rights. A system of religious terrorism is brought to bear with crushing effect on the thoroughly honest, but yet timid and superstitious conscience of the Catholic parent, who has been trained from childhood to believe in the potency of priestly threats and to submit to them as to the voice of God himself; and what wonder is it, if thousands are frightened into a course which their better judgments deplore? This is the case with very many Catholic parents, as is proved by the necessity of the priests' resorting to threats as the only means of filling up and sustaining the Catholic schools. Yet wherein is this religious terrorism, driving parents to send their children to schools which they believe to be less useful than the public schools, worse than a political terrorism which drives colored voters to cast their ballots contrary to the dictates of their own judgment? We cannot consider the one any less a crime against the person than the other. The proof of intimidation in the making of a contract or a will violates it in the courts; a bill has just been introduced in Congress declaring it a penal offence to "intimidate any witness by threatening him with prosecution"; such influences are recognized in many cases as violations of personal liberty; why not in this?

The fact of priestly intimidation of an extreme and most oppressive nature, in many cases, is placed beyond a doubt by explicit evidence. A gentleman of large experience and high social position in this city bears timely testimony to this fact as follows:—

"BOSTON, March 6, 1876.

"Dear Sir,—When listening to your recent lecture in reply to Bishop McQuaid, I regretted not to have stated to you a fact of which I was cognizant as to the schools of New York, in order to show that, however much the priests may desire to instruct the children in their schools, the scholars are forced, contrary to their own wish and that of their parents in many cases, to leave the public schools in order to attend the Catholic schools.

"Two or three years ago, accommodations for as many as thirty thousand (30,000) scholars in Catholic schools were prepared in New York. The problem was how to fill those schools. Some of the children preferred to remain in the public schools, and the parents wished to have them remain. But the priests, finding their schools unfilled, went to the parents under their charge, and forced them by threats (such as you know) to take their children from the public, and make them attend the pariah schools. I think I have heard it stated that as many as fifty were removed within a very short space of time from some of the large grammar schools for girls, contrary to the wishes and in spite of the tears, in many cases, of children and mothers. I am confident I have stated the case correctly, and not overstated it. It may be verified or corrected by application to the Board of Education in the city of New York, if there should be occasion to wish to know more about it.

"The point I would make is: if Catholic children desire earnestly to attend the public schools and not to attend the parish schools, that should be taken into account, as far as it goes, as a protest against the exactions of the Catholic priesthood, who claim to educate certain of our young citizens, male and female, in parish schools, *whether they will or no*."

"I send these statements for you to make use of, in whole or in part, as you may think proper."

"Yours respectfully, D—."

Three things should here be noted: the great reluctance of the children and parents alike and the violation of the rights of both—the fact of priestly intimidation, its iniquity, and its success—and the necessity of protecting the parents from this forcible interference with their individual consciences, which is practically tantamount to a deprivation of their civil right to send their children to such schools as they at heart judge the best.

3. "But," it is urged, "the State cannot meddle with intimidations based on such superstitious fears as these, without mixing the State with the Church. 'Law can supply no remedies for the victims of superstition.'" But, without inquiring at all into the nature of any alleged intimidation further than to establish its existence as a fact, the law ought to protect inoffensive citizens from intimidation altogether, if it invades, impairs, or destroys the free exercise of their individual minds and consciences, or the full enjoyment of their civil rights. Now it is a civil right of every citizen to send his children, if qualified, to the public schools; and every State which, like Rhode Island, guarantees "religious and political freedom" to its inhabitants, makes the free exercise of the individual conscience also a civil right. It is, then, a violation of their civil rights to attempt by intimidation of any sort, no matter what, to frighten parents from sending their children to the public schools; it is neither more nor less than a crime against the person, and therefore against the State, which the State ought to treat as a crime and to punish as a crime. The crime consists in the intimidation which deters inoffensive citizens, *against their will*, from claiming or enjoying their civil rights—not at all in the nature of the fears appealed to by those who practise it upon them. Whether it is the Catholic priests or the Ku-Klux-Klan that undertake to play the rôle of intimidators, it matters nothing; no free State can long survive where such crimes can be committed with impunity, and it is about time for the American Republic to become aware of its own danger in permitting them. On every ground, we fail to see why the proposed law in Rhode Island is not a just, a righteous, and a needed one. Although there is a certain ludicrousness in seeing a Church which pleads "parental prerogative" and "parental rights" against the public school system take the initiative in remorselessly trampling them under foot, the subject is of altogether too serious a nature to provoke much mirth; and we trust that the *Independent* will reconsider its somewhat hastily formed views concerning it. At any rate, we hope that our countrymen will not so hastily dismiss from consideration the pertinent reminder of their duty which Rhode Island, the ancient and tried friend of religious liberty, has now so pointedly given.

"But this is a free country for Catholics, as well as Protestants," says the *Independent*. Yes—just so long as Catholics propagate their religion by persuasion, by argument, by appeals to imagination or faith or the senses, or by other peaceable means; and no longer. It is not a free country for Catholics, when they resort to force or intimidation; or, if it is, it ceases to be a free country for anybody else. "Have I not a right to wallopp my own nigger?" indignantly exclaimed the slave-holder, planting himself on his constitutional right to be free from the meddling North. "Have I not a right to make my child religious?" might have been exclaimed by the Rev. Mr. Lindale, who whipped his little three-year-old child to death for refusing to say its prayers. That is the argument of "parental rights," and it is the only argument of the Catholic Church in defence of its treatment of refractory parents themselves. Now it is time to understand clearly that this is *not* a "free country" for any man to enslave, or to abuse, or to oppress, or to intimidate any other human being; and the plea of a "conscience" which requires these things ought to be sternly refused. The "liberty of conscience" is a most precious right of the individual, and it should be protected by all the power of the State, so long as the individual does not insist on wronging any other individual; but beyond that point it becomes tyranny, which has no rights whatever in a "free country." The Catholic conscience in the matter of the schools is the conscience of the Catholic Church as an organized despotism, not the

conscience of free individuals; and it neither has nor ought to have the least sanction, protection, or reverence, when it manifests itself in trampling under foot the consciences of individuals. This is a "free country" for individuals alone, not for great corporations whose exclusive aim is to subjugate and enslave individuals; and it will be a woful day for humanity, when the people of the United States, by infatuated concessions and an easy gullibility in swallowing the cunning sophistries of those who aim only at power, cease to protect the rights and liberties of individuals against every oppressor.

THE EVANGELISTS.

As I sat in the Hippodrome a spectator of the course, some thoughts came to me which, commonplace as they may appear, and unworthy to be put down in print, may be suggestive of the incidental effects of the revival. The title of "Evangelist" that is bestowed on them provokes comparisons not wholly in their favor. The original evangelists were not of their kind.

Jesus, the first evangelist, was distinctly of a very different kind. He came to the metropolis an opponent of the existing, popular, rich, and powerful sect of the day,—was the apostle of unfashionable ideas, and had the Church's priests and high personalities arrayed against him. He could not preach at the corner of a street without being told to "move on."

Mr. Moody, his successful successor, finds everything reversed. The Scribes and Pharisees are on his side to a man; the wealth and high influence is all with him; a perfectly organized army sustains him with the respectability of the town. The Master had not where to lay his head; he has the superb guest-room of one of the finest houses in New York as his sleeping-chamber, is lodged like a prince, and fares sumptuously every day. Instead of twelve poor disciples, he has as many "Christian helpers" and "Christian workers" as he chooses to draw from the Orthodox legions. He is the pet of the synagogues. The papers, having a shrewd eye to business, report his sermons and puff his efforts.

"The saying of Peter is no longer true, 'Silver and gold have I none,'" said the Pope to the saint, as he pointed to the treasures of the Church. "But neither is the other part of what he said true, 'In the name of Jesus of Nazareth, rise up and walk,'" the saint replied to the Pope. The preaching of the first evangelists produced great excitement. Mr. Moody produces none. His audiences are quiet, but cool. They neither laugh nor cry, neither shout nor sob. Not a ripple of emotion passes over the vast assembly. There is not even the enthusiasm that crowds generate. He is no orator, does not make his points well, misses the effect of his best illustrations, tells his stories clumsily, has no humor, no wit, no pathos. He is simply a galvanic battery. His head being set flat upon his shoulders, with no neck to limit the passage of blood to his brain, the intercourse between lungs and cerebellum is close; he has also the advantage of a full and swift respiration. There is a propriety in the prominence he gives in his preaching to the "Blood." There is little else. The charm of Mr. Sankey's singing (and it is a rare one) is the absolute distinctness of his articulation of words. Not a syllable is lost. The voice is a low baritone, of small compass, strong, clear, and telling, but not especially sweet. The effect, which by the way is greatly overestimated, is in great measure due to the rhetorical tricks he practises, the bold, dynamic transitions, the assistance of the numerous choir, the simplicity of the melody and harmony, and the sentimental character of the songs, which are love songs, or songs of patriotism, with pious words. They address the lowest form of sensibility.

The revival has its peculiarities, spiritual, logical, and rhetorical. The first came out when the evangelist, having after the most passionate appeals induced one man out of the thousands before him to confess himself a lost sinner, broke out into praise to God for so much success.

The logic appeared when he declared that Jesus Christ came *only* to sinners. The inference was that, if he had not come to any, they were not yet *sinful enough*. Would Mr. Moody have a right to complain of the man who might take him at his word, and try the experiment of sinning worse, or in some new way, in order to qualify himself for the Savior's grace? If a little more sin would beget the conviction of sin, why not plunge into iniquity deeper? Fortunately the evangelists' hearers are not, as a rule, quick-witted enough to draw the inference.

Of the rhetoric, what shall be said? No words

will do justice to that. The last specimen is the best. "Over the autograph which the Holy Ghost has written on these regenerated hearts, I see inscribed the names of Moody and Sankey." It should be added, in justice to the evangelists, that this imaginative outburst proceeded from Rev. George H. Hepworth; but even he would hardly have been inspired to such a pitch by any ordinary descent of tongues.

O. B. F.

"THE CHRISTIAN VIRTUES."

One of the religious weeklies recently argued for the moral and literary validity of using many of the common theological words and phrases without attempting precisely to define their meaning, on the ground that, though there is much vagueness about them, and they may be capable of several meanings, ordinary hearers or readers may be safely assumed to understand the meaning intended. Among the illustrations the use of the word "Christian" was cited. It was asked, Why should one who finds "Christian" a convenient and pleasant epithet be expected, every time that it comes to his tongue or pen, to say, in long parenthesis, that he does not use the word in any of the theological or dogmatic senses, but as meaning a good and pure man, or a good cause, or a good influence? The writer reasons that the word "Christian" has passed into current speech, "suggesting by its sound a peculiar type of excellence in spirit and in practice, concentrating many virtues," and that therefore it may be used without misunderstanding, and without giving any dogmatic offence.

It does not seem to have occurred to this writer that under the use of the word "Christian" in this sense, as synonymous with certain general moral virtues and graces, may lurk the most offensive form of theological dogmatism and spiritual arrogance. Such a use of the word, indeed, comes of an assumption that is most unjust to the devotees of other religions than the Christian, and might well be resented by them as morally insolent,—the assumption that Christianity has a monopoly of goodness. It is doubtless a good sign when a community of a particular religion, living by itself, begins to define its theological and religious words as synonymous with words that indicate integrity and goodness of character; for it is a proof that such community begins to see the highest ends of religion. But when, as at this period of the world, the religions are being brought into contact with each other, and it is discovered that certain general moral virtues are common to them all, then it becomes a high offence, not only against the law of social courtesy, but against truth and right, for any one of the religions to give its religious name to these general virtues as if they were its own exclusive property.

These considerations have been recently impressed upon me with new force, by my good fortune in having had as hostesses for several weeks two Jewish ladies, who combine in an eminent degree just the virtues that are usually denominated, by such writers as I have alluded to above, as "Christian." If I have ever or anywhere seen livingly exemplified in character the moral and spiritual qualities of gentleness, kindness, sympathy, generosity, forbearance, self-sacrifice, loving to serve others' needs, patient bearing of burdens, and serene resignation to the most afflictive domestic events, I have seen these qualities in the daily life of these cultivated ladies of the Hebrew faith. Yet they come strictly of Jewish ancestry, and hold to a type of their faith that has been little influenced by Christian surroundings. To speak in their presence of such elements of character as "Christian" would be really to insult them and their religion. Yet they are constantly liable to hear this kind of unconscious display of religious arrogance in the Christian community amid which they live. One of their zealous Christian neighbors, well knowing them and their faith, actually called upon them once for a contribution to support a mission for the conversion of the Jews! Suppose that they were wont, in ordinary social speech, to call all the high excellences of character "Hebrew virtues," what would their Christian neighbors think of it?

And the truth is, the peculiar moral qualities commonly called "Christian" are not so much at home in the limits of modern Christendom as they are in some other faiths of the world. They are more native to the peoples and religions of Asia than to that branch of the Indo-European stock that made the ancient civilization of Greece and Rome, or the modern civilization of Europe and America.

W. J. P.

WHEN a MAN is no longer anxious to do better than well, he is done for.—Haydon.

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY R. C.

The newspapers have furnished very dismal reading throughout the past week, and only a strict sense of duty could enable any one to get through some portions of their contents. The air is filled with unpleasant rumors or disclosures yet to be made of iniquity in high places; and the testimony of Mr. Orville Grant, brother of the President, before the Committee on War Expenditures, furnishes another dreary chapter to the history of the corruptions of the present administration. According to his own account, Mr. Orville Grant has been engaged for years in making money out of his real or supposed influence with his brother. This influence he has sold—sometimes for a stipulated sum, and sometimes for a regular annual salary—to those who desired post-traderships or lucrative contracts with the departments. Nevertheless he asserts (with what might be astonishing naïveté if it were not disgusting stupidity) that he has done nothing wrong, and that, if he had done anything wrong, he should have lost all influence with his brother. The revelations of brother Orville give additional emphasis to what we said last week concerning the associates of General Grant and his friends.

The news of the appointment of R. H. Dana, Jr., as Minister to England, and of Judge Taft as Secretary of War, comes as a refreshing breeze through the noisome political atmosphere of the week. Mr. Dana is a cultivated gentleman, and as a lawyer has made a special study of International Law. Some years ago he endeavored unsuccessfully to stem the tide of Butler's popularity in Massachusetts. His residence in England as representative of the United States would soon do a great deal towards removing the odium created by the "eccentricities" of his predecessor. Judge Taft is also a lawyer, and a gentleman of unimpeachable integrity. He would now be Governor of Ohio without doubt, were it not for the frank utterance of his convictions on questions which divided the Republicans prior to the last State election. Whether he possesses the special ability useful to contend with the shrewd rascals by whom he will be surrounded, time and events will soon determine; but any honest man must also possess good courage, at least, as well as a clear perception of national duty, to accept a Cabinet appointment under present circumstances.

The nominations of Messrs. Dana and Taft, and the remembrance of what Secretary Bristow has already accomplished, are not only encouraging facts, but the mere mention of the names of these three gentlemen suggests the kind of administration that was possible to President Grant, had he chosen his associates and made his appointments with some little discretion. During the past seven years we have become familiar with a long list of names belonging to men who should never have been known in their present relations. Casey, Corbin, Murphy, Shepherd, Williams, Delano, Robeson, Belknap, Schenck, these men should be known only in localities of small radius as pettifoggers, or hotel-runners, or traders suspected of "sanding" their sugar. We have been in danger of forgetting the requirements of men of honor in official station. When the Danas, and Tafts, and Bristows, and Motleys come back again into public life, the country will awaken as from a bad dream, and we shall begin to suspect that the records of to-day's doings are extracts from the early and legendary history of some uncivilized nation.

The impeachment of Belknap has made but little progress owing to the escape of Marsh, the principal witness against him, who has gone to Montreal; and the Committee having the matter in charge has asked and received permission to take additional evidence before the case is presented to the Senate. The escape of Marsh has already been the occasion of considerable squabbling between the members of the two political parties. On the one hand, it is alleged by the Democrats that he ran away because of threats made by Republicans that he should be prosecuted; on the other hand, the Republicans maintain that the Democrats sent him away because they had discovered that he knew too much; or, in other words, that a further examination would be likely to draw from him evidence showing that certain well-known Democratic politicians had been guilty of corrupt practices. Marsh will probably be brought back in some way; and in order to encourage the giving of testimony, a resolution has been put through the House, by an almost unanimous vote, providing that no witness shall be prosecuted in consequence of any testimony given by him before an investigating committee.

Professor Silliman has given his promised explanation before the Emma Mine Investigating Committee. At the present writing, abridgments only of his explanation are before us. From these it appears that he received \$5,000 from the projectors of the now notorious enterprise before visiting the mine, with the condition that a further sum—not less than \$10,000, and not more than \$20,000—should be paid upon the publication of his report. He was absent six or eight months, visited the Emma Mine and other mines belonging to the company, and received \$25,000 for his work. He maintains the correctness of the report as originally given, and asserts that the Emma Mine is still valuable, although in very bad condition, and needing a large amount of capital for development. We forbear

comment until we shall have heard from Park, Schenck, and others, simply stating that the amount of explanation thus far furnished by Professor Silliman leaves us in the frame of mind ascribed to Oliver Twist at the work-house. We should like to have "some more."

At a recent meeting of Methodist ministers in New York City, the Rev. Dr. Lippincott asserted that "under the present system," Sunday-schools were "places of flirtation and match-making"; that many of the teachers were immoral; and that "children are going to Satan by thousands by means of Sabbath-school festivals and exhibitions." We are inclined to believe that Dr. Lippincott's rheumatism must have given him an extra twinge just before he made the above assertions, or that his dyspepsia was rather more severe than usual that morning. We have no great faith in the value of Sunday-schools; in our opinion they seldom do much good, and equally seldom, we hope, are they the source of a great deal of mischief. That they are places of flirtation and match-making to some extent is probably true, as it is likewise true of every place in which young people assemble, and is likely to remain true of every such place so long as the human race remains male and female. That children might generally spend their time to better advantage than in the attempt to pick any meat from off the dry bones of an evangelical catechism, we are quite ready to believe; but that children are going to Satan by thousands because of Sunday-school festivals, is one of those extravagant assertions which weak-minded people are apt to make in despair of otherwise calling attention to some pet hobby.

The Rev. Dr. Storrs, of Brooklyn, having resigned recently several positions of importance in connection with representative Congregational organizations, gave an explanation of his reasons for so doing. In a sermon before his church last Sunday evening. As had been suspected, these reasons were connected with the course of Plymouth Church, and especially with the proceedings of the Advisory Council. He declared, in brief, that the Council was a "packed" affair, having been largely composed, in the first place, of churches the pastors of which were known to be friendly to Mr. Beecher, and, in the next place, having been kept throughout its sessions under the personal influence of Beecher and Shearman. He asserted also that witnesses before the Council had been "primed" by Shearman before they were allowed to testify. The verdict of the Council on the most important points he criticised severely as contrary to Congregational usage, as subversive of the Church, or as contrary to decisions of previous councils. Even the provision for the selection of the Examining Committee he denounced as an arrangement made for the purpose of securing judges known in advance to be favorable to Mr. Beecher. The prominence of Dr. Storrs in the Congregational body gives great weight to these trenchant criticisms. In this connection it may be mentioned also that the Rev. Dr. Fairfield, of Mansfield, Ohio, has laid himself open to criminal indictment on account of a publication in which from "absolute knowledge" he refers to Mr. Beecher as one who "will be ultimately and universally conceded to be the most infamous character of the nineteenth century."

The Senate has passed a bill providing for the appointment by the President of a commissioner to examine and report upon the ravages of insects upon agriculture; has also passed a bill (very unwisely, we believe) making the necessary arrangements for changing the present Territory of New Mexico into a State; and has at last disposed of the often deferred Louisiana Senatorial case, refusing to admit the indefatigable Pinchback by a vote of 32 to 20. The bill providing for the continuance of work on the St. Louis Custom House, having been amended by the Senate, was passed by the House; which also passed a bill declaring subject to State taxation all land heretofore granted to railroad and other companies; a bill authorizing the sender of any third-class mail matter to write on the outside of the wrapper his name and address, and also the name and number of the articles enclosed; and a bill appropriating \$100,000 for the relief of the Sioux Indians. An exciting debate occurred in the House with regard to the propriety of the members of the Investigating Committee on War Expenditures obeying the summons of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia to appear before the Grand Jury and furnish evidence to procure the indictment of Belknap. The House finally adopted a resolution, offered by Mr. Lamar, declaring that the summons of the Court was a breach of the privileges of the House, and directing the members of the Committee to disregard the summons. The resolution was adopted by a strict party vote.

The French Assembly was formally opened on the 8th inst., and the President has appointed a new Cabinet, of strong conservative tendencies of course, but much more in harmony with the result of the recent elections than the former one. A bill conferring upon the Queen of England the additional title of "Empress of India" has passed to a second reading in the House of Commons by the large vote of 284 to 31. China has taken another step towards the adoption of the customs of the barbarous Western nations by the appointment of two foreign ministers. Messrs. Chin Lan Pin and Yung Wing, both of whom have been connected with the Chinese Educational Mission in this country, and the latter of whom is still here, have been appointed ministers to the United States, Spain (Cuba), and Peru.

ENGLISH SKETCHES.

BY MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

LONDON, Feb. 19, 1876.

It is with exceeding pleasure that I connect myself regularly with THE INDEX, a paper that, on the other side of the Atlantic, leads one wing of the free-thought army against the marshalled hosts of superstition. In this first letter, one may be pardoned a few words of introduction, which will put the new writer and the new readers on a friendly and well-understood footing. THE INDEX being a free platform, and the only bond of union between its writers being a common love of truth, it will be thoroughly comprehended by all that my "extreme opinions," both theological and political, are my own possessions, and in no way imply the agreement of the other collaborators; but I offer one word of sincere thanks to wide-hearted Mr. F. E. Abbot, for his liberality in welcoming as co-worker one with whom he disagrees on many important points. And to the earnest freethinkers of America I offer a hand of cordial greeting and friendship, asking them to bear with differences of opinion, so long as the lips are the true exponents of the thought, and the motive-power is the desire to serve humanity. And I would that my words in these letters might serve to draw somewhat closer the bonds, American friends, between you and ourselves,—bonds whose strength and straitness mean the triumph of peoples, but whose frailty and relaxation mean the triumph of kings. Brethren, we are in race children of one mother; yours and ours alike are Cromwell and Elliot; yours and ours alike the grand traditions of the English struggles for freedom, the inheritance of the mighty non-conformist spirit, the immortal passion for truth and for justice. You have preserved for us the honor of our common name, while we have let its sun-glow become obscured by German cloudlets. You rebelled for us against a tyrant king. You kept alive for us in the eighteenth century the spirit of the seventeenth, and taught once more in Faneuil Hall the lesson of Whitehall. The cry you uttered there resounds among us to-day with a triumph-tone that has lost none of its inspiration, none of its compelling power; and we pray you that no folly of the few on either side, no ungenerous suspicion, no unworthy distrust, may avail to sever us from each other. In the union of the English and the American peoples lies the hope of the world; it is the union of the young and strong democracies against the swiftly-dying tyrannies whose day is set. The opposing forces are still powerful, and they fight with the courage of despair; the monarchical and priestly superstitions, twin-children of darkness, are struggling passionately, for, like the dragon of the Revelation, they "come down, having great wrath," because they know that they have but a short time. The victory is sure, only its hour is doubtful; for the hour depends upon the self-sacrifice and the courage of the soldiers of freedom, upon the dash of their charge at the foe, on the strength of their stroke at the tyrant.

Just at present, in England, in America, in the European Continent, one of the most puzzling, and at the same time most pressing, problems is the attitude to be adopted by secular governments towards the religious organization of Rome. The *Secolo*, a leading Milan journal, in an article on "The Religious Question," remarks that this anxiety extends "from London to New York, from Berlin to Washington. In England it is Mr. Gladstone who utters a cry of alarm; in the United States it is President Grant. It is Germany, it is Italy, it is Spain, who occupy themselves with this important question"; and after drawing a careful distinction between "true religion and ultramontanism," it concludes by declaring that to ultramontanism, "which tries to provoke civil war, and which receives its orders from the Vatican, no government either can or ought to afford protection." It appears to be forgotten, at times, by Liberals, that treason does not cease to be treason when carried beneath the cassock, nor does disloyalty to the fatherland cease to be disloyalty because it calls itself piety. It is in no sense "religious persecution" to strike at a traitor, when the traitor happens to be a priest. When priests meddle in politics they must stand on the same level as other politicians, and must incur the same penalties. The "rights of conscience" are much talked about by Roman Catholics in England, and are declared to be sacred and inviolable—in England, that is, for in Spain it is horrible and impious to grant such rights to the Protestant minority; and the term "rights of conscience" is stretched to include a variety of things whose permissance is dangerous to the stability of the State.

The crucial question is the question of the schools, and round the schools the Roman Church in England is rallying all its forces. The Establishment, of course, here aids its natural ally, and strengthens the cry for "denominational education," and for the avoidance of School Boards. Where common sense is too strong to be entirely defeated, the supernaturalists endeavor to carry denominationalists as members of the Board, and so to enforce "religious education" in the Board schools. Thus non-conformists, though allowed to withdraw their children while the Bible is read and the Lord's Prayer prayed, are compelled to pay a rate, part of which goes to instruct other people's children in the supernaturalism which the rationalist rejects. There is only one way out of the difficulty, and along this way all governments must walk sooner or later; that is, the stern exaction by the secular government of a certain amount of secular knowledge, and the equally stern refusal to meddle in any fashion with the warring religious sects. Not one penny of State money—i. e., of money raised by taxation—should go in support of religious teaching; because it is unjust to take money

from the Roman Catholic to teach Protestant Christianity, from the Jew to teach any Christianity, from the Rationalist to teach any supernatural creed. It is pleaded by some that it is against the principles of liberty to support compulsory education which is an interference with the liberty of the parent; but those who argue in this fashion forget that liberty means the fullest right of personal action, provided that the action does not trench upon the rights of any one else. But the parent who neglects the education of his child encroaches on the rights of the child; and the starvation of the brain by the non-supply of intellectual nourishment is as wicked a deprivation of the rights of the child as the starvation of the stomach by the non-supply of bodily nourishment. It is the duty of the State to defend the liberty of every one of its members, and to guard the weak against the oppression of the strong. Therefore, if the State is bound to punish the father who does not feed and clothe his child, so is it also bound to punish the father who does not feed the mind, and clothe it with the fair garments of knowledge.

There is one further argument that may be fairly used against the Roman Catholic Church, which cannot be used against any other religious body. The Roman Catholic organization is not a simple organization of citizens in any given country; it is, on the contrary, an organization spread over the world, and ruled by a foreign prince. In every country the Roman Catholic is really an alien, owing allegiance to an alien sovereign, and having his citizenship "beyond the mountains," and not in the country of his birth; he belongs to a body who move at the word of command of a foreign, and possibly hostile, power, and may, therefore, be justly regarded with suspicion, his half-allegiance being recompensed by a half-trust. So long as he is a loyal citizen, he should enjoy the full rights of citizenship; but where, as in Germany, he becomes disloyal through allegiance to his foreign master, he must be regarded as an alien, and as dangerous from the power of his co-religionists in every land.

The progress of freethought throughout Europe is most encouraging, and the signs of the coming victory may be seen on every hand. From members of our society in different countries we receive reports of the rapid decay of theologies that may well make us "thank" man "and take courage." It is strange, too, to note the awakening of intellectual life in India. We lately received an urgent request for a large supply of anti-theological literature, and the *National Reformer*—so often quoted in the columns of THE INDEX—has there a large and ever-increasing circulation. The keen and subtle Hindu intellect, trained to-day by European methods, and cultured by European thought, will be of the utmost service to the cause of freethought, and we may, perhaps, look to India, from whose ancient creeds so much of Christianity is drawn, for the crushing attack and exposure that has yet to be made, which shall show that Christianity is decked in the ancient feather-garments of a splendid but barbarous age; and that her ceremonies, her doctrines, her symbolism, and her very deities, are but the reflex of those mystic rites in which the child-wonder of the infant-world shadowed forth its marvel at the life around it, and its imaginings of the fathomless mystery of existence.

Communications.

THE KNOWABLE AND THE UNKNOWN- ABLE.

Human nature seems to be possessed of a certain tendency to reach out after the unattainable, the mysterious, and the endless. Such is the curious temper of the mind that the more it is reminded that God is the unconditioned unknowable, the more does it extend its web of speculation, though ever remaining at the same hopeless distance from positive, satisfying knowledge. Let some popular speaker be announced for next Sunday to speak on some speculative religious enigma, and you can fill your best hall with the best respectability. If Emerson could be induced to come to some intellectual centre and fumble over his manuscripts for shapeless aphorisms, you could draw out the cream of "advanced ideas"; and the disciples of great thoughts would return to their elegant homes in search of somebody who knew what the ideas really might be, if expressed in worldly English. We find men in almost feverish anxiety concerning the nature of materialization, diacres, elementary spirits, and odic force. Some have evolution so heavily on the brain, that they would almost be tempted to analyze an ox-cart by it, if put to a rigid argument on its functions. What Herbert Spencer and Emerson say seems of more importance, with many persons, than what they mean, or whether they themselves always know what they mean, or whether they mean anything.

We have no objection to speculation. The ideal is the chase out of which Nature finally arranges the solid strata of history. But there is a certain undergrowth of fact which society must dispose of while history is making itself, lest it cover up the choice nurseries of speculation. Important as may be evolution, transcendentalism, and the occult sciences, such facts as hunger, the avarice of capital, poverty, ignorance, the taxation of the liberal to support stained glass and hypocrisy, will not always remain secondary issues.

These latter issues we may call the knowable, as distinguished from the speculative unknowable. For instance, it is a very knowable fact that a poor wretch in Lonsdale, R. I., by a month of brutalizing toil on five looms, can earn twenty-six dollars, as a collateral for the support of a wife and several chil-

dren. Now, if the Baptist President of Brown University should be announced to speak next Sunday on justification by faith, in our largest hall, it would call together perhaps fifteen hundred of our most respectable citizens; and the *Providence Journal* would have an elaborate report of a most able sermon. Now if, on the other hand, it should be announced that a few humane men were to hold a convention on the same Sunday, to discuss the very knowable and palpable fact of man's "will and power to make his fellow mourn," by way of ill-paid toil, privation, ignorance, and hunger, these disciples of the knowable would be regarded as a set of Sabbath-breaking fanatics, and the popular press would scarcely deign to notice them.

Speculation is a safe occupation. As long as hard facts are suppressed, and the results do not seize on anybody's throne, the most despotic tyrants encourage it. In the Middle Ages, when the most grinding servitude was imposed upon the people, speculation on the most sacred and vital subjects was the favorite amusement of ecclesiastics and princes. Woe to him, however, who breathed a word looking to the application of the results of philosophic research for the emancipation of the masses! The theory of many a despot, put to anything like an application, would have soon left him headless and throneless. Descartes and Rousseau come down to us as monuments of the turning point of modern philosophy and government. Robespierre and Robert Emmet, who thought of putting their philosophy into tangible shape, were ignominiously ground up in the attempt. John Locke, whose philosophy pointed to liberty and truth, wrote a most ridiculous and bigoted constitution for one of our early colonies, to suit the prejudices of the English monarch.

The kind of emancipation that society most needs is not so much the emancipation from creeds and legends, as emancipation from the scarecrow of popularity. There is a mountain of intellect in every community for every handful of moral courage. A man who has half an idea, and is not afraid to live by it squarely and fearlessly, is worth a dozen philosophers, who steal an *alibi* on the knowable wrongs of society by transcendental flights into the regions of the unknowable. The coming novellist of the new age will find no more stinging sarcasm on our present social tone than the picture of some wealthy manufacturer, living in ease and popularity on the toil of half-paid operatives,—immensely given to "advanced ideas," and bemoaning the fact that people *think* so little.

A thought is a very harmless thing. It is the act that tells. Many people thought as Martin Luther did, two centuries before he burned the Pope's bull. The cultured Goethe was a thinker. To him Napoleon was a historic phenomenon; but to Fichte, and the German poets and students who took up arms against a tyrant, he was a fact, to be met by an act.

If the tendency of wealth in this country be to gravitate into a few hands, and wealthy society should come to be the exponent of scepticism and speculation, it would only be repeating the old story of history. What we most need is a healthy, honest education of the people touching the just grounds of the various conditions and estates of society. While speculative play with the unknowable is beautiful in its place, in the long run the criterion of the worth of philosophy must be the amount of general happiness which results from it. The end of religion and speculation is the ultimate elevation of the common soul of the race. No one thinker or set of thinkers will ever build a perfect cosmos. The universe of thought and life is too complex to stay long by any man's theory. While we do not ask that every body should set up a howl for reform, we fancy the finishing beauty of any theory to be the light and hope which it radiates into some-shackled soul, to guide it to better manhood and well-being.

HENRY APPLETON.

PROVIDENCE, R. I.

"INFIDEL."

Every day brings us a wall, by the pulpit or press, from some individual whose tender feelings have been seriously injured by the epithet "Infidel." Indeed this feeling is so generally shared among the so-called liberals of the day, that it is safe to estimate at least one-half of them as moral cowards, or people unacquainted with the true meaning of the term infidel.

Prominent among the former class are those who claim the right to put their own construction upon language, and to make their own definition of words irrespective of all acknowledged authority.

According to Webster, an infidel is "one who disbelieves the inspiration of the Scriptures, and the divine origin of Christianity." By the same standard of authority the word inspiration, in this place, means "the supernatural influence of the spirit of God on the human mind by which prophets, apostles, and sacred writers were qualified to set forth divine truth without any mixture of error; or the communication of the divine will to the understanding by suggestions or impressions on the mind which leave no room to doubt the reality of their supernatural origin."

Therefore any person who may have doubts in his mind as to the truth of any of the statements found within the lids of the King James' Bible may be properly called an infidel. Consequently the true infidel should accept the name rather as a compliment to his understanding than a term of reproach.

Let all infidels acknowledge their title with pride, remembering that it is no less a slander for the true infidel to be called a Christian than it is for the true Christian to be called an infidel.

SYRACUSE, Feb. 18, 1876.

Sanctuary of Superstition.

NATIONAL.—Our country is under the protection of the Almighty; it belongs to him. Italy for pictures, France for manners, Germany for scholarship, England for aristocracy, the United States for God.—*T. De Witt Talmage.*

SAFE.—There is one mountain peak that the wrath of God has been over, and that is Calvary. Take the cross, and there you are safe. Let pestilence, and plague, and death sweep over the city, and you are safe. Why? Because Christ has passed through the city, and all you have to do is to accept the finished work of salvation.—*Dwight L. Moody.*

HOW TO COME.—Do you ask how you may come? Come as you are:—

"If you tarry till you're better,
You will never come at all."

Come as a guilty sinner, who needs pardon and renewal. Come in faith, crying, "Lord, save me, or I perish." "Wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow." Look to Jesus; lay the whole weight of your soul upon him; depend on his atoning sacrifice—upon his precious blood.—"Christ the Way"; *Presbyterian Publication Committee, Philadelphia.*

CATHOLIC DOCTRINE FOR CHILDREN.—Listen, now listen, to the tremendous and horrible uproar of millions, and millions, and millions of tormented creatures mad with the fury of hell. Oh, the screams of fear, the groanings of horror, the yells of rage, the cries of pain, the shouts of agony, the shrieks of despair from millions on millions. There you hear them roaring like lions, hissing like serpents, howling like dogs, and walling like dragons. There you hear gnashing of teeth, and the fearful blasphemies of the devils. Above all, you hear the roaring of the thunders of God's anger, which shakes hell to its foundations.—"The Sight of Hell": one of a series of "Books for Children and Young Persons," by Rev. Father Furness, C. SS. R.

DR. CULLIS WORKING A MIRACLE.—A well-known Foxborough lady, intelligent, truthful, and of undoubted piety, says that she went to the Consumptives' Home, Grove Hall, after suffering for two years from lung and spinal ailments, and considered beyond recovery. Assuring Dr. Cullis that she had faith, she knelt down, he dipped his finger in oil and put it upon her forehead, knelt in front of her and made a short prayer, asking the Lord to heal her of whatever disease she had. He then rubbed his finger across her forehead, saying, "I anoint you with oil in the name of the Lord. Amen." She felt a change immediately, drew a long breath without any trouble—something she had not been able to do before for several years,—her lungs felt perfectly clear, and since that time she has gained in health and strength, and considers herself well. It is a strange story.—*Boston Daily Advertiser.*

PRAYER VS. THE EVIDENCE.—Charles K. Landis slept in a hotel last night, and started for Vineland this morning, accompanied by his sister and some friends. The verdict of acquittal, on the ground of insanity, is not regarded as satisfactory by the majority of people here. In the morning the jury stood nine to three, the minority desiring to convict of manslaughter. They declared positively that they could not agree, but some hours afterward they were unanimous. The verdict was entirely due to the power of prayer. One of the three dissenting conducted the service, and they prayed fervently until they were all of one mind. Then the constable in the adjoining room heard them singing the Doxology, and feeling sure that this outpouring of thankfulness could have been but one meaning, he rushed to the bell-rope and aroused all Bridgeton without further inquiry. Yet there are certain dissatisfied persons in Cumberland County who assert that the jury did not agree at all, but that the minority stretched a point in order to spend Sunday with their families.—*Philadelphia Evening Express, Feb. 7.*

SUFFERINGS OF RELIGIOUS ENTHUSIASTS.—A melancholy account is given by the Melbourne *Argus* of the fate which has befallen a band of German emigrants who arrived in the colony of Victoria last April. They were induced to leave their native place, a small village in Silesia called Hainau, in consequence of the prophecies of an epileptic woman named Marie Heller, who predicted a terrible war in Europe, and declared Australia to be the only safe place in the world. On reaching the colony they took up land on the Hill Plains, in the north-eastern district, living together, and having all their property in common. They soon expended their small capital, and became destitute. They were assisted for a time with food by a settler in the district, but they quarrelled with him because he suggested that they should leave their camp and obtain work. Mrs. Heller, who was implicitly obeyed as being under direct inspiration from heaven, forbade anything of the kind, and the unfortunate people have been struggling on in a state of semi-starvation, having little to eat but flour and a few vegetables. Mrs. Heller also would not allow any assistance to be asked for in the shape of food or medical attendance. Eight of the emigrants have therefore died, and the condition of the remainder is represented as being pitiable. Their camp being far removed from any township, information of this state of affairs only lately reached the government of the colony, when an inspector was despatched to the spot, and provisions and a doctor have also been forwarded.—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

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Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America—that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of our country,—is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large." And later still: "I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest."

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WM. J. POTTER Sec. F. R. A.

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THE INDEX aims—

To increase general intelligence with respect to religion:

To foster a nobler spirit and quicken a higher purpose, both in society and in the individual:

To substitute knowledge for ignorance, right for wrong, truth for superstition, freedom for slavery, character for creed, catholicity for bigotry, love for hate, humanitarianism for sectarianism, devotion to universal ends for absorption in selfish schemes.

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THE CENTENNIAL

CONGRESS OF LIBERALS!

AN APPEAL TO ALL

Who believe that the United States should be

Absolutely Secularized,

And who favor the movement to carry out the principle of

STATE SECULARIZATION,

As indicated in the "Demands of Liberalism."

605 WALNUT ST., PHILADELPHIA, }
March 1, 1876. }

To the Liberal Leagues and the Liberal Public of the United States:—

The General Centennial Committee, appointed at a convention held in this city last September for the purpose of making all necessary arrangements for a General Centennial Congress of Liberals next summer, have decided to call said Congress to convene at Philadelphia, Saturday, July 1, 1876,—further particulars to be hereafter announced.

Each organized Liberal League will be entitled to send five delegates as special representatives—three in addition to its President and Secretary. But all individual Liberals who sympathize with the general objects and aims of the Liberal League will be equally entitled and welcomed to seats and votes in the Congress.

REPORT PROMPTLY!

In order to lessen as much as possible the expenses of the delegates, each League is requested to elect them as soon as possible, and to report their names to the undersigned through its Secretary. All Liberals, delegates, or individuals who desire and intend to participate in the Convention are requested also to forward personally and immediately their names and full post-office addresses to the undersigned, that he may be enabled to make the most favorable terms possible for their accommodation. If notified early, he hopes to secure for them a considerable reduction in railroad fares, and to provide boarding-places at perhaps half the usual rates of the season.

Donations Solicited!

The Centennial Committee on Finance, having through their Chairman transferred their duties to the General Centennial Committee, the undersigned has been appointed to attend to the financial department, and hereby appeals to the Liberals of the country for voluntary contributions to the amount of One Thousand Dollars. This amount will be needed to make the Congress a complete success, though the utmost possible will be done with whatever is contributed. The officers of the union of Liberal German societies propose to raise the same amount for their convention, and have already raised \$600 of it. The Young Men's Christian Association here have already spent this year nearly \$100,000 in preparation for the Centennial, in the interest of Orthodox superstition; it would be a pity if all the friends of "Liberty and Light" could not do a hundredth part as much for the cause of national development and free humanity. The money will all be wanted (and much more could be advantageously expended) in providing suitable halls and headquarters, advertising the Congress liberally in advance in the chief dailies of the country, defraying the necessary expenses of desired and invited speakers, paying *verbatim* reporters, publishing a complete pamphlet report of the proceedings, etc., etc. What is done must be done speedily, since the arrangements should be completed, as far as practicable, by the first of May.

All sums donated will be duly acknowledged in THE INDEX, and a full report of all expenditures will be sent for publication in the same paper. Remittances should be sent to the undersigned, 605 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. Will not all friends of the movement respond heartily and at once?

DAMON Y. KILGORE,

Acting Treasurer.

I believe that Mr. Kilgore is a gentleman of unimpeachable personal integrity, and that all money remitted to him as above will be faithfully and economically devoted to the legitimate uses of the Congress.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT,

Chairman of the General Centennial Committee.

At the preliminary Convention held at Philadelphia on Sept. 17, 18, and 19, 1875, for the purpose of making arrangements for the Centennial Congress of Liberals, the following were appointed a

General Centennial Committee:

FRANCIS E. ABBOT,
DAMON Y. KILGORE,
ALEXANDER LOOS,
ISAAC RHEN,
BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD,
H. S. WILLIAMS,

with power to increase their number to fifteen. The completion and success of the arrangements must depend on the liberality of the friends of the movement, who are respectfully and earnestly solicited to contribute the necessary funds.

The Index.

Three Dollars a Year.

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Single Copies Seven Cents.

VOLUME 7.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, MARCH 23, 1876.

WHOLE No. 326.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fairs shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

Therefore, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

- ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF —.
- ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in —, and thereby to effect the total separation of Church and State in fact as well as in theory.
Also to send delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League, when organized, and to cooperate heartily with all the liberals of the country in furtherance of the above-named object.
- ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.
- ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.
- ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.
- ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League.
- ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

tion. No person shall ever in any State be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious practices shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

MR. GLADSTONE, in a recently published letter, says that he "believes in the authority of the Lord's Day as a religious institution."

CARDINAL McCLOSKEY's private secretary is said to have denied the purchase of the Le Grand Lockwood mansion at Norwalk, Conn., for a Catholic College.

AT UNION HALL, New Jersey, the Bible has been voted out of the public schools, and then voted back again. Nothing but permanent guarantees incorporated in the United States Constitution will protect efficiently the great principle of secular public education.

PUBLIC HEARINGS were given by a Committee of the Massachusetts Legislature on the subject of church taxation, March 8 and 14. The advocates of church taxation were represented by Eliza Wright, R. H. Ranney, F. E. Abbot, C. E. Pratt, R. P. Halliwell, and others.

SAYS THE New York Tribune: "Signs of a formidable third-party sentiment are apparent in all directions. Anything but first-class nominations by both the 'great parties' will develop a new organization with a suddenness that will astonish the 'workers.' The people are about mad enough to take politics into their own hands."

MR. FISH, of Dennis, a member of the Massachusetts Legislature, wants the members to pay individually for their chaplain's services, and some time ago introduced an order to that effect. But the Legislature prefers to make the State pay the bill. In fact, it is very doubtful whether they would want a chaplain at all on any other terms.

REV. DR. BRIDGMAN, a Baptist clergyman of Troy, N. Y., has made a forcible argument for church taxation in a letter to the chairman of a committee of the New York Assembly. This letter is a partial offset to the general protest of the Albany clergymen against such taxation—Rev. Mr. Young (Unitarian) being the principal dissenter from the protest.

REV. REuben THOMAS, of Brookline, in this State, earnestly and even passionately protests against opening the Centennial exhibition on Sundays. The Orthodox clergy will probably be a unit in this matter; and their influence will probably decide the matter at last, simply because the liberals, being unorganized, have no means of making their rights respected.

A GREAT "General Presbyterian Council" is to be held in London, on July 4, 1876. It will consist of about three hundred members, of whom about a third will represent the United Kingdom, a third the United States, a sixth the colonies of England, and a sixth the Continent. About twenty thousand Presbyterian congregations will thus be united in one great organization.

EVERY ONE capable of appreciating the high personal character and distinguished public services of Carl Schurz will sympathize deeply with him in his double bereavement, losing his wife and his father within a month. Such slight balm as may come to his sore heart through the knowledge of the universal esteem, gratitude, and sympathetic sorrow of all good citizens will surely be his.

A MR. DEVLIN has been lecturing against Romanism in several cities and towns of New England, and

been mobbed more than once in consequence. We suspect that he may have been intemperate and needlessly offensive to excite such opposition as this; but that is no excuse whatever for the mobs. The rights of the free platform should be protected at all hazards, and some other protection than mob law should be resorted to against abuse of those rights. That ignorant Catholics should attempt in this bad way to defend their Church reveals their own dangerous character as members of the community, and not at all the goodness of the cause they have at heart.

DO NOT forget the Centennial Congress of Liberals. It will be the ideal event of the year, putting into living voice the great thought which created this mighty Republic of the West—the thought of a vast commonwealth founded solely on the Natural Rights of Man. Money is wanted, and wanted immediately, as explained on our last page. Shall it not be forthcoming? Shall not the children prove themselves worthy of the fathers, by ripening to full fruition the magnificent ideal so magnificently planted one hundred years ago? Shall they not now unite in the grand affirmation of a State absolutely independent of the Church—a State "dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal"? The Centennial Celebration will be lean and poor, if it only glorifies the past; let it glorify the present by pledging the future to civil and religious liberty!

THE WASHINGTON Star tells the following good story of our probable minister to England: "While Mr. Dana was dining with several members of Congress and others in Washington a few years ago, some allusion was made to his book, *Two Years Before the Mast*. It is said that Mr. Dana immediately becomes 'enthused' whenever any allusion to his nautical experience is made, and delights in launching out into an interesting sketch of it. He did so in this instance, and was listened to with great attention and interest. At the conclusion of his story, some staid and elderly member of Congress, innocently and with no intention of giving offence, inquired, 'Mr. Dana, where can I see a copy of that book? I never heard of it before.' Mr. Dana gazed at the inquirer as if thunderstruck at his ignorance of the existence of his production, and reddening with indignation, replied, 'At any library in the land, sir. At any bookstore, sir.' The topic of conversation was changed as soon as possible."

THE MEETING of those interested in securing the Paine bust for Independence Hall, at Philadelphia, announced last week, was held in this city on Monday evening, March 20, in the Paine Memorial building. It was not very large, but was very earnest. Mr. Horace Seaver was elected chairman; Rev. J. M. L. Babcock introduced the address or appeal which was adopted as the "sense of the meeting," and will be found on a subsequent page of this issue; Mr. R. H. Ranney was appointed Treasurer, and Messrs. Morse, Bradford, Foster, Colby, and Verity were appointed a canvassing Committee; a collection was taken up and over sixty dollars were raised on the spot; and the meeting dispersed after several good speeches, with a very cheerful and confident expectation that the liberals of the country will not let so good a movement die for lack of support. Mr. Morse's bust of Paine, already executed in plaster, is so excellent and spirited that a better one could scarcely be desired; and all that is wanted for a triumphant success in placing a noble, permanent testimonial to Thomas Paine in the historic hall of the Centennial Year is promptness and liberality on the part of his grateful countrymen. The only doubt is whether the "Christian" city of Philadelphia will accept the offering; but refusal will accomplish even more than acceptance towards vindicating the name of a true patriot and great friend of man from the slanderous aspersions which have too long obscured it.

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Spiritual Creation.

A FOURTH LETTER FROM HENRY JAMES.

MY DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

We are clearly agreed on one point, which is—that our conscious life is an unassailable fact. But we differ (to all appearance so irreconcilably, that there is no sense in protracting the discussion of it) upon another point, which is—the physiology of this fact. You hold that our conscious life is indissolubly tethered to a certain reality in our bosoms called selfhood, and grows out of it: so that, if we should forfeit this selfhood, or it should turn out unreal, we should lose life or consciousness.

I contend, on the other hand, that this selfhood is a purely fallacious quantity, a purely supposititious substance, without the slightest reality in the nature of things, save to our sensuous imagination; and that our conscious life, accordingly, is explicable solely by the truth of our spiritual creation, which means the indwelling of all Divine power in our nature, permitting us for wise ends to appear as if we lived of ourselves, although the truth is exactly contrary.

Thus I have no shadow of a quarrel with our conscious or phenomenal life, but on the contrary rejoice in it as an unspeakable Divine boon, whereby men are brought to the knowledge of God's goodness, and wisdom, and power in a way more effectual than they could ever have otherwise found out. My only quarrel is with a certain explication which you and other men put upon this fact of conscious life, when you represent it as grounded in a substance inherent in every man, which is called selfhood, and which constitutes his ontologic capital, or vital stock in trade. You, and all men until they have been better instructed, take for granted that our conscious life is rooted in this illusory substance, this "essence of individuality," as you describe it,—that we are and exist by it alone; so that practically, if it were not for religious form's sake, we might forget the once renowned creative name altogether. If my Creator, in giving me phenomenal life or consciousness, vitalizes what I call my selfhood—that is, transfers his vital substance or any portion of it to me, so that I ever after, on the basis of such transferred substance, am and exist with like veritable vitality in myself—then obviously my Creator confesses himself by that creative act *functus officio*; becomes as superfluous to me as a fifth wheel to a coach; and it is only for his past services that I keep up my courteous homage to his shrunken dimensions. So cross and clumsy a conception of creation as this would clearly justify us in describing it as an effort of the Creator to throw off his own eternal responsibility to his creature, by setting the latter adrift upon a shoreless and bottomless sea with nothing between him and utter spiritual night but the creaking raft of his warring and implacable lusts to maintain him in a crazy show of life.

Let us have done, then, by all means, with this fruitless controversy. Our true intellectual disagreement, besides, is not fairly represented by this discussion, but lies very much deeper. It consists in

the conception we severally cherish in regard to the proper object of men's worship, or the creative being and activity. I have all along hoped for, and even incidentally hinted, a speedy shifting of our discussion to this larger territory; but it is only now at the close of your comment upon my third letter, that you give me a *quasi* encouragement to follow up my own prompting.

Your idea is not only that man's being and existence are constituted by selfhood, but that the infinite Divine being and existence are similarly constituted; and hence you conceive my denial of the reality of selfhood in man to be a virtual denial of the Divine existence. You make it abundantly clear, in fact, that you conceive God and man both alike to be self-constituted and self-existent beings; and logically regard, therefore, any affront offered to the being of one party as an implied affront to the being of the other. In short you betray a purely pagan, delusory, or superstitious notion of the Divine name as a being of strictly ontological attributes, existing on his own hook, as we say, or on his own independent basis, and essentially out of relation therefore to human nature.

[We take the liberty to disclaim, with entire respect and good humor, this account of our own belief.—ED.]

Now I am afraid I shall seriously shock, if not impair, your friendly appreciation of my intelligence, if I say to you that I reject this notion with hearty dislike. But I should be recreant to my highest instincts of truth if I failed to do so, if I did not further say, in fact, that I not merely reject the notion of a self-constituted and self-existent deity—that is, a deity out of essential relation, not to you and me indeed, but to *your* and *my* nature,—but hate and abhor it as well. I have an unfeigned regard and respect for those who hold the notion; but the notion itself seems to me simply a thing to be abominated, as alike heartless and irrational, or, what to my mind is the same thing, unchristian and superstitious. I am sure that I am very incapable of feeling irreverence for anything that really exists, but there is almost no indignity I could not offer to this cheap and otiose deity of rationalistic culture, by way of expressing my loathing of his nature, and my disdain of his authority. You say: "If there be any truth or beauty in the idea of an infinite Divine Self," etc. If indeed: but this is just what I deny *in toto*, that there either is or can be any truth or beauty in such an idea, especially in the light of that Divine-NATURAL day-dawn which is even now inwardly flooding the common mind.

No doubt you may, if you please, call such a Self "Divine" till all is blue: but I can only say in that case that what you voluntarily worship as Divine, I spontaneously execrate as diabolic. For this is the exact truth to my conscience: your conception of God is exactly my conception of Devil, bating, of course, the misapplication of the term "infinite" to diabolic existence. The idea of the Divine being as an "infinite Self" is indeed inseparable from the Deistic doctrine, and is what makes it not merely infinitely preposterous to my intellect, but infinitely nauseating to my heart. The eternal praise of Christianity, in my opinion, will be that it has forever freed men's intellect from the bondage of this baleful, unmanly superstition—the superstition of a Deity essentially remote from the conditions of human nature—in teaching us that God has neither being nor existence apart from the feeblest and most worthless of human kind, and bidding us cheerfully relegate every contrary Divine pretension—every pretension to idle, luxurious, independent, or even voluntary Divine force in whatsoever claimant of our religious homage—to the owls and bats, or whatever other denizens of the dusk may deem it worthy of their perspicacious recognition and regard.

But now you will ask me to declare my own notion of the Divine name. My notion is, then, that it is infinite Love, hence essentially creative, or amounting practically to an eternal spiritual society, fellowship, or equality of the creative and created natures: so that God cannot conceivably exist in himself, but only in others created from himself. It is obvious that a good many things need to be said in illustration of this idea, and with your leave I will try to say some of the most pressing.

What you will first expect me to say, doubtless, is what I mean by *infinite* love. I will answer this question negatively at first, by asking another, which is: What do we mean by *finite* love? We mean by finite love a love to others grounded in, and limited by, a due regard to self; or, as philosophers phrase it, we mean the love of an inward subject to an outward object. More briefly still we may say: finite love is in substance *self-love*, because self is of primary account in it, and the neighbor of secondary.

Now, obviously, infinite love cannot conform to this finite feeble pattern. That is to say, it is *not* (being infinite) grounded in nor limited by a due regard to self; for by the hypothesis of creation the Creator realizes himself—finds his own proper life or being,—only in the creature, so that there can never be the least possible oppugnancy to creative thought between itself and others; between what is creative and what is created. Just as little can infinite love be of a relative character, as the love of an inward subject to an outward object: for what outward object, pray, exists to the creative regard, and capable of attracting it? And where there is no object of love, there is *a fortiori* no subject, for subject exists by object, not object by subject. Finally, infinite love cannot be in substance *self-love*, or a love in which *self* or subject is primary, and *others* or object secondary: for infinite love, being creative, must utterly fuse self and neighbor, subject and object, in its own essential unity, making either the other interchangeable.

We call love infinite, then, when it admits of no qualification or drawback *ab intra*, or in a subjective aspect, as determined by regard to self. And we may

pronounce it absolute as well, since it admits of no qualification or drawback *ab extra*, or in an objective aspect, as determined by regard to others. But love which is both infinite and absolute—provided it be love at all, and not some shallow sentimental counterfeit under that sacred name—is necessarily creative, must find its life in communicating itself (that is, freely making over its infinite potencies and felicities) to whatsoever is not itself; which can only be, of course, subjects created from itself, into which therefore it may eternally inflow and indwell as in its very self.

But here surges up at once what seems on its face a grave philosophic difficulty. For it is evident that this infinite or creative love must be altogether spiritual or living, and can only communicate itself therefore to spiritual or living subjects. Now where are such subjects to come from? We all know that spirit or life is character, and that character cannot be arbitrarily conferred, much less outwardly imposed, upon its subject. We all know that the subject must grow up or be educated to the experience of spiritual character very slowly, or against all manner of opposition from his inherited temperament. We know, in short, that men come to the experience of spirit or life only by a redemptive process, only through an intimate previous subjection to what is not at all spirit and life, but nature and death.

Our grave philosophic doubt vanishes, then, as soon as it is confronted. For we at once see that spiritual creation involves, in order to its own functioning, a subordinate sphere of natural making or redemption as well, by which the creature, through an experience of the endless and manifold evil wrapped up in *self*, may at last freely incline away from it to the infinite Divine goodness and truth revealed in SOCIETY.

Observe well just here that human life, or created existence, *does*, through the very perfection of its creative source, involve an evil element, an element of conscious imperfection, by the gradual casting out of which it at last becomes definitely constituted in social form and order. And now we have only got to inquire how this evil element actually becomes purged out of our historic consciousness, and human life consequently put upon a permanent Divine basis.

The method which the Divine Providence follows in the evolution of our natural form becomes perfectly clear, when we reflect that the Divine end in humanity is to unite us spiritually with his infinitude and eternity, by reproducing himself in our natural lineaments. Thus the secret of the method consists in his inwardly vivifying the human, finite, or created element in consciousness, the element of individuality represented by man, with a free, infinite, or uncreated element, the element of universality represented by woman, until the mind spontaneously expands at last out of liminary into universal dimensions, and confesses society, not self, to be the true Divine end of human destiny. What is the initial step, and what the successive stages, by which this gradual Divine vivification or spiritualization of the human mind takes place?

Without doubt the initial step is marriage, by which the mind begins to be educated out of its aboriginal poverty, or savage egotism, to the extent at least of being willing to associate one of the opposite sex with one's material fortunes and destiny. The next step is the *family* institution, consequent upon marriage, by which the mind becomes still further lifted out of its deadly aboriginal isolation in being made willing to admit one's lawful progeny also to one's intimate society, fellowship, equality. The next step to the family in the development of our race-consciousness is the *tribe*, or union of many families, entitling each of these related families to the fellowship or equality of all the rest. After the tribal unity has run its course, the *commune* or *township* follows, made up of many tribes, and still further carrying out the principle of a unitary life in man; and to the commune succeeds the *city* or union of many communes; and to that again the *nation*, which is the union of many concordant cities; and the nation in its turn gives place to the *empire* or union of many independent nationalities; while nought remains to succeed to the empire but a strictly transitional régime called the *republic*, whose anointed mission is to announce the decease of all hereditary, traditional, or consecrated institutions and usages of government among men, and so prepare the way for God's spiritual resurrection in our nature, or a free, spontaneous, and therefore permanent, order of human life.

I do not pretend to say that the republic is at once understood in the whole positive scope of its philosophic mission. But I think all thoughtful men recognize its proper *negative* force, as a mere transition-point in human affairs. It marks the transition which the human mind is undergoing from an outward to an inward, from a literal to a spiritual form and order. But it does not itself constitute the form and order which it prophesies, nor even clearly indicate what the inward revolution will amount to when it comes. All the historic changes I have recounted—from the domestic root through the municipal and national stem up to the imperial flower and republican fruit—are changes, you will observe, only in the outward structure and texture of human life, approximating it more and more to the eventual revelation of its inward or social substance. But they none of them amount to the least realization of the social form. In the latest as in the earliest form, the two constitutive social elements, self and the neighbor, the individual and the universal, the private and the public, interest, man and woman in short, are quite as little married, in any worthy or spiritual sense of the word, as if that contingency had never been contemplated. The private or individual element remains, in all forms alike, firmly exalted above the public or universal element. In fact, there is not the

least recognition, nor indeed suspicion, on the part of the rulers of the republic any more than on the part of the patriarchs, that human life is socially constituted, or is destined to undergo an ultimate race-enfranchisement. On the contrary, all the above-named changes proceed upon the drowsy, fixed idea, that human life is in substance civic and political, allowing only a moral form, and authenticating therefore at most—not a marriage—but a legalized concubinage of its male and female, or private and public, factors. If, indeed, men could have foreseen their divine destiny—if they could have known beforehand that society was the sole divine form of human nature, and its evolution, consequently, the total meaning of human history,—they would long since have recognized marriage as the symbol of our natural or social apotheosis, and have exalted it accordingly out of a legal into a spiritual honor and reverence, by giving it the free, spontaneous, imperishable footing it invincibly craves.

No, it is only as the republic becomes quickened and permeated by the democratic *virus*, that its true disorganizing mission is avouched, and men begin everywhere to perceive that, unless there be a rigidly formative divine purpose and meaning under the chaos of our existing religious, civic, and political disintegration, human life will be sure ere long to go over irrecoverably to the bad.

I have run through this *résumé* of the Divine spirit or purpose in history thus briefly, because no other course would be consistent with your space; and it only remains now to state with greater brevity even, what appears to be the immediate practical burden of the great creative truth.

Well then, if society constitutes the eternal spiritual form of human nature—that is, if our nature come to true divine form and order only in the most intimate and exquisite marriage-fusion or unity of all men with each and each with all,—evidently human nature declares itself the only recognizable, because the only living, or spiritual and adequate, temple of the divine inhabitation; and we are at once authorized to chase the unrevealed God of the Free Religionist, the unknown and unknowable deity of Sir William Hamilton, Herbert Spencer, *et hoc genus omne*, from out the purloins of the human mind as so much worthless or indeed pestilent rubbish, and recognize as true God-Man alone, that is, God and man forever blent in the unity of a common nature. For God stands now fully revealed to us under the mask of our infinitely warring and discordant personalities, humbled, insulted, outraged, crucified out of the semblance of humanity, to be sure, by our lusts of self and the world; but only that so in the fullness of time he may show himself to us in his true infinitude, as the maker of good out of evil, the redeemer of life out of death.

Then, again, if as we have seen the dogma of God's independent or *self-constituted* being and existence confess itself the dominant falsity of the human mind, and the truth of his natural or adventitious humanity declare itself the sole commanding verity of human history, we must see very clearly that our nature at once takes on a living Divine reality, a spiritual Divine dignity and sanctity, which will ere long consecrate every phenomenal person of that nature to every other person's formal sympathy, respect, and reverence. If an infinite Divine substance inwardly or naturally inform our outward personalities, how shall we help attaining in the end to a style of manners at once so broadly human, tender, and robust, as to make angelic fellowship pale, tame, and niggardly in the comparison? Now the first obvious fruit of this spiritual divinization of our nature or kind will be, that the two phenomenal factors of that nature, or its private and public, its individual and universal, elements, will promptly disavow their unrighteous estrangement, and consent, nay, determine, to ordain exact and equal justice between man and man: so that practically no privileged person shall in the future be tolerated in the material realm of life, or the sphere of those necessities which are common to mankind; but every man, woman, and child by virtue of their social genesis be guaranteed an exactly equal formal recognition with all other men, in having all their bodily and mental wants, such as food, clothing, shelter, and education, perfectly supplied and satisfied.

But now another consideration of the profoundest significance. If this marriage of the phenomenal factors in human nature, which constitutes society, and which results in the establishment of perfect justice between man and man, so that all men alike will be delivered, both from the base tyranny of necessity or the degrading incitations of material poverty, and the coarse and cruel lusts that are infallibly bred of such poverty, why, then it follows that all we, male and female representatives of the human and divine, of the private and public, of the individual and universal, conjugates of that interior marriage, stand ourselves formally pledged to marriage, not only as the fountain of our natural or race honor, but as the basis of all the spiritual or individual culture that will ever befit us as human or immortal forms of life. What is least in humanity is one with what is greatest, and, if marriage be the form of the whole, it must be the form of the particulars as well.

I do not hesitate to say, then, that the most vital and ennobling effect of the creative truth will be the speedy spiritualization of the marriage-tie among men, as a tie of nature absolutely, and one of personal convention only provisionally. All the debasing ideas which defile our existing conception of marriage are due to our vicious habit of regarding it as a mere legalized concubinage of the sexes. Marriage, however, has not necessarily anything to do with concubinage, either licensed or unlicensed. Legalized concubinage may doubtless have been incidental to the idea of marriage, as the condition of

its proper development, since all of our ideas have their root in our sensible experience. But it is no more the essence of the marriage-idea than the foundation is the essence of the house, the husk the essence of the wheat, the egg the essence of the chick, the body the essence of the soul. It seems the essence of marriage, no doubt, to many an infirm imagination, to many an inexperienced dreamer; but let us hope for the honor of human nature that that fallacious notion seldom survives actual knowledge. No; marriage is not the least a voluntary tie between any particular man and particular woman, which they may take on or put off at pleasure, with or without legal permission. It is concubinage alone which confesses itself a voluntary bond between the parties, and therefore invites and tolerates legalization. For concubinage, being an essentially animal or infra-human commerce of man and woman, can only claim, at best, a legal or provisional right to subsist as marriage among men; and every violation of such permitted right, accordingly, is stigmatized as adultery. Adultery is an offence committed against a vicious social order among men, an imperfect social State, and is engendered by it exclusively; so that, when society comes or is acknowledged as the normal state of man, adultery will disappear as the fog of the marsh disappears before the morning sun.

Marriage is the strictly natural distinction of every man as man, and of every woman as woman, and therefore neither craves nor allows any extra-natural sanctions, such as are furnished by mere law or custom. So that when A and B demand a civic or religious authorization to live together as husband and wife, what they really demand is permission to cohabit without any risk of disfranchisement to their prospective offspring. There can be no better proof that our existing marriage bond is practically a mere lawful concubinage, than is furnished by the fact of its violation being foreseen by the statutes which enact it, as quite possible on the part of either party, and appropriate penalties provided. But who can conceive of marriage contemplating violation, and enforcing its own integrity by penalties? No taint of adultery can ever by possibility attach to marriage, because marriage is the fundamental law of human nature, and not at all a tie of human convention: a law energized by the creative perfection, and no more liable to infraction by any subject of it, than the law of gravitation is liable to be infringed by a pebble. Our existing conjugality, accordingly, is not marriage except in name, because it disallows an inward, free, or spontaneous tenure, and admits only a legally enforced or outward one. It is simply, as I have said, a legalized concubinage of the sexes, its whole intention being to legitimate a man's offspring so strictly to himself alone as to exempt our skulking and pusillanimous Church and State from all obligation of providing for those to whom, nevertheless, they owe all their own subsistence.

Put marriage, then, in honor, as the ineffaceable Divine badge of human nature itself, and not the least an appanage of any ridiculous persons of that nature, and we have the foundation laid in human experience for the broadest possible realization of our spiritual creation, or our race-destiny: to my conviction the only possible foundation.

I am as ever, yours truly,
HENRY JAMES.
CAMBRIDGE, Feb. 21.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

THE PUBLIC SCHOOL QUESTION

AS VIEWED BY AN AMERICAN CITIZEN OF THE
SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, FREQUENTLY
CALLED QUAKERS.

BY BENJAMIN HALLOWELL.

I have read the discourses upon this subject by the Bishop of Rochester, New York, as published in THE INDEX of Feb. 24 and March 2, with close attention and profound interest. The fairness with which he stated his propositions, he being evidently desirous to do justice to the views of those whose opinions or beliefs differed from his, and the manifest sincerity that the sentiments he expressed were the deep-seated convictions of his own heart and understanding, viewed from the stand-point he occupied, were exceedingly gratifying to me. With his beliefs, his arguments appear to me to be incontrovertible, and his conclusions logical and inevitable. Therefore, as I cannot agree with his conclusions, I am brought to an examination of the correctness of his beliefs or assumptions.

The Bishop says that the "Catholic Christian's authority" is "the Church, which is commissioned to teach all divine truths with infallible certainty." Again he says: "On the natural, and on the [super-natural] law, divinely revealed and presented to him by God's chosen agent, the Church, does the Catholic form his conscience."

Now the Friends believe that "the authority which is commissioned to teach all divine truths with infallible certainty" and "the law divinely revealed and presented," is the Spirit of God, graciously manifested to every rational soul, authoritatively demanding obedience to its dictates, and, with this demand, conferring power to obey it, which neither the Pope nor the Church can possibly do.

If the Bishop would substitute the Spirit of God for Pope or Church, as the authority and aid of all instrumental good in the human family, one towards another, the Friends would unite with him in nearly all he says. This spirit of God, monitor, or witness for God in the soul of man, is the basis of the religious element in man's constitution, and is the great means by which the race are influenced for good. It is the Good Angel referred to by Moses (Exodus, xxxiii., 20-22), who had experienced the teachings of this Spirit, and had learned to know it was the voice

of God, and could therefore say, "This saith the Lord": "Behold, I send an angel before thee, to keep thee in the way, and to bring thee into the house which I have prepared for thee. Beware of him, and obey his voice, provoke him not; for he will not pardon your transgressions; for my name is in him. But if thou wilt indeed obey his voice, and do all that I command thee, then will I be an enemy to thy [spiritual] enemies, and an adversary to thy [spiritual] adversaries."

Inasmuch as very little has been published in THE INDEX specifically in regard to the views of the Friends, I wish to take the liberty to express something further in regard to them according to my understanding of them, and particularly in their application to the subject under consideration,—the question of the common schools.

Augustus Jones, of Lynn, Mass., not long since, in a discourse on "The Principles, Methods, and History of the Society of Friends," says: "There is nothing in church history more attractive than the steps by which George Fox, unaided by human learning, solves for himself the problem presented to us all—'Given self to find God.'"

This is the great problem which every individual must solve in order to know peace.

The blessed Jesus says: "The light of the body is the eye" (Matt. vi., 22). So the soul is the light of the spirit. Now the sun may exist, and the eye may exist, and the body not be enlightened. There needs a communication between them. But when the light streams down from the sun, it renders that body, and all others upon which the light falls, luminous and visible.

In like manner the "Father of Lights" may exist, and the soul may exist, and the spiritual body not be enlightened for want of a communication between them. But the streams of spiritual light from the Good Father, the "breath of life" received by the soul, enlighteneth the whole spiritual body. As the outward light is of the same nature as the sun from which it proceeds, so the streams of spiritual light which the soul receives—love, truth, justice, mercy, purity, and holiness,—and all the communicable attributes of Deity, must be of the same nature as the Father, and these are the Spirit of God in Man; and when man is obedient to their dictates, he is led by the Spirit of God; and, as these increase more and more in brightness by continued obedience, so the faithful soul continually advances until it becomes the enlightened.

There is, therefore, God the Creator, man the creature, and the Spirit of God in man, the Mediator, Redeemer, Guide, Help, Light, and Strength, whose office it is, and to which end it is continually striving, to bring the creature into harmony with the Creator, crying Abba, Father, that thus they may be one, man's will being merged in the Divine will, when there is but one will, and that the will of God. In such soul God reigns, and, where he reigns there is heaven, and there is peace and joy.

There is no conceivable object in the creation of man but man's happiness. Deity needed nothing—had no wants for himself to supply. He never gave life but for enjoyment. He never created but to bless. And the happier man is, the more completely is his purpose fulfilled, and the more is he glorified.

The spirit of God in man, causing him to feel love, peace, and joy when he submits to its teachings, and producing unrest, discomfort, darkness, distress, and misery, darker and deeper, as there is greater and greater departure from the right way, is the great means by which God teaches and instructs the human family, and has taught and instructed them in all ages. And it has been by a close observation of these spiritual influences, through the long series of years, perhaps hundreds of thousands, that man has been upon the earth, that men in different parts of the world have accumulated those advanced truths that are called revelations or prophecies.

For a long period human language was regarded as a divine gift, or a special revelation from Heaven, it having been thought that human powers were unequal to the accomplishment of so great a matter.*

But it is now conceded by all those who are competent to judge, that language is the product of human intelligence, industry, and invention, long continued, by the use of powers with which man has been divinely furnished. It is the same with the Scriptures. The powers of the human soul, or heart and understanding, which are both illuminated by the same glorious effluence from God, and act harmoniously to the same end, are abundantly competent to their production. They are all the work of man, written by men under the influence of the Spirit of God in man, for the improvement of man through the enlightening influence of this same spirit. The same elevated truths and ideas were taught in different parts of the world, years before the "Christian epoch," by Mann, Minos, Brahma, Moses, Zoroaster, Hillel, and persons in all the great centres of civilization and enlightenment in the world, showing to a demonstration that the same Spirit of God in man was teaching the same truths to all mankind, as they became prepared to receive them.

These individuals of advanced enlightenment, or prophets, as they were called, were the embodiments of the deepest and noblest sentiments and convictions of the age in which they individually lived. They must not be considered as having received any special revelation from God. By no means. God is a Spirit; and he speaks to man, not in a voice of words, but by the language of spiritual impression upon the soul, conveying the truth to be taught unmistakably, as man is prepared to receive it, by the illuminations of His spirit in the soul, the recipient organ, or "eye" of spiritual communication; and

*See *Edinburgh Encyclopedia*, Vol. XI., article "Language," page 718, American Edition.

these truths are more elevated and pure as man is more obedient and devoted, and thus brought nearer to Him, so that a constant advance is known.

Outward objects were never revealed to man in any other way than they now are by the light of the outward sun. So spiritual truths have always been revealed in the same manner they are at present. God is unchangeable.

As the outward sun is the primary source of all the forces and motions in the organic world, vegetable and animal, so is this great spiritual centre that we call God the source of all the movements and powers in the spiritual world, and of every blessing, favor, and benefit that devolves on humanity, physically, intellectually, or spiritually.

To return to the public schools; any system for them that will be permanent must be one that will bear the examination of reason under the highest enlightenment; and nothing short of what is dictated by the Spirit of God, and in harmony with his teachings, can do this.

Assistance to human beings can come only from human instruments acting under the influence of the Spirit of God. Hence all truly qualified teachers must be God-like, guided, assisted, and influenced by God's Spirit, causing their lives to be pure, gentle, kind, industrious, faithful, and efficient.

Truth is more in harmony with man's nature than error, and is always a more powerful auxiliary for human improvement; and therefore the pursuit of truth, and a knowledge of the true, the beautiful, and the good, in every department of Science and Nature, should be encouraged and promoted among the scholars of the public schools as a basis of future pursuits and investigations.

It is impossible to put God into the public schools by any book, exercise, or other means. He must be in the hearts of the teachers, scholars, school-commissioners, and all persons connected with them. Then will these schools rise to their full usefulness and efficiency.

It is even more impossible to keep God out of the public schools. His Spirit is in every child there, striving to keep the child good, true, and faithful. We may easily convince ourselves of this fact. When any child does wrong, as telling an untruth, or taking something not his own, and is detected in the fault by the good and kind teacher, how soon the blush of shame comes to his cheek, and his countenance becomes changed and fallen by the condemnation of God's Spirit, or the good angel in his heart, for the course he had pursued, this suffering being designed to keep him from pursuing a similar course on a future occasion.

I may here say, too, it is also impossible, by any enactment, to put God into the "American Constitution." The letters or symbols by which His name is represented may be placed there, connected with a statement of all the offices that it is desired He shall perform; but this will not place Him there. God (I speak it reverently) is ineffable. He cannot be represented in language. He must be in the life of the nation, in the hearts of the people, and particularly in the hearts of the rulers of the people,—the heads of the government. Then shall we have a righteous nation!

SANDY SPRING, Maryland.

POLITICAL REFORM.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE NEW YORK UNION LEAGUE CLUB.

The Union League Club, claiming to represent, and believing that they truly express, the sentiments of the Republican voters of the city of New York, declare as follows:—

First—That in view of the recent and repeated exposures of corruption and fraud in the administration of public affairs, the welfare of the Republican party, as well as of the country, demands a searching and thorough investigation of the condition and conduct of every branch of the public service, to the end that all corrupt practices may be brought to light, and that all who have abused and betrayed their public trusts, whatever may be their station, may be exposed and punished.

Second—That the exclusive management and control of the local affairs of the party in the State, and particularly in the city of New York, by an organized machinery of office-holders, which suppresses and ignores the real voice of the voters of the party, is an intolerable grievance to which we refuse any longer to submit.

Third—That we demand that the independent and disinterested Republicans of the city and State shall be fairly represented in the selection of delegates about to be chosen to the State and national conventions which are charged with the great duty of naming the candidates of the party for President and Vice-President of the United States.

Fourth—That the purpose, which has been openly avowed and threatened to be put in practical operation, of sending to the national convention at Cincinnati a delegation from the State of New York made up at a State convention, and pledged or committed beforehand to the support of particular candidates, is a gross violation of the first principles of republican institutions, and an outrage upon the rights and wishes of the great majority of the party. We insist that the representation of the State of New York in that convention shall be committed to a delegation wholly unpacked and unpledged, who shall be untrammelled and free to choose from among all the candidates who may be brought before the convention, and unless this can be conceded to us we refuse to be bound by its action.

Fifth—That desiring, as we most earnestly do, the success of the Republican party in the next Presidential election, and believing that the best interests

of the country require the election by that party of a President from its ranks, we desire, promptly and explicitly, to avow our conviction that success is not possible unless the candidate of the Republican party be a man who is not only identified with its great principles, and possessed by a proud appreciation of its past services, and who will be recognized by the common judgment of the country as fitted by ability and experience in public affairs for the responsibilities of his high office, but also a man who has had no connection, direct or indirect, with the errors and abuses which have brought reproach upon the fair name of the country and the party, who is above any suspicion of sympathy or association with those who have been guilty of those abuses, and whose name and career shall be in themselves a guarantee of a complete renovation of the public service, of a thorough purging of official abuses, and of an administration of the government upon principles of honesty, economy, intelligence, and fidelity to public trusts. In our judgment, and we believe in that of all unbiased and reflective men, the exigencies of the party, as well as the country, at this time demand a President who shall be deservedly recognized as a reformer as well as a Republican.

ARCHBISHOP BAYLEY'S LENTEN PASTORAL.

THE PAROCHIAL SCHOOL SYSTEM THE BULWARK OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Archbishop Bayley's pastoral letter for Lent, 1876, just issued, touches on the "mixed marriage" and "religion in schools" questions. He refers in the beginning to the seniority of the archdiocese of Baltimore in this country, and the inspiring memories clinging about it; to the past simplicity, when people did not so much crowd into the cities, but pursued a quiet, rural life, and thinks that resting too much under these influences and ideas has been one of the great dangers of the present, when "evil has become aggressive"; when there is developed "an excessive love of money and outward show; a want of moderation and simplicity in everything; a haste and hurry in daily life which precludes all steady reflection and self-examination; bad manners, bad customs, bad books, bad newspapers, so that we live in a vitiated atmosphere, and are surrounded by moral malaria on every side." The archbishop says:—

"It has, consequently, become absolutely necessary for all of us, priests and people, fully to recognize this epidemic character of the evil influences of our days, so as to protect ourselves against them, and do all that we can to protect others. The most favorable sign in our regard is that God, in his goodness, seems about to come to our help, in permitting a spirit of injustice and persecution to be stirred up against us and our religion. It is hard to speak against anything which savors of kindness and charity; but there can be no doubt that constant and familiar intercourse with those who are living in religious error, or have no religion at all, is calculated to produce a spirit of indifference, and make us insensible to the value of religious truth. Your over-charitable people, who think all religions equally good, generally end by having no religion at all. We cannot be Catholics, and at the same time make a religion to suit ourselves."

In regard to the subject of marriage, and the jealous care the Catholic Church has always exercised over that foundation of everything in the Church, the archbishop says:—

"In our days there are large numbers of her children who disregard these laws as if they did not exist. There can be no more certain test of weak and declining faith than the frequency of what are called 'mixed marriages.' Wherever they become common Catholicity must necessarily assume a very diluted character, and faith have little of energy and robustness about it."

On the subject of education the archbishop urges "open-handed liberality to provide good Christian schools for poor children." He says:—

"Formerly our common schools gave a simple, plain education, sufficient to fit those who received it for the ordinary occupations of life, and parents found time to look after their children, to keep them from bad company, teach them their prayers, and see that they attended to their religious duties. And as they were comparatively few in number the priests were able to know them personally, and watch over their conduct in life. But now, from a variety of causes which I have no time to dwell upon, our poor children, who have become very numerous, are generally very badly cared for. Their parents neglect, or are unfitted, to take proper care of them. Those of them who attend the public schools of course receive no religious instruction, and are brought very slightly under any wholesome discipline. Our Sunday-schools, useful as they may be in themselves, can do very little to supply these deficiencies. All experience shows us that the only possible method by which we can hope to make up for the want of parental watchfulness, preserve our children to their religion, and make them good citizens, is by providing good parochial Christian schools. To form a real Catholic parish a school-house has become as necessary as a church. Your clergy are making every exertion to gather the poor children of their flocks under the wing of the Church, to provide schools, and good schools, for them, and every one of us should cooperate with them and aid them, from the widow's mite to the rich man's pound."

"Religious teaching is as necessary to anything that deserves the name of education, as oxygen is to the air we breathe. Without it it may be seriously doubted whether a good deal of what is now called education does not do more harm than good. It is ridiculous to speak of sharpening up a quick intellect

with a corrupt heart and depraved will under it, as if you were necessarily preparing such a person to be a good citizen and a useful member of society. To say nothing of our political combinations, our penitentiaries and State prisons are full of these 'well-educated people.'"

In regard to St. Mary's Industrial School, which the letter commends as admirably conducted, the archbishop says: "Even if the State and city authorities took a wise interest in our endeavors to make these destitute children well-behaved and useful members of society, and were willing to assist us, I would prefer, if I could only prevail upon you to be of the same opinion, that we should do it ourselves. It is in our power, and without any very great sacrifices, to take care of all our poor, and sick, and helpless people, without assistance from any one. Some of us may think, perhaps, that an open persecution has become impossible in these days of liberality and popular right, when 'civil and religious liberty' is one of the boasted glories of the age, when there is so much tenderness in the human heart that they are unwilling to hang even the greatest criminals. But we have studied the history of the world and the human heart to little purpose, if we allow ourselves to be deluded by any such dreams as these."

The letter goes on to discuss the destructive persecution now waged in Germany as sufficient to dispel any illusion that might be entertained, and says:—

"What would we think in this country, if a law were made by the State depriving all the Catholic bishops and clergy of all sources of income, and then imposing a penalty of severe imprisonment upon every one who should give them the least assistance? And yet this is but one of the minor incidents in the present German legislation against the Church. Our American newspapers, which, if you were to believe their own account of themselves, are always boiling over with indignation at the slightest appearance of injustice and iniquity, have yet to write their first word of protest against these open violations of all the principles upon which our government is founded, and of which we claim to be the especial patrons and protectors over the whole face of the earth."

"Here we have no endowments for the support of religion left us by the piety of our forefathers, and are obliged to depend on contributions for the support of churches, schools, and institutions of charity. Rich endowments, however, tend to paralyze the charity of those who come after them, and excite the rapacity of spoilers. Most of the persecutions of the Church in our day come from her wealth, not merely because she was despoiled of her means of doing good, but as they who injure you always hate you, persecution naturally follows on spoliation. There can be no doubt that it would be a wise policy on the part of the State to assist denominational charities. The poor, and destitute, and sick, who become dependent on the State for support and nursing, can be taken care of much better, and at much less cost by denominational charity. England not only helps Catholic schools, but she has Catholic chaplains in her training-ships and prisons."

"But there is no need of discussing the justice or injustice, the advantages or disadvantages, of different systems; one thing is certain: that the secular irreligious system is becoming day by day the favorite one in our country. All sectarianism, which by a curious perversion of words means Catholicism, is to be carefully excluded from any share in the public distribution. We must take care of the children and the poor ourselves, and the sooner the work is done the better for them and for our own souls."—*Baltimore Sun*, Feb. 25.

A BRACE OF BACKSLIDERS.

Mr. Hammond, the revivalist, has been most unfortunate in a pair of his Harrisburg neophytes,—William Dunlap, a converted bar-tender, and Harry Tons, a converted actor. Mr. Dunlap forged an order for clothing, and then made addresses in the ill-gotten raiment. Mr. Tons forged the name of Mr. Hammond himself to a check, and thus feloniously obtained \$150 from a bank. Great things were expected of Mr. Tons, who was accustomed to tell a long and varied experience, and to represent that after so much bad conduct, to say nothing of bad acting, his experience of religion was little short of the specially miraculous. Perhaps a greater miracle would have been Mr. Tons' endurance to the end. Both gentlemen are now like Paul and Silas in one respect,—they are both in jail. We are far from regarding this dreadful downfall as at all discreditable to Mr. Hammond. The country is full of recent "converts." The "revivals" of the winter have been numerous; the religious feeling everywhere has been remarkable; thousands have made a profession of repentance, and only time can show how many were in earnest, or had good reason for believing themselves to be regenerated. This is a convenient world for breaking down in, nor is desperate failure confined to the churches. A man in Wall Street, for instance, may have a first-rate reputation for commercial honesty; his word better, if anything, than his bond; his name may be synonymous with solvency, and gild the edges of any paper upon the back of which it is written; his association may lend solidity to bank directions, dignity to boards, credit to corporations, and even probability to dubious speculations; orphans trust him, and widows lean upon him, and reporters "interview" him when there is a smell of "a crisis" in the air. Some morning he is missed in the "customed street, nor yet beside the curbstone, nor at his domicile, nor anywhere up town is he. Awful disclosures ensue: the heap of his debts is like Pelion on Ossa, of his assets like an ant-hill; the howls of his creditors are loud and painful; he has gone to Nova Zembla, he has gone to Timbuc-

too, he has gone at any rate away from New York. Do we cease to believe that commercial integrity is possible? Buying, selling, discounting, bartering, trading, still go on. Honesty remains the rule. Otherwise business would be impossible.

If Messrs. Moody and Sankey and Hammond ask to have the mass of their converts judged in the same way, it is only reasonable. Certain sheep, apparently white, may mysteriously change color. It is natural that rogues should utilize revivals; and the breed of hypocrites is perpetual. We do not need statistics to prove that the great majority of those professing religion usually prove to be true and faithful; we all know it from our own observation and experience. It will not do to generalize lamentably over a lonesome paragraph in a newspaper about some clergyman who has gone awry, or some professor and confessor who has proved to be a loose-tongued liar; and yet such flabby deduction is oftenest in the mouths of garrulous commentators. One swallow makes for them a summer of sin; one sporadic case establishes an epidemic; while a couple of scandalous coincidences render them pessimists forever.—*New York Tribune*.

"ROBINSON CRUSOE'S MONEY."

The Hon. David A. Wells' story, with a dozen illustrations by Nast, will be published to-morrow by Harper & Brothers. It is a narrative which takes up De Foe's story at the point of the arrival of the English sailors on the island, when the inhabitants began to need a currency. They first used cowrie, collected with considerable labor about the island. This currency was increased, and business took a fine start, when some enterprising fellows found heaps of cowrie on a neighboring island.

"Finally, the secret of the whole matter gradually leaked out. Other people besides the original three shrewd fellows found out where the supply of cowries came from, and made haste to visit the remote island, provide themselves with money, and put it in circulation. But the more money that was issued, the more was needed to supply the wants of trade, until, at last, it took a four-horse wagon-load of cowries to buy a bushel of wheat. Then the bubble burst. Stock companies all failed. Trade became utterly stagnant. The man whom Robinson Crusoe had made Secretary of the Island Treasury thought he could help matters by issuing a few more cowries; but it was no use. . . . The shrewd and idle fellows who had first found the cheap supply of cowries had taken very good care to keep the substantial valuable things—houses, lots, ploughs, grain, etc.—which they had received in exchange. They had, in fact, grown rich by robbing the rest of the community. The community, however, were too courteous to call them thieves, and in conversation they were usually referred to as shrewd financiers, and as men ahead of their time. The concluding act of this curious island experience was, that the formerly so highly prized money became depreciated to such an extent as to possess value only as a material for making lime. The people, accordingly, by burning, made lime out of it, and then, in order to make things outwardly cheerful, used the lime as whitewash."

Soon they discovered gold, and introduced it as currency, but not without objection. In the next generation Robinson Crusoe and the other sufferers by the cowrie experiment having died, paper currency and inflation came into fashion. Some of the most popular books which were published about this time on the island had the following suggestive titles: *A National Debt a National Blessing*; *Don't Pay as You Go, a Sure Way to Get Rich*; *Pulling at Your Boot-Straps the Best Way to Rise in the World*, and the like. This experiment was popular, and the new principles of trade were generally adopted by enterprising men. But the great triumph of "representative money" was when the foot-and-mouth disease attacked the cattle, and there was no milk to be had. There was an immense public meeting to demand that the "Lactical Fluid Association" at once issue more milk tickets.

"That night the babies were all supplied with milk-tickets in the place of milk. Milk-tickets hot, milk-tickets cold, milk-tickets sweetened, milk-tickets plain, milk-tickets with their backs printed green, and interchangeable with milk-tickets drawing cream skimmed from other milk-tickets. But, strange to say, the babies, one and all, with that same sort of instinctive perversity which induces children of a larger growth to refuse to accept shams for reality, and be grateful in addition, refused to take to milk-tickets. The uproar of the night preceding was as nothing to the disturbances of the night following, and morning dawned upon an unrefreshed and troubled population. As soon as the necessary arrangements could be made another meeting assembled; but the meeting this time was composed of babies, backed by their mammas and nurses. There was no theory in their sentiments; and though young in years, one and all felt that they had lived long enough to know what their fathers apparently did not know; namely, the difference between milk and paper. The resolutions voted were brief, but to the point, and were, substantially, as follows:—

"First, that the exigencies of the times demanded more milk, and not more milk-tickets; second, that the way to get more milk was to have more cows; third, that the way to get more cows was to go to work and raise them, or raise something else equally valuable, and then with this something else buy cows; fourth, that there are certain eternal verities against which it is useless for either babies or men to contend. A committee was appointed to procure a mill of the gods to grind up those who disbelieved in the last resolution, and the meeting then adjourned."—*N. Y. Tribune*, March 8.

TO THE LIBERAL-MINDED PEOPLE OF AMERICA.

The following is the address referred to on our first page, as adopted by the Paine bust meeting last Monday evening:—

A proposition has been made to place in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, a bust of Thomas Paine. The first practical step was taken by the Liberal League of San Francisco. At one of its meetings the idea was suggested and at once acted upon. A subscription was started, and a request sent to the Liberal League of Philadelphia that it should appoint a committee to receive subscriptions and take in charge the general business of procuring and placing in Independence Hall a bust in marble at the earliest possible period. Such a committee has been appointed, consisting of Mrs. Carrie B. Kilgore, President; John S. Dye, Secretary; D. Y. Kilgore, R. Wallin, and Miss Mary Pratt. Subscriptions have been made in various parts of the country, and it is anticipated that the needful work will be pushed forward rapidly. The movement has already been too long delayed, and there is no time to be lost. The whole cost will not exceed twelve hundred dollars. This comparatively small sum can and should be raised within ten days. A free offering quickly made will accomplish the work.

Fellow Liberals, but one word by way of exhortation. Notwithstanding the faithful efforts of those who have labored to vindicate his reputation, for a century the name of Thomas Paine has rested in obloquy. Bigotry and superstition have done their worst. The time is propitious to inaugurate a return to justice. The heroes of the Revolution are summoned to the front to receive the honors of this Centennial year. It will be a deep disgrace to the Liberal cause if the time passes and the memory of Paine is not vindicated. His great services in behalf of American liberty cannot be questioned. Nor are they, though they have been studiously kept from the knowledge of the people. There is no record of a more unselfish devotion to truth than his life affords. Had he listened to the advice of protecting friendship to withhold his pen from its attack on religious authority and ecclesiastical tyranny, no name would have passed into history more revered and honored. But to his mind, liberty included freedom of thought—the right to think—which the Bible-worship of the Christian Church everywhere invaded. His courage was no less conspicuous here than in the battle for civil freedom. But how different the result to his present fame the shameful story of his long persecution alone can tell. But why multiply words? It is unnecessary. It is time to act. We are assured that the responses to this appeal will be numerous and effectual. Let no one hesitate to send an offering, however small. Let all contribute according to their means; but remember that whatever is done, it is necessary that it should be done quickly!

Contributions may be sent directly to Mrs. Carrie B. Kilgore, 405 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, or to the editors of the *Investigator*, *THE INDEX*, the *Banner of Light*, and the *New Age*, Boston. Notice will be given as soon as the necessary amount is subscribed.

It will be best to send all contributions directly to Mrs. Kilgore, at Philadelphia, thus saving trouble and decreasing the danger of miscarriage in the mails.

WE HAVE received very beautiful photographs of a bust of Thomas Paine, moulded by Mr. S. H. Morse, of Boston. The friends of Paine consider it a most faithful likeness. The artist copied after the celebrated painting of him, and has succeeded admirably in his work. Any of the admirers of Paine, or others, desiring to do so, can see this photograph at our office; and after looking upon it their admiration of this much-abused man will be materially quickened, we assure you,—so grand and noble is the profile of the old hero. Efforts will be made soon to procure a copy of this bust, to be placed in an appropriate place in this city. Mr. Morse intends also to send a copy to the Centennial this summer.—*Pacific Liberal*.

RELIGION AND LUCK.—The appeal court of Paris has just decided an extraordinary lawsuit. A certain notary of Pontoise had two daughters, described as charming girls and heiresses. The elder married, and shortly afterward her mother's brain became affected. The *Scours de Bon Secours* nursed her by turns, with the younger daughter's aid. On the day the latter came of age she left her father's house, with the sister in attendance, whilst all were asleep. The flight had been prepared with extreme cunning, and was quite successful. For five days the father could get no news, nor could the prefect of police, the procureur-general, or anybody else. At length a letter announced that the missing girl was at the convent of Troyes. An appeal to the superior had no effect; and M. Brossard, a very old man, devotedly attached to the girl, was prostrate with grief. His son-in-law went to Troyes with his wife, and demanded Mlle. Brossard. The bishop indignantly ordered her release, and the convent obeyed; but they opened the gates at daylight to liberate her in the presence of witnesses, and she vanished once more upon reaching the street. From this time nothing could be heard of her for three months. In spite of all the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. At length the Bishop of Troyes vowed that whilst he lived such a novice should never be admitted to religion, and this resolve, which upset all the conspiracy, proved effectual. Mlle. Brossard returned home for a while, but fled again. Worn out, her father suf-

fered her to go, but died with a warning on his lips that the convent wanted the girl's fortune, not herself, and now it appears in fact that she has long since alienated every farthing. The trial arose upon certain letters which passed during this long struggle between different members of the family, the bishop, the prefect of police, and others. M. Brossard's heirs claim them as family documents, but the court has decided that Sister Marie, of the Incarnation, alone is concerned in them, and to her they should belong.—*London Telegraph*.

THE aboriginal man in geology, and in the dim lights of Darwin's microscope, is not an engaging figure. We are very glad that he ate his fishes, and snails, and marrow-bones, out of his sight and hearing, and that his doleful experiences were got through with so very long ago. They combed his mane, they pared his nails, cut off his tail, set him on end, sent him to school, and made him pay taxes, before he could begin to write his sad story for the compassion or the repudiation of his descendants, who are all but unanimous to disown him. We must take him as we find him,—pretty well on in his education, and in all our knowledge of him, an interesting creature, with a will, an invention, an imagination, a conscience, and an inextinguishable hope.—*R. W. Emerson*.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

KOSSUTH AND DEAK.

"One star differeth from another star in glory."

"Forgotten in Hungary," he may be—
For the time that is passing now.
To Deak they give the glory,
And wreath alone his brow?

One star differeth from another;
To each its appointed way:
One soul shows the eternal,
And one the passing day.

'Tis well they bless this modern Spartan,
Whose homely way and true
Gave Hungary her old-time freedom,
The Hapsburg pledged anew.

His simple tact and sturdy honor
Conducts the people on,
And they pronounce, when life is over,
The fitting words, "Well done."

And in the farthest future
Let men retell his fame,
How he, all titles else refusing,
Spoke in the people's name.

In that far time of Justice,—
When all eyes are illumed
Beholding the wrapt vision
One hero-soul consumed;

When freedom full and perfect
Spreads o'er the Continent,
And Europe shares the glory
The lonely exile lent,—

Then, see his name emblazoned,
Whose constant soul refused
By the poor time's convenience
To be despoiled or used!

O star that shines forever,
Repeating but one story,
The nations winding upward,
On mountain shall adore thee!

Withdrawn to height ideal,
Thy lustre set in bine,
Thy rays shall fall as blessing
To make all men as true!

SIDNEY H. MORSE.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MARCH 18.

Geo. S. Bowen, \$3.45; Peter B. Brigham, \$13.15; R. Friable, \$3.20; A. Hoyt, \$3.20; E. Prussing, \$4.40; J. H. Lull, \$13.20; New England News Co., \$8.64; Henry Lantz, \$1; Geo. E. Francis, \$5; L. Adams, \$2; American News Co., \$6.70; J. C. Rued, \$1.50; I. W. Grafton, \$3.20; Mrs. P. Phillips, \$3; B. M. Smith, \$1.50; B. B. Griswold, \$3.20; S. B. Ziegler, \$3.25; J. Casson, \$1; L. F. Gardner, 25 cents; Cash, \$5; E. M. Marshall, \$1.74; Joseph Brown, 10 cents; E. H. Bearse, 25 cents; T. M. Hart, 25 cents; H. C. Lockwood, 60 cents; L. G. Jones, 35 cents; Cash, \$1.55; Julius K. Rose, \$5; H. C. Neville, \$1.25; David A. Lydiard, \$3.50; W. H. Jenkins, \$3.10; J. H. Carter, \$1; C. Churchill, \$10; J. S. Crum, \$3.20; O. F. Williston, \$3.20; E. A. Spring, \$1; C. Whitaker, \$3.25; C. Palletier, \$3.20; E. Fezandie, 3.20; James Eddy, \$3; J. Westwater, \$3.20; E. C. Hart, \$3.20; E. Dillon, \$2; R. B. Hunter, \$5; I. Liebmann, \$3.20; Thos. H. Harrison, \$3.20; L. T. Ives, \$6.40; S. Shepardon, \$3.20; G. Engler, \$2.20; J. C. Street, \$4.01; D. P. Wilcox, \$3.50; T. Archibald, \$8.85; T. Bush, \$2; Jos. S. Hill, \$16; H. F. Hyde, \$1.50; R. Humphrey, \$3.20; Chas. H. Webb, \$3.20; E. S. Miller, \$1.75; F. Rinehart, 10 cents; C. F. Hardon, 10 cents; T. B. Skinner, 25 cents; W. J. Phillips, 50 cents; C. F. Gard, 50 cents; Lee & Shepard, \$3.60; Mrs. Kimball, \$1.25.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of *THE INDEX* which are not on hand will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, MARCH 23, 1876.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 1, TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FAY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

The transition from Christianity to Free Religion, through which the civilized world is now passing, but which it very little understands, is even more momentous in itself and in its consequences than the great transition of the Roman Empire from Paganism to Christianity. THE INDEX aims to make the character of this vast change intelligible in at least its leading features, and offers an opportunity for discussions on this subject which find no fitting place in other papers.

N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

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CENTENNIAL CONGRESS OF LIBERALS.

CASH RECEIPTS.

Mar. 10.	Received of F. A. Angell, New York.....	\$5.00
" 13.	" M. Einstein, Titusville, Pa.....	4.00
" 13.	" E. Whitcher, Boston.....	5.00
" 13.	" J. Davison, Alfred Centre, N.Y.....	1.00

DAMON Y. KILGORE, Acting Treasurer.
605 Walnut St., Philadelphia.

HARVARD COLLEGE has seven hundred and sixteen undergraduates, an increase of ten per cent. as compared with last year. The average age of entering is now eighteen years and five months.

A CORRESPONDENT of the New York Tribune thus pays a deserved tribute to the character of the new Secretary of War: "The country is agreeably surprised at the selection of so good a man as Judge Taft for Secretary of War. He was elected Judge of the Superior Court of Cincinnati, and held the office for the term of five years. He was then reelected for a second term of five years unanimously. This was a remarkable and unusual compliment in a city about equally divided in politics. Where there is a large political majority, a small minority frequently indorses a candidate for judge because it would do no good to run an opposing candidate. Before the expiration of the second term of Judge Taft his two sons began the practice of law in that city, which would have brought them before him arguing cases. Rather than permit such a practice he resigned his office, so as to allow his sons a free field, and without permitting a chance for favoritism or nepotism. Such an example in these times is extremely refreshing. Judge Taft has great candor and simplicity of character, without any hypocrisy or double dealing. He has never been debauched by going through the slough of politics, but, like Mr. Lincoln, won his fame and high character by an honorable practice of the profession of law."

WE REGRET exceedingly that the great increase of labor involved in the editorship of the new *Langham Magazine* threatens to deprive THE INDEX of its regular "London Letters" from the Rev. Mr. Voysey, who writes in a note accompanying his letter of this week: "It is of no use my fighting with fate. I fear very much this will be my last letter to THE INDEX, but I will at least promise you to write whenever I can. The burdens of the *Langham Magazine* are growing heavier day by day, and I dread getting behindhand. You will, I feel sure, understand the position, and give me credit for the best wishes and intentions towards a paper in which I have been so long and so happily interested." It would be selfish to cherish other than feelings of pleasure at Mr. Voysey's enlarged opportunities in the service of that rational religion to which he has already contributed so much; but it is impossible not to be very sorry that THE INDEX must forego the pleasure of publishing once a fortnight his earnest and inspiring words. For his able coöperation and staunch friendship we tender him our most grateful thanks, hoping that THE INDEX will still receive frequently, even if irregularly, a word of continued sympathy and encouragement from one who has so deservedly made himself hosts of friends among the rationalists of America.

MR. JAMES' FOURTH LETTER.

Every conscious human being necessarily couples with each feeling, thought, locomotion, action, the recognition of himself as that which feels, thinks, moves, acts. There is no such thing as feeling in general, thought in general, locomotion in general, action in general; it is always—"I feel, I think, I move, I act." This is the very bottom fact of all consciousness, so far as we human beings know anything about it. All the phenomena of our inner and outer life alike connect themselves indissolubly with this running accompaniment of the I; the moment this accompaniment begins, consciousness begins, and the moment it ceases, consciousness ceases. Without stepping at all outside of the mere phenomena of our existence,—without being guilty of the briefest possible excursion into the realms of "ontology" or metaphysics,—this fundamental fact of the I confronts us at every instant as the central and ever-present reality of our own being, so far as our own being is really made known to us at all. It is the omnipresence and prime necessity of this I in all consciousness which led the philosopher Kant, who denied the possibility of all knowledge of "things in themselves," to declare: "The 'I think' must accompany all my representations, for otherwise something would be represented in me which could not be thought; in other words, the representation would either be impossible, or at least be, in relation to me, nothing." By self, or selfhood, we understand nothing but this permanent element of all consciousness as such, this constant and persistent I which we cannot get rid of without straightway ceasing to be conscious at all.

When Mr. James, at the beginning of his fourth letter on a previous page, says: "We are clearly agreed on one point, which is that our conscious life is an unassailable fact,"—he concedes absolutely all that we have ever claimed of the "selfhood"; for we have only insisted on the I as an essential constituent of consciousness, and he does not even try to show that consciousness is possible without it. He has "no shadow of a quarrel with our conscious or phenomenal life." Very well: it is only as the central fact of this conscious or phenomenal life that we insist on the recognition of the selfhood at all, and Mr. James simply fails to understand us when he imagines that we insist on it as an ontologically "self-existent substance." On that point we profess no knowledge. It is he, and not we, who broaches an ontological theory on the subject, by maintaining that, ontologically considered, self is an illusion and God the only reality. How could any one hold that our selfhood is self-existent who believes, as we do, that millions of ages elapsed before the world was fitted to produce any human self—before either the individual or society came into being at all? That which begins to be must have its cause outside of itself—cannot be self-existent. Mr. James will wholly fail to establish any real "difference" between us on the point of selfhood, until he shows that phenomenal consciousness is possible without it. Selfhood we regard as a phenomenal reality, while he regards it as an ontological non-reality; there is no necessary conflict between these opinions, and there can be none until one of us denies the proposition of the other. This being so, not one of Mr. James' criticisms has in fact touched the definition of religion which he originally undertook to rectify, and which simply contemplates the phenomenal perfection of a phenomenal self. It is no correction or even modification of our definition to declare that there is no such thing as an ontological selfhood, whether human or Divine. We never said that there was, so far as we remember; that is an issue of philosophy which is still in debate, and we are content to regard it as one of the world's great open questions.

But Mr. James now passes to the consideration of a very different class of problems from any involved in the definition he set out with considering: namely, creation, the ontological nature of the Creator, etc. This is a field of inquiry in which very probably our paths will not lie in the same direction. Our methods evidently differ, and undoubtedly our results will differ likewise. Mr. James adopts the theological method, and explains the universe in the light of the assumption that the Creator is "infinite Love" devoid of any ontological selfhood or self-existence. We should adopt the scientific method, and begin at the other end of the problem; we should interrogate the universe itself, and confine our conclusions to the extent of its answers. If any one has a curiosity to learn what these conclusions are, he will find them in the Index Tract on "The God of Science." According to our view, whoever starts with an assumption

of any kind about the Divine nature, as a principle by which to solve the problem of existence, is obliged to show a rational ground for it,—that is, to prove that his assumption is really the last step in a long prior process of generalization from the phenomenal facts of the universe. To plead "faith" as the only ground of such an assumption is to give up the whole problem, rationally considered; discussion is cut off at once, unless there is agreement here as to method. Being a rationalist, we cannot accept "faith" or "intuition" or "authority" as a substitute for reason. If we were not convinced that reason, applied scientifically in a large, calm, and comprehensive way to the facts of the universe as known to us, led to theism as the true philosophy, we should not be a theist at all. Hence we are unable to go with Mr. James in his deductions from the postulate that the Creator is "infinite Love," because we cannot start in the clouds to reason our way down to the earth. Our fundamental difference is one of method; he adopts the method of faith, and we adopt that of reason.

To be sure, we might point out that "infinite Love" without an infinite selfhood is a hollow and meaningless abstraction, a mere phrase with no corresponding reality that can be grasped by the human mind. Love as we know it is a phenomenal manifestation of a phenomenal self; in any other sense, the word love is an empty algebraic symbol, signifying nothing that is real. To personify, vaguely and loosely, the social affection that binds together "an eternal spiritual society or fellowship," and to treat this personification as a "Creator" of whom all ontological selfhood is denied and no phenomenal selfhood is affirmed, is to us a merely bewildering procedure. Such a Deity commands even less reverence than the one for which Mr. James so pungently expresses his own utter lack of reverence. We cannot worship a mere figure of speech, which is all that we can discover in the "Creator" described by Mr. James. But we do not suppose he has told us all his thought, and therefore we draw no inference concerning it except so far as set forth in this letter. Believing as we do in the eternity and self-existence of the universe, of which God is the internal unity and organic life, and overcome with its magnificence and majesty, we are content to worship in our own way, and accord sincere respect to our neighbor's way. The relative test of both our ways, however, must be the degree of their influence in promoting the individual's effort to perfect himself and the society which includes him. We have and can have no quarrel with any religion which aims to create a nobler society by fostering the freedom, equal rights, and mutual good-will of the individuals who compose it.

EDUCATION IN VIRGINIA.

We are very glad to receive from Richmond, Va., a Circular of the Virginia Educational and Historical Association, together with the "Proceedings" of its Convention held last August, and the address of J. H. Cromwell.

This society appears to be formed among the colored people of Richmond, and its objects are as follows:—

"The objects of this Association shall be to promote the cause of education, and to aid in the higher instruction of such meritorious youth who, by their perseverance, their talents, and general worth, give promise of usefulness to the State and country; it shall aim to encourage the growth and development of mechanical and scientific ideas by the dissemination of useful knowledge, and by the collection of statistics relative to the material interests of the colored race in this State incite it to higher and higher achievements."

There is no word in this or in any other clause of the By-Laws excluding the whites either from membership or from any other benefit of the Association; but some existing facts in regard to the colored schools are recognized as a basis for special effort in regard to them.

Whether the speakers were white or colored does not appear. I recognize some names as those of leading colored men, while Mr. Manly, the white Superintendent of Education, under the Freedmen's Bureau, was evidently present, and gave his testimony to the equal capacity of colored youth for education.

The subjects for discussion were very pertinent and practical: "How shall we educate the colored youth, so as to make them self-reliant and useful?" "The difficulties under which the colored youth labor in obtaining an education in the Virginia." "Compulsory Education."

"WHEREAS, The number of colored schools, to the colored school population of the State, is less

than the number of white schools to the white school population of Virginia, it is the sense of this convention that the Board of Education of Virginia should increase, if possible, the number of colored schools of the State.

"Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to collect such matter of history as reflects credit on us as a race, and that this committee commence at once.

"WHEREAS, There seems to be a spirit of indifference on the part of our people as to the necessity of giving their boys trades; and

"WHEREAS, The mechanic should be considered the bone and sinew of our State and country; therefore

"Resolved, That this Convention call the attention of the people, through its members, to the great advantage in skilled labor.

"The President then introduced Rev. W. H. Brooks, who proceeded to address the Convention on the subject 'Should the elements of moral science be taught in primary schools?'

"The speaker advanced the idea that children should be fully prepared to comprehend every subject taught them; therefore this science could not be profitably taught in primary schools.

"The next speaker introduced was R. M. Manly, Esq., whose address was on the subject, 'Should male and female teachers receive equal compensation?' The speaker addressed the Convention briefly on this subject, taking the view that it should be ability which decides the teacher's compensation."

These topics certainly show much thought on the subject of education. The discussion of them convinces us that the seed sown by the various educational enterprises in Virginia has fallen on good ground, and that a race of citizens is growing up who will take the interests of education under their care, and secure to the colored children equality of education and of rights.

The address of Mr. Cromwell is full of good sense and practical suggestion, and treats the subject of education in a broad and liberal manner. One of his concluding paragraphs shows a jealous sensitiveness in regard to the rights of colored people, which is valuable in securing a vigilant care of their interests, but which, we hope, will not be carried so far as it has been in some instances, where a preference has been given to colored teachers over white, though not so well fitted to teach. The best teachers, white or black, should be the choice for the schools. The paragraphs alluded to are as follows, and we highly approve the demand for a colored normal school until public opinion is sufficiently advanced to admit all to the same school:—

"Fourth. That the white Southern teachers, as a rule, are, by reason of many beliefs in which they have been schooled, not the best teachers for colored schools.

"Fifth. That the large and increasing demand for colored teachers suggests the maintenance of efficient normal schools, which, besides giving the instruction common to such institutions, should not fail to give proper impressions as to the special work its graduates have to do."

We hail the action of this Association as a most promising sign of progress in Virginia, and wish it Godspeed with all our hearts. The Circular asks for contributions to the library, which may be sent to Mr. J. Gordon Baugh, 212 West Duval Street, Richmond, Va., Librarian of the Virginia Educational and Historical Association. E. D. C.

LONDON LETTER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—The devil is in great trouble over here. Mr. Jenkins, like a second St. George, has trampled on the Great Dragon and given him a mortal wound. Your readers know the story of his impious denial, not only of "everlasting fire," but of "the devil and his angels" for whom this lively furnace was specially "prepared." This terribly daring impiety was met by prompt and active punishment at the hands of his parish priest, the Rev. Flavell Cook, who straightway cut him off from the means of salvation, and denied him the privilege of Holy Communion.

Thus injured and outraged by Peter, Mr. Jenkins betook himself to Gallo, who did not drive him from the judgment seat, but told him his was a hard case, and that Peter must restore to him his "means of salvation," and pay the heavy costs of all the proceedings. Peter, backed up by a goodly following of clergymen and ladies, refuses to do the bidding of Gallo, and resigns his living rather than administer the bread and wine of the sacrament to the heretical Mr. Jenkins.

This is very praiseworthy in the parish priest, and is a fresh proof that he is an honest, though possibly a misguided, man. He will pay his thousands of pounds sterling, and sacrifice £500 a year till he gets another living where there is no Jenkins. His supporters will crow over and around him till he is covered with glory, and possibly then we shall hear no more of him. But the law is not so easily disposed

of, and precedents are respected in England as little short of Divine precepts. No clergyman now will have the right of dictating to the laity what they shall believe, or of forcing their own beliefs on the acceptance of parishioners at the peril of excommunication. There is no doubt that this is a great blow to sacerdotal pretensions, and is a step in the right direction in State control of the Church."

But to me the whole affair wears a more serious aspect than even this interference of the law to prevent ecclesiastical inquisitorial tyranny. Practically it comes to this: that a man may renounce the very foundations of Christianity and yet not be deprived of membership with the Church of England; may actually impugn either the veracity of Christ himself, or of the Gospel records, and yet not be visited with any social or ecclesiastical penalty; and, if he chooses to present himself, he cannot be denied the Holy Communion.

Mr. Jenkins very likely does not see what is involved in his denial of everlasting fire, and of the devil and his angels. He is not quite wide-awake to discern the full import of his monstrous heresy. That heresy, I maintain, is tantamount to saying that, if the words and actions of Christ are correctly reported in the Gospels, then Christ was in error on the subjects of hell and the devils; or, that if the words and actions of Christ are not correctly reported, then the New Testament is not trustworthy or even true. There is no escape from this dilemma. Strange to say, not Mr. Jenkins only, but the vast number of Christian laymen, who are rejoicing over his victory, are, or appear to be, wholly unconscious of the tremendous issues involved in their relinquishment of hell and the devil.

If Christ was in error on these points, how could he be Almighty God? If the Gospels on these points are false, how can they be depended on when they present him as Divine? On what subject are they to be trusted at all?

I infer that the next result of this freedom given to the laity to deny hell and the devil without being turned out of the Church, or being denied the sacraments, will be to spread these denials rapidly and deeply. Then, as they spread, their bearings will be understood, their immense importance will be perceived, and the next generation will be found minus the whole fabric of Christian dogma which rested on the belief in hell and the devil, and which will have been entirely withdrawn. The extinction of the devil destroys the story of the fall and ruin of mankind; turns the whole of *Paradise Lost* into an unbelievable myth; and renders *Paradise Regained* a superfluity and an anachronism.

We read how Christ, shortly before his passion, exclaimed: "I behold Satan as lightning fall from heaven!" What pregnancy would these words have possessed had they been uttered at the close of the trial "Jenkins vs. Cook"? When Christ uttered them, the devil was rising to his highest lustre, and a long and brilliant day has he had over the world ever since, till Jenkins and others arose to banish him into outer darkness.

What a reign and what a harvest of tears, and groans, and blood has that Prince of this world enjoyed!

More than half the wars; all the persecutions; the millions whose lives were scared with perpetual horror of his infernal power; the myriad victims of sorcery and witchcraft, and the poor wizards and witches who were tortured, in turn, to a bitter death; mad-houses more than half filled with panic-stricken souls; earth and ocean stained with the gore of suicides,—all these, and a hundred other trophies, does the poor devil carry with him into exile, to console him for his downfall and disgrace!

"Watchman! what of the night?" we may ask each other across the broad seas; and for answer each may truly say, "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven!"

Poor Lucifer! will no one shed a parting tear over the fallen star, will no one sing a dirge over the grave of this son of the morning? I trow not. I think the world will rejoice and breathe more freely, and speak and act more kindly now the devil is dead. The world will rub its eyes, and wonder what nightmare has fevered its childish slumbers; the dawn, with its chill but bracing air, will nerve us all to braver struggles and more manly activity; and when fear is cast out, there will be room in the heart for that sweet spirit by which all our life here is made holy and happy, and all the future made bright with visions of universal bliss.

I am very truly yours,

CHARLES VOYSEY.

CAMDEN HOUSE, Dulwich, Feb. 26, 1876.

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY E. C.

The opposition of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations to the confirmation of Mr. Dana as Minister to England furnishes a good illustration of the condition of mind of the average Congressman, and also of the motives by which many of our leading politicians are animated. Two reasons are given for this opposition,—the one a pretence, the other a verity. Some years ago, Mr. William B. Lawrence published an edition of Wheaton's *International Law*. Mr. Lawrence's work was so displeasing to the heirs of Mr. Wheaton that they employed Mr. Dana to edit a rival edition. Mr. Lawrence thereupon got up a silly charge of plagiarism against Mr. Dana, and carried the affair into the courts, where it was virtually dropped, and has never therefore been legally settled. It is safe to presume that the majority of the members of the Committee on Foreign Relations had never heard of this charge of literary piracy until they were informed of it by Mr. Lawrence in person, who kindly took the trouble to go to Washington for that purpose. It would be a matter of some public interest, moreover, if we could know how many members of the Committee had read either edition of Wheaton prior to this appearance of Mr. Lawrence. Be this as it may, however, the charge serves as a convenient cover for the second reason of the opposition to Mr. Dana, which is, that he has not always been faithful to the Republican party. This charge of unfaithfulness to party is brought principally by General Butler (who has also hurried to Washington), and means that Mr. Dana once had the presumption to run against General Butler as a candidate for Congress, and at other times (in connection with the Louisiana troubles, for instance) has exhibited considerable unwillingness to believe in the political infallibility of professional wire-pullers and caucus-managers. Without doubt there are few men in the country who unite as many of the requirements of a good foreign minister as may be found in Mr. Dana, and the Republicans could not take many steps more likely to inflame existing discontent than the rejection of his nomination. If the Democrats, on the other hand, or any considerable portion of them, could have the good sense to vote for his appointment, they might gain a portion of that *éclat* which they have been vainly striving for ever since they obtained control of the House of Representatives.

The result of the New Hampshire election, so unexpectedly favorable to the Republicans—for 3,000 is a large majority in that State,—cannot be interpreted as an approval of the present administration, but may be accepted as evidence of a wide-spread belief that if the Republicans have done badly, the Democrats have given no reason for the belief that they would do even as well, if restored to power. When the present House of Representatives was chosen, many persons were inclined to accept the positive prophecy of the *New York World* that the Democrats would carry the country at the next Presidential election; but present appearances certainly are not favorable to the fulfilment of the prophecy, and this, too, in spite of the fact that the Republican party, as a party, is less loved to-day than it was a year ago. The entire lack of any settled policy on the part of the leading Democratic managers has been painfully apparent during the past few months, and is destructive of any desire to see them in power, however the Republican leaders may be disliked. This fact furnishes a sufficient answer to those placid gentlemen of the "I-told-you-so" school of philosophy, who, in view of Republican corruption, are writing letters to the newspapers (to the *Tribune* especially) asking people to admire them because they did not vote for Grant at the last election. The thought of Horace Greeley as President—with his great gullibility, his extraordinary talent for selecting the wrong man for the right place, his hatred of civil-service reform, and his proneness to be led by the nose; becoming President, moreover, through the sale of his convictions to those who were willing to use him as a ladder to power; and remaining President, under the guardianship of Randall, and Hendricks, and Wood, and Hill—is enough to conjure up a picture which makes the present distressing condition of our politics pleasing by contrast. We may be dancing at present in a pretty hot political frying-pan, but it is some little consolation, nevertheless, to reflect that we are not actually roasting in the fire.

Mr. George H. Pendleton, a prominent Democratic politician, and mentioned frequently of late as a possible candidate for the Presidency, has been found guilty of one of those acts, which, although not legally criminal, are morally, nevertheless, on a level with Belknap's sales of post-traderships. Mr. Pendleton is President of the Kentucky Central Railroad, a position which he secured because administrator of an estate which owned three-fifths of the road. According to his own testimony before the Committee on War Expenditures, he, as President of the road, made a bargain with himself as attorney of the road, to prosecute an old claim against the government for \$148,000. He proceeded to Washington, and, by influencing the nature of which is not fully explained, secured a rehearing of the claim—which had once been decided against the road by one of Mr. Belknap's predecessors,—and was paid finally the full amount claimed. He then charged the road \$80,000 for his services (paying a clerk some \$10,000, or more) and how much of the balance of the claim found its way into the treasury of the road is still an unsettled point. Mr. Pendleton evidently took advantage of his official position to make money out of the estate of which he was administrator and out of

the railroad of which he was President. The interesting tale is commended to the perusal of the people of Massachusetts during the pending investigations into the railroad history of Messrs. Chapin, Kimball, Briggs & Co.

The Democratic caucus of Congressmen last week decided to introduce into the House a bill repealing the Resumption Act of the last Congress making Jan. 1, 1879, the date of the resumption of specie payments by government. The Resumption Act, as we understand it, was a positive promise that government should begin at a certain date the payment of its dishonored notes, and any attempt to repeal the Act, therefore, would be as dishonorable as an attempt to repudiate the payment of our bonds, the issue of which has been authorized by Congressional acts of various dates. Government has promised, exactly as any business man might promise, to begin the payment of its notes Jan. 1, 1879, and the plain duty of Congress is now to provide the money necessary to enable the Treasurer to begin payment at the date assigned. Fortunately the Senate may be depended upon to put a stop to any legislation of the kind proposed by the Democratic caucus, even if the bill could be got through the House, which, however, hardly seems probable. If this action of the caucus furnishes any indication of the kind of financial legislation likely to be furnished by the Democrats in case they should get into power, we may be pardoned for believing that we should prefer to take care of a few more bribe-takers rather than to allow them any opportunity for much greater mischief.

The Senate has passed a bill reducing the salary of the President to \$25,000 per annum. As common decency would forbid General Grant to sign a bill which would deprive his successor of that which he was so anxious to obtain for himself, we do not suppose that this particular bill will become a law just now, and need not therefore be considered at present; but the "pleasure" policy of cutting down official salaries, upon which Congress seems to have entered, and in which it is imitated by State Legislatures and by City Governments, is a sad mistake as regards good government as well as economy. Instead of being too large, the salaries of national officers, with but few exceptions, are not nearly large enough. Our Judiciary is miserably underpaid; the same is true of the members of the Cabinet, of most of our consuls, of many of our foreign ministers, and of a multitude of revenue and other officers occupying positions of great responsibility in various parts of the country. We have no right to expect a lawyer, for instance, to be willing to sit upon a judicial bench for \$5,000 per year, when in the practice of his profession he can readily earn from \$10,000 to \$20,000 per year; nor can we expect to retain in public service at a salary of \$2,000, the man to whom merchants, and railroads, and financial companies would gladly give \$10,000. Ability and moral excellence have a positive market value, which government must pay if it wishes to be well served; otherwise its offices will be filled by inferior men, who, knowing that their position is precarious, will make use of their opportunity for personal advantage. A reduction of salaries is not a measure of economy, but is a direct premium upon dishonesty and bad workmanship.

Besides the above-mentioned bill to reduce the salary of the President, the Senate has passed during the week only one other public bill of any importance, a bill to further the administration of justice in Colorado. The House adopted the report of the Conference Committee on a bill to provide for the payment of interest on the 3.65 bonds of the District of Columbia; and concurred with the Senate amendments to the Pension Appropriation Bill. Both Houses passed a number of private bills. The Senate was in session only a portion of the week, awaiting, it is reported, the action of the House, which is certainly getting on very slowly with needed legislation, the attention of the members being occupied apparently by the work of the various investigating committees, to the exclusion of regular business.

At a business meeting of the Church of the Pilgrims, held on the evening following the remarkable sermon of Dr. Storrs—a brief abstract of which we gave last week,—a series of resolutions was presented and adopted virtually withdrawing the fellowship of the Church from all Congregational churches which accept the decisions of the Advisory Council. The Church of Dr. Badington is expected to take analogous action, and other churches in various parts of the country may take similar steps. In fact, present appearances indicate a schism in the Congregational body, and the Beecher affair now threatens to become of interest in ecclesiastical history.

Harvard College is threatened with an epidemic of athleticism, caught, we presume, from some professional wrestlers who have been exhibiting recently in Boston. One young man, while wrestling in the College Gymnasium, has had his neck twisted, and has been sent home; and President Elliot has issued an edict forbidding wrestling within the walls of the Gymnasium. Some newspapers are beginning to write articles on "Harvard College Muscle"; and in one of these articles we learn that "Reeves got in a number of face-hits thick and fast upon the mug of James"; that "Morgan got in one heavily upon the proboscis of Cunningham, drawing the first blood"; that "Hall was in perfect condition, without an ounce of superfluous flesh"; but that Seymour, nevertheless, got in "a powerful lunge that alighted upon Hall's bread-basket, sending him backward tottering," etc. This prize-ring language is what we should expect in articles referring to John Morrissey

or "the Benicia Boy"; but, at the risk of being charged with unnecessary squeamishness, we confess that we do not like to read the above phrases in connection with the names of Harvard College students. We have a strong belief in the value of a good muscular development, and appreciate, we trust, the necessity of "physical sports"; but we prefer, nevertheless, to enjoy the company of students who retain a few ounces of "superfluous flesh," and we have strong doubts of the physiological excellence of a blow upon the "bread-basket" which sends a student "backward tottering."

ENGLISH SKETCHES.

BY MRS. ANNIE DESANT.

LONDON, Feb. 25, 1876.

We are in great trouble about the devil. We have been possessed of him for so long,—he has walked to and fro among us so constantly,—and now, in sternest verity, we have found true that passage of Holy Writ which says: "Resist the devil and he will flee from you." We have resisted, and he has fled. No more may we meditate upon his pristine glory; no more may we draw warnings from "the pride by which Satan fell"; no more may we muse over his strange appearances among our forefathers, or marvel over the metamorphoses he undergoes between Genesis and Revelation. Her most Sacred Majesty, Head of the Church, Defender of the Faith, hath declared by means of the Judicial Committee of her Privy Council that Mr. Jenkins may disbelieve in the personality of Satan, and may yet be a worthy partaker of the body and blood of Christ. This question of the devil has been a very "burning question" in ecclesiastical circles. It is now some time since the Rev. Flavel S. Cook, of Clifton, felt moved by the spirit to forbid a parishioner, one Mr. Jenkins, from coming to the Lord's table,—for Mr. Cook had preached a sermon against Rationalism, and Mr. Jenkins had written thereof disapprovingly unto Mr. Cook, and hence the accusation that Mr. Jenkins himself was not sound in the faith. Mr. Jenkins had also issued a book of selections from the Bible for domestic use, in which appeared no reference to the devil, and in which were omitted likewise many passages which did not, in Mr. Jenkins' carnal mind, tend to the promotion either of religion or of decency. It was too much. Mr. Cook warned Mr. Jenkins that, if he presented himself to receive the sacrament, he would be passed over; Mr. Jenkins did present himself, and was passed.

Both parties rush to the Bishop with their respective complaints. The Bishop listens to both, corresponds with both, and acts throughout with much lack of straightforwardness. Mr. Jenkins appeals to the law, and will fight his way to the altar through the courts of the State. The fray begins, and the Bishop's court goes against Mr. Jenkins; he appeals to the Court of Arches, and the court goes against him. The devil is almost safe; he is affirmed as one of the pillars of the Church; belief in him is necessary to eternal salvation, since without the body and blood of Christ is no salvation, and without the devil no Christ. Mr. Jenkins appeals to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; if this goes against him also, the devil will fairly have driven him out of the Church. The arguments on both sides are skillfully arrayed; can Mr. Jenkins rightly be treated as "an open and notorious evil liver" because he denies the personality of the devil? There is silence in heaven after the pleaders' voices are stilled; the judges reserve judgment. Who can tell what passed in that solemn interval? Did they resort to spells and incantations? Did they try to "raise the devil"? Did they, reckless of expense, telegraph to America for a *verbatim* report of Moncure D. Conway's lecture on the devil? None can say; the mysteries of judgment none may pry into. The Church watched and prayed; the Rationalists waited calmly, sure that, in either case, the decision must work for good. If the devil was affirmed, the whole Broad Church party would rebel; if the devil was denied, the High and Low would go into hysterics. The fateful day came; the judgment was pronounced. Mr. Jenkins might claim the sacrament; Mr. Cook might not refuse it; belief in the personality of the devil was not necessary to salvation!

American friends, the devil is dead. He has been dead a long time in fact; he is now dead in law, legally defunct. At Clifton, great were the searchings of heart. What would Mr. Cook do? What would Mr. Jenkins do? Mr. Cook preached a sermon which talked of "higher law," and as there are no decisions obtainable of higher law, the courts being too far off, and their jurisdiction doubtful, every man decides the higher law for himself, and it is generally synonymous with his own opinions. Petitioning began; a petition to Mr. Jenkins, numerous signed, to pray him to go elsewhere than to the parish church, lest by going there he should drive Mr. Cook away, for Mr. Cook had declared that give the sacrament to the insulter of his diabolical majesty he would not. No wonder Mr. Cook was obstinate, for are not the clergy significantly called, in Italy, *i neri*, the black, or the children of darkness, i. e., of prince of darkness, i. e., of the devil? Should not, then, the clergy fight for the honor of Satan, since without him the threats of the Church must lose all their terrors?

But Mr. Jenkins has been obstinate; the sacrament he will have, and to the parish church he will go; and we learn, in the papers of Feb. 23, that "Mr. Cook has resigned his living, and, in announcing the fact, he says he bows to the law of the land by resigning the living he has held." In reference to the allusion to the law of the Church, he remarks that there is a "law of much higher authority." Mr. Cook has concluded by forwarding his resignation to

the Bishop; and Mr. Jenkins aims a last blow at him by requesting the Bishop not to accept the resignation until Mr. Cook has paid all the costs of the trial and of the appeal. Behold how these Christians love one another!

The other "great ecclesiastical case" is still in suspense. It is a millinery case, the very vital interests concerned being the number of candles, pictures, and garments legal in a church belonging to the Establishment. Mr. Riddale, of Folkestone, the attacked cleric, is a gentleman who delights in arraying himself in "garments like the sun," nominally to the glory of God and to the edification of the poor fisher-folk who form his parishioners,—really, one imagines, for his own delectation, and for the admiration of the young and fashionable ladies who crowd his church during the Folkestone season, and think it all "so sweetly pretty." Mr. Riddale has been duly condemned and admonished; but, supported by a powerful and wealthy body, yclept the Church Union, he has lodged notice of appeal to the Privy Council, and prays that the sentence may be suspended until after the final decision. At the same time he naively declares that the law, being a lay affair, cannot be binding on his clerical conscience. This being so, one marvels why he appeals to it; if it declares itself on his side, one may presume that he intends to abide by it, while, if it be against him, he will refuse his obedience. As, however, while he loses the game, others pay the stakes, it is natural, although scarcely fair, that he should amuse himself by playing with the law, and by gaining the cheap notoriety of martyrdom without any fear of the suffering. Christians now-a-days, instead of being "martyrs by the pang without the palm," prefer being martyrs by the palm without the pang.

We radicals have just been clapping our hands over two radical electioneering contests: the first, at Burnley, sends Mr. Rylands back to the House of Commons, where his influence for economy is sorely needed; the other gives to Mr. Jacob Bright his former seat at Manchester, in spite of the bitter and unscrupulous antagonism of the Church party. These two elections are specially noteworthy as regards religious equality, for both Mr. Rylands and Mr. Bright will vote for Church Disestablishment and for secular education. The dissenting element in Manchester was, as a whole, strongly favorable to Mr. Bright, and (surely the funniest electioneering advertisement ever issued, especially as Mr. Bright's religious views are believed to be very radical in your American sense of the word) there appeared in a Manchester paper the following notice:—

"Verily, verily, I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in My name, He will give it you. All liberals who believe in the efficacy of prayer should ask the Father earnestly and constantly to make Jacob Bright our representative in Parliament. Without me ye can do nothing."

But if prayer be a useful agent in an electoral contest, surely Mr. Powell, the conservative, ought to have won, for he might have enlisted all the churches in Manchester on his side. And suppose an earnest Tory and an earnest radical both prayed steadfastly for their respective candidates, would it cause a tie? Even that would hardly do, as both candidates could not sit, and how could God avoid breaking his word either to the one or to the other? Further, would not this be a case of undue influence exercised on the voters, and are not spirituous and spiritual inducements equally against the law? There is no end to the complications that may hereafter arise, if Heaven is to be made a partner in election contests on earth; we shall have special prayers issued from the rival committee-rooms, and a new bitterness imported into the strife; nay, we may even cause "war in heaven," if the sympathies of the angels are enlisted on either side, and Michael in orange scowls at Gabriel in blue.

As this letter has been dealing with legal decisions, I ought not to omit one judgment which has caused a wall to arise from many clerical breasts. This is the decision in favor of the Rev. Henry Keet, Wesleyan minister. Mr. Keet, desirous of putting up a tombstone in memory of his daughter, inscribed himself on the monument as the "Rev. Henry Keet, Wesleyan minister," and the Vicar of Owston Ferry, legal owner of the church-yard where lay buried the child, refused to allow the stone to be erected, because of the title "Rev." being thereon applied to a schismatic. The matter was referred to the Bishop of Lincoln, one of the most narrow-minded and pompous of our prelates, and he approved the Vicar's action. Mr. Keet persisted, and was defeated in the Bishop's Court, was defeated in the Arches' Court, and appealed to the Privy Council, which decided in his favor. Indignant clergymen forthwith arose, and repudiated the "desecrated title"; one gave notice, through a local newspaper, that he would open no letter addressed to him as "Rev."; others wrote to the *Guardian* office that hereafter their newspapers must not be directed to the Rev. ——. Some proposed to add P.P. to the name; others to call themselves Rector Brown, or Vicar Smith; others to use the territorial designation, and address the incumbent of Coventry as Richard Coventry. Finally, it is urged that application should be made to Parliament to decide upon some title which shall be wholly appropriated to their use! Can folly go further? And what must be the state of mind of those who can be thus disturbed about a petty title? Is it any wonder that English folk, who are free from the trammels of a State creed, should earnestly agitate to sever State and Church, and to leave the Church to manage her own business in her own way, when so much valuable time and so many costly officials are necessary to discuss Church matters, and, while our courts are over-weighted with really important affairs, and cases are so delayed that the slowness of justice becomes injustice, these courts have been occupied for

so many previous days, at the public cost, in deciding on the title of "Rev.," on millinery, and on the devil?

Communications.

NEW YORK LETTER.

NEW YORK, March 2, 1876.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I have been to hear Moody and Sankey. It was the noon meeting for prayer. The hall of the Hippodrome was crowded. It was a sight to see such a densely-packed mass of faces. Immediately upon the opening of the doors, half an hour before the time for the services, the hall was filled. Every thing seemed to be completely organized. There were many assistant laborers, men and women, officiating in different apartments. A body of police was on guard near the doors, which were closed after the crowd was in. In the lobbies were stands for the sale of the *Moody and Sankey Song Book*. Just outside were stands for the sale of their photographs; and, in the midst of the street, was a man with long, unkempt hair, crying out the sale of papers containing "all the doings of the meetings." A trained choir sat upon the platform. Soon after the crowd was seated, a man stepped upon the platform, and gave out a hymn to be sung, in which all were requested to join. This singing was kept up until the time for the regular service. All the machinery seemed to be in perfect order, and the whole proceedings went on with mechanical smoothness.

Moody came forward at the proper time in a bustling, business-like manner, and gave out another hymn. He seemed to feel the whole weight upon himself of keeping things going, and the policy seemed to be to keep perfect control of the audience all through, making one movement so overlap another as to leave no time for self-collection. His eyes were constantly turning this way and that, and he stepped about the platform, speaking to one and another. Much of the time was spent in singing, and much in silent prayer, by his direction for objects specified. There were, I should think, a hundred or more requests for prayer read, for all sorts of things, far and near—one that "God would come down into Ticonderoga"; another from a lady, that "several young men whom she knew might be converted"; and one for an "infidel who might be present." The earnest prayer in answer to these multitudinous and diverse requests, after specifying a few cases, summarized the whole by requesting that God in his omniscience would answer each, though "our own memory was not retentive enough to present each one separately"; and it was to be inferred that, by the same infinite attribute, the Almighty would be able to recognize those "several young men" the lady referred to. One young man offered an agonized prayer to God in behalf of "his great name," that it might not be dishonored in the sight of the people, by his not answering their prayers; "for what, O Lord, will become of thy great name?"

Sankey did not sing.—the only time, some one said, that he had not. The subject of Moody's address was prayer, and the conditions necessary to its efficacy, one of which was the forgiveness of enemies. In illustration, he related the story of two young ladies, living on opposite sides of a street, who wanted to be converted, and with each of whom, separately, at the same time, he and his wife were laboring. They each longed "to give themselves to Christ," and it seemed mysterious what was in the way. At length it was found they had a hatred for each other; they "could not forgive each other"; they "never would." But, by dint of perseverance, the animosity was subdued, and at the same moment, each started to go to the other with words of pardon. They met in the middle of the street, threw their arms around each other's necks, forgave each other, and were converted!

M. Lambert Sauveur, of the School of Modern Languages in Boston, has recently given a course of French lectures here upon French Literature. At the same time he presented his new system of teaching languages. A specimen of his method was given at one of his lectures. Several young ladies, unacquainted with French, seated on the platform with M. Sauveur, resigned themselves to his experiment, before the audience. As a preliminary, he simply explained to them that he should endeavor to signify by action and gesture the meaning of the words and sentences he should make use of, and should wish them, in repeating what he said, to show by action that they understood the meaning. He then proceeded to say in French, "I get up," "I sit down," etc., suiting the action to the word. Soon the pupils understood to say, "*Je me lève*," rising, and "*Je m'assieds*," sitting down. A finger was shown, and the French word given, which was understood and repeated. Then the fingers were counted, the pupils soon being able to number them correctly in French. Afterwards, some fresh-cut flowers, rolled up in many separate pieces of paper, were presented. M. Sauveur unrolling one, and, holding it up, giving the word for paper; then the expressions for "I unroll," "I roll it," etc., always suiting the action to the word. When the flowers were at length disclosed, one was presented to each young lady with the appropriate words, she learning to use the proper expression in accepting it, and all without the use of an English word. At the close of the exercise, which lasted, perhaps, three-fourths of an hour, the girls were able to use correctly many French expressions.

M. Sauveur's aim is entirely to arrest the attention. He pursues the above method for four or five lessons, with new pupils, and then puts into their

hands the first of a graduated series of four books which he has prepared, in which the same system is carried out, but which they are not allowed to have when they come to the class. Thus the ear is first taught, then the eye; the principles of grammar not being formally introduced till late in the course. The fourth book, in the form of dialogue like the rest, is a grammar, but one altogether unique. At the same time that it teaches the rules of the language, it introduces the reader to the best French literature.

This method of instruction requires great ingenuity and aptness of illustration on the part of the teacher, and its success must depend upon personal qualifications. It certainly has claims to attention, as being a more pleasant, more rapid, and more effectual way of gaining command of an unknown tongue than that in common use. A prominent object of M. Sauveur is to form classes for training teachers in his method, and to aid in carrying it forward by the circulation of his books. A. H.

THE ANCIENT LEGEND OF THE GOD OF LOVE.

The God portrayed to the liberal and cultured mind of the present day finds no counterpart in the ancient legend of the Old Testament, and only glimmers through the life and teachings of Jesus in the New, like sunlight through a rift in the morning cloud.

The boundless love which commended the turning of one cheek when the other was smitten, went out in sympathy to the two outcasts on either side of the cross, and prayed for the redemption of those who persecuted him, can bear no fitting relation to the author of the great deluge,—that terrible exhibition of the wrath of an angry Father against his children.

The absurdity of such a proposition strikes me so forcibly that I cannot but marvel at the learned disquisitions of the day in behalf of the retention of the Bible in the public schools, as an instructor in filial love and an exalted morality.

I can only think for a moment of an all-wise and omnipresent Father allowing his children to people the earth for generations, and then putting them out of existence as unceremoniously as a schoolboy would rub out a half-solved problem on his slate, to begin over again with more patience, until perfection should be reached. I could smile at their credulity, did I not see so many spectacled teachers sitting gravely at their desks, ready with their rods to chasten the unbeliever!

Again, if the second edition of man was a typographical improvement of the first, the degree is thrown into speculation by the Moody and Sankey evangelists, and their theories of eternal damnation. They would teach us that we are all victims to a second great experiment in setting up a world, and ready for another washing out in case the "perfect" God should make a failure of it! Really, man is something better than a potter's clay, or why bother his head with learned arguments on the immortality of the soul?

The spirit of inquiry they cannot suppress, and it will go to the heart of the ancient legend. If I concede that God did blunder at the outset, and find it necessary to the success of his plan to drown out the men because they were irredeemably wicked, what had the sins of Adam and Eve to do with the birds of the air, the beasts of the field, the insects, the flowers,—all the rest of creation? Yet they were deluged along with sinful man. All the beautiful handiwork of a just and merciful God beaten down in his wrath against his naughty children, Adam and Eve,—the innocent spectators, involved in the general wreck and ruin without any assignable cause!

This is the ancient legend our wise men treasure up in the holy of holies, for the enlightenment of the youth of our generation, to inspire sentiments of justice, and a reverence for an Almighty God. The Hebrew characterization occupies the letter of the religious lessons of the present day; but, thanks to the freedom of expression, the taskmasters are losing their prestige of authority, the fetters of the mind are unloosing, and the graven image of an imperfect God is giving way to a clearer and nobler conception.

EMERSON BENTLEY.

BRASHEAR, Lk., Feb. 8, 1876.

UNBELIEF THE "FATHER OF ALL SINS."

NEW YORK, Feb. 16, 1876.

EDITOR INDEX:

Dear Sir,—I wish those who, nominally or professedly Orthodox, have friends or relations who are Liberals, would consider the following from the New York Tribune of this date. Reporting the evening services conducted by Mr. D. L. Moody, Feb. 15, it says:—

"He urged with his full power that Christ died for our sins, and, turning to the group of clergymen on the stage, he said, 'Dr. Taylor, have we any other hope?' 'No,' was the reply. The text of the sermon was Romans III., 10: 'There is none righteous, no, not one.' A man who has broken one of the commandments, said Mr. Moody, was guilty of violating the whole of God's law. A man may say he is not a liar, nor a thief, nor a Sabbath-breaker, nor an adulterer; but, if you don't believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, that is the father of all sins."

I would ask any devout church-member, the next time he or she meets a friend who is morally good, but believes in liberal ideas, to remember that Mr. Moody thinks such worse than liars, or thieves, or Sabbath-breakers, or adulterers, for the sin of unbelief is the "father of all sins." If Mr. Moody's authority on such points is doubted, why is it that all Orthodox people openly or nominally indorse him? Surely more evil than good will result from such teaching as the above.

Yours truly,

"A."

Sanctuary of Superstition.

THE SOUL BEFORE SATAN.—The devils carry away the soul which has just come into hell. They bear it through the flames. Now they set it down in front of the great chained monster, to be judged by him who has no mercy. O, that horrible face of the devil! O, the fright, the shivering, the freezing, the deadly horror of that soul at the first sight of the great devil. Now the devil opens his mouth. He gives out the tremendous sentence on the soul. All hear the sentence, and hell rings with shouts of spiteful joy and mockeries at the unfortunate soul.—"*The Sight of Hell*": one of a series of "*Books for Children and Young Persons*," by Rev. Father Furness, C.S.S.R.

CAST OFF.—How dreadful if in that last day of the last dispensation—the one that now is—these words should be addressed to you, when you cry, "Open, open, Lord;" "I have called and ye refused. Because I have stretched out my hand, and no man regarded, but ye have set at naught all my counsel, and would none of my reproof, I also will laugh at your calamity; I will mock when your fear cometh. When your fear cometh as desolation, and your destruction cometh as a whirlwind; when distress and anguish cometh upon you; then shall they call upon me, but I will not answer; they shall seek me early, but they shall not find me."—John Cumming, in "*The Christian*," Nov., 1875.

THE JUDGMENT.—Reader, the day of separation will come. "The Judge standeth before the door." He shall soon call us to his presence. He shall come in his glory, and all his holy angels with him. He shall sit upon the throne of his glory. Before him shall be gathered all nations. He shall separate them as the shepherd divideth the sheep from the goats. Some—the saved—shall take the right hand; the lost shall stand upon the left. Great and awful day! One company shall come at his bidding to inherit a kingdom, and honor, and glory. They are saved. The others shall depart—ah! God save us from their destiny! They are lost. Lost amid the agonies of "the second death,"—lost amid the fierceness of the "eternal fire."—"*Leaflets for Letters*": Christian Publication Society, Boston.

A NEW CURE FOR CHEWING.—A brother entered into this rest by simply obeying the voice of the Spirit. He was in a meeting, and the Spirit said, "Get up and say, 'The blood of Christ cleanseth me from all sin.'" He trembled very greatly, and said, "I can't say that; nobody would believe me if I did; I will give my experience, but I can't say that." Again the Holy Spirit told him to say it, and still he trembled and thought he could not; the third time the Holy Spirit told him that, if he would obey, He would be responsible for the idol which he knew would present itself on Monday, which was tobacco. He said then, "I will do it," and arose and said it; in twenty minutes after, such a power came upon him, he had no desire for his idol, and had been sweetly saved ever since that hour.—*Christian Standard*.

THE STOCK DEBT PAID.—The following epitaph is copied from a tombstone in Gillingham churchyard, Norfolk, Eng., upon a performer who belonged to the Norwich company of comedians, and in 1777, and two or three seasons after, was engaged by Mr. Coleman at the Haymarket, London: "Sacred to the Memory of Thomas Jackson, Comedian, who was engaged December 21st, 1841, to play a comic cast of characters in this great theatre, the WORLD, for many of which he was prompted by Nature to excel. The season being closed, his benefit over, the charges all paid, and his accounts closed, he made his exit in the tragedy of DEATH, March 17th, 1798, in full assurance of being called once more to rehearsal, where he hopes to find his forfeits all cleared, his cast of parts bettered, and his situation made agreeable by Him who paid the great stock debt for the love he bore the Performers in general."

GOD SHUT THE DOOR.—So the door of the ark is shut. They mock on. They are not alarmed. They laugh on; but God gives them seven days' grace. After all is done to that ark, there is no sign of a coming storm. I can imagine one night, as they retired as usual, the sun goes down behind the mountains, and they will never see it again. That night I can see the mothers putting their children to bed, as usual. Perhaps some of them were mocking and laughing at the thought that Noah was shut up in that old ark. . . . Instead of one flash of lightning after another, it is one blinding sheet of lightning. The earth is beginning to roll and rock. The foundations of the deep are breaking up. The great sea breaks its borders and leaps over its walls. The great rivers begin to swell. Those living in the lowlands begin to escape to the mountains and to flee up on the hillsides. Undoubtedly the great men of that day said: "We have had great floods like this before. We have had storms like this. It will soon be over." But some of them said: "Noah told us it was to last forty days and forty nights." And they say: "If this lasts forty days and forty nights, what shall become of us?" I seem to see them under the ark. They leave their palaces, they leave their homes now. They come to that ark. Hear them cry! Hear them pound on that ark! "Noah! Noah! Noah! Let us in!" There comes a voice from within: "God has shut the door. I cannot open it." Ah! God shut that door. It had been open one hundred and twenty years.—Dwight L. Moody, at Philadelphia, Dec. 26, 1875.

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THE INDEX

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THE CENTENNIAL

CONGRESS OF LIBERALS!

AN APPEAL TO ALL

Who believe that the United States should be

Absolutely Secularized.

And who favor the movement to carry out the principle of

STATE SECULARIZATION,

As indicated in the "Demands of Liberalism."

605 WALNUT ST., PHILADELPHIA, {
March 1, 1876. }

To the Liberal Leagues and the Liberal Public of the United States:—

The General Centennial Committee, appointed at a convention held in this city last September for the purpose of making all necessary arrangements for a General Centennial Congress of Liberals next summer, have decided to call said Congress to convene at Philadelphia, Saturday, July 1, 1876,—further particulars to be hereafter announced.

Each organized Liberal League will be entitled to send five delegates as special representatives—three in addition to its President and Secretary. But all individual Liberals who sympathize with the general objects and aims of the Liberal Leagues will be equally entitled and welcomed to seats and votes in the Congress.

REPORT PROMPTLY!

In order to lessen as much as possible the expenses of the delegates, each League is requested to elect them as soon as possible, and to report their names to the undersigned through its Secretary. All Liberals, delegates, or individuals who desire and intend to participate in the Convention are requested also to forward personally and immediately their names and full post-office addresses to the undersigned, that he may be enabled to make the most favorable terms possible for their accommodation. If notified early, he hopes to secure for them a considerable reduction in railroad fares, and to provide boarding-places at perhaps half the usual rates of the season.

Donations Solicited!

The Centennial Committee on Finance having through their Chairman transferred their duties to the General Centennial Committee, the undersigned has been appointed to attend to the financial department, and hereby appeals to the Liberals of the country for voluntary contributions to the amount of One Thousand Dollars. This amount will be needed to make the Congress a complete success, though the utmost possible will be done with whatever is contributed. The officers of the union of Liberal German societies propose to raise the same amount for their convention, and have already raised \$600 of it. The Young Men's Christian Association here have already spent this year nearly \$100,000 in preparation for the Centennial, in the interest of Orthodox superstition; it would be a pity if all the friends of "Liberty and Light" could not do a hundredth part as much for the cause of national development and free humanity! The money will all be wanted (and much more could be advantageously expended) in providing suitable halls and headquarters, advertising the Congress liberally in advance in the chief dailies of the country, defraying the necessary expenses of desired and invited speakers, paying *verbatim* reporters, publishing a complete pamphlet report of the proceedings, etc., etc. What is done must be done speedily, since the arrangements should be completed, as far as practicable, by the first of May.

All sums donated will be duly acknowledged in THE INDEX, and a full report of all expenditures will be sent for publication in the same paper. Remittances should be sent to the undersigned, 605 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. Will not all friends of the movement respond heartily and at once?

DAMON Y. KILGORE,
Acting Treasurer.

I believe that Mr. Kilgore is a gentleman of unimpeachable personal integrity, and that all money remitted to him as above will be faithfully and economically devoted to the legitimate uses of the Congress.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT,
Chairman of the General Centennial Committee.

At the preliminary Convention held at Philadelphia on Sept. 17, 18, and 19, 1875, for the purpose of making arrangements for the Centennial Congress of Liberals, the following were appointed a

General Centennial Committee:

FRANCIS E. ABBOT,
DAMON Y. KILGORE,
ALEXANDER LOOS,
ISAAC REEN,
BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD,
H. S. WILLIAMS,

with power to increase their number to fifteen. The completion and success of the arrangements must depend on the liberality of the friends of the movement, who are respectfully and earnestly solicited to contribute the necessary funds.

The Index.

Three Dollars a Year.

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VOLUME 7.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, MARCH 30, 1876.

WHOLE NO. 327.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

- ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF —.
- ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in —, and thereby to effect the total separation of Church and State in fact as well as in theory.
- Also to send delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League, when organized, and to cooperate heartily with all the liberals of the country in furtherance of the above-named object.
- ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.
- ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.
- ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.
- ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League.
- ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

ion. No person shall ever in any State be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious practices shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS (paid or pledged) for the Paine bust amount already to about two hundred dollars in all. Of this sum fifty dollars were subscribed by members of the society at Florence, Massachusetts.

THE PROSPECTUS of a paper to be called the *American Socialist*, and edited by John H. Noyes, William A. Hinds, and F. Wayland Smith on behalf of the Oneida Community, has been issued. The first number was to be issued on March 23.

IT IS REPORTED by a cable despatch that the Vatican has sent to Madrid a protest against the religious toleration sanctioned by clauses of the new Spanish Constitution. The government is expected to send back to the Pope an "energetic reply." The more "energy" the better in such cases.

IT IS CAUSE for congratulation that the Centennial Commissioners have decided that they are not authorized to grant any space within the limits of the Exhibition grounds for the erection of a building in which religious services may be conducted. They have referred the matter back to the Council of the Philadelphia branch of the Evangelical Association, which, with what we must characterize as low ecclesiastical cunning, had requested this very improper favor. Now that the United States have appropriated \$1,500,000 to the Exhibition, it would have been outrageous to permit such abuse of public grounds for church purposes.

GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS made a Thermopylæ of the Republican State Convention at Syracuse. The Spartan Leonidas did not make a better fight against the king of Persia than did Mr. Curtis against the Xerxes of our day—Political Corruption. The Convention "presents" Roscoe Conkling for President, and has thereby imperilled the cause of good government beyond forgiveness. Look to the handwriting on the wall, you honest Republicans who have no private purse to fill by fawning on party leaders: your party is doomed, if you fail to make your voices heard. It is not too late yet, but it will soon be too late, if you do not repudiate the Conklingites and their sympathizers.

THE JOINT SPECIAL COMMITTEE of the Massachusetts Legislature on the taxation of church property reported, on March 22, an act to amend the fifth section of the second chapter of the General Statutes so that houses of religious worship shall be exempted from taxation only to the amount of \$12,000. Inasmuch as the proposed reform can rest only on the principle that it is unjust and unrighteous to tax the whole public indirectly for the support of the churches, this reported act leaves the inherent wrong of the practice of exemption totally unreformed; and we hope it will not become a law. It is better to wait till the principle at stake shall be recognized, and not commit the folly of supposing that justice can be secured by merely halving the injustice.

MR. E. H. HEYWOOD, editor of the *Princeton Word*, is the latest victim of Catholic sophistry on the school question. Bishop McQuaid swallowed him as easily as a trout snaps up a fly. "It is a burning shame," exclaims Mr. Heywood, "that Roman Catholic Bishop McQuaid should have to come all the way from Rochester to Boston to teach" us "the A B C

of human liberty." Very well: if Mr. Heywood retains this amiable and unsuspecting credulity, the Bishop will gently lead him through the whole alphabet to the X Y Z of Roman Catholic bondage. Meanwhile THE INDEX will do its best to keep the editor of the *Word* out of the fire; for we do not know anybody whom the Bishop, if he had the power, would sooner see grilled on a gridiron than Mr. Heywood.

THE CONGRESS OF LIBERALS will be held: shall it not be held in a manner worthy of its idea? Of all the Centennial gatherings of the year, what other will mean so much? Others commemorate the past—this is to consecrate the future. There is no standing still in the life of men or of nations; *progress or retrogression* is the equal fate of all. Not to make the defences of religious liberty safe beyond a peradventure,—so safe as to discourage in advance every assault of its enemies,—is to invite attack; and the attack is already making. It is time for a definite, collective, emphatic, and impressive declaration of the principle of STATE SECULARIZATION—of the total liberation of the Republic from the dominion of the Church. Enough has been subscribed to insure the holding of a convention: now let enough be subscribed to make it the convention of 1876!

THE WELFARE of humanity is undoubtedly the highest object of individual human endeavor; but it is necessary to concentrate endeavor on specific ends, if results are really desired. To do this effectively, however, involves cooperation and organization and (*horribile dictu*) "parties." It is amusing to see with what a blind terror of "partisanship" some of our radical contemporaries are smitten, and how, in their zeal for impartiality and vast comprehensiveness, they insist on buttoning all mankind under their own waistcoats. Smiling with serene inanity on those who try to do one good thing at a time, they harness all reforms abreast, heroically go in for all human interests in a lump, and seem determined to "expand themselves to the circle of the universe." Now we remember with dismay that there is danger in this overdone expansiveness—this desperate self-puffing which mistakes itself for cosmopolitanism, and tries to be as big as the human race. The frog who tried to be as big as the ox did nothing but burst; and we are anxiously hunting for a skillful cooper to put an iron hoop or two around some imperilled reformers within our ken.

SUNDAY CONCERTS, not of a "sacred" character, yet perfectly "respectable," have been held for several months past, in Boston, at many of the best theatres and public halls—the Parker Memorial, we believe, being the first to initiate this very innocent and wholesome custom. But now, it seems, the Orthodox sentiment of Boston is bestirring itself to put down this "desecration of the Sabbath." The *Boston Traveller* of March 23 says: "At a meeting held in the Congregational Library, yesterday afternoon, a committee of five Christian laymen of several denominations was appointed to consider the enforcement of the Sabbath laws, and to report at a future meeting." A despatch from Toronto, of the same date, published in the *New York Tribune*, reports similar action in Canada: "The Evangelical Alliance intend to petition the Dominion Parliament to add a provision to the bill now before the House to the effect that no railway trains or engines be permitted to run between Saturday midnight and Sunday midnight, except in cases of necessity; that all locks on canals be closed during the same time; that no delivery be made at any post-office on Sundays, and that no mails be made up or despatched on the Sabbath. The Alliance has petitions containing this provision in circulation for signature." What does it all mean? Is there to be a revival of proscriptive Sabbatarianism? Are the wheels of progress to be reversed?

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[For THE INDEX.]

American Morals and the Atonement.

BY JOHN WEISS.

What has the doctrine of the Atonement done to purify the morality of America? Is the doctrine itself essentially moral or immoral? What is the practical effect of the doctrine among those who represent belief in it? To answer these questions we must first review the doctrine itself, beginning with a brief statement of its origin.

As you know, the earliest feeling which mankind had of a relation to invisible powers was an alloy of dread and gratitude, and in the mingling of these emotions a *per cent.* of dread predominated. If you observe the average states of mind of savage tribes which are now existing, you will find a most ancient state of man surviving. If you are disposed to doubt this fact, it derives a rational support from those notices of history which relate to the primitive condition of man; that is, of genuine history, of authentic traditions subsequent to the legends of a Golden Age, a forfeited Paradise, and a Fall of Man. Thanks to modern research into the origin of language, religion, human customs and developments, we know that primitive man was flat upon the earth and could not fall. There has been a protracted effort of creative vitality to lift him to his feet, like that of Prospero to humanize Caliban, who said of it:—

"When thou cam'st here first,
 Thou strok'st me, and mad'st much of me,
 . . . would'st give me
 Water with berries in it, and teach me how
 To name the bigger light, and how the less,
 That burn by day and night."

And Prospero replied:—

"I pitied thee,
 Took pains to make thee speak, taught thee each hour
 One thing or other; when thou did'st not, savage,
 Know thine own meaning, but would'st gabble like
 A thing most brutish, I endow'd thy purposes
 With words that made them known."

To which the brute answered:—

"You taught me language; and my profit on't
 Is, I know how to curse."

And this probably was the first accomplishment of the human race; the original flavor of it is still "hot i" the mouth." Invisible power was cursed or fawned upon, according to circumstances. Either way, there appeared to be in Nature an element that was mutable; at one time it catered to the stomach and the senses; at another it seemed to be in Prospero's vein:—

"Thou shalt have cramps,
 Side-stitches that shall pen thy breath up; urchins
 Shall forth at vast of night that they may work
 All exercise on thee; thou shalt be pinch'd
 As thick as honeycombs, each pinch more stinging
 Than bees that made 'em."

So men learned to be politic; they grovelled, repressed their rage, and contrived methods to propitiate a master. What did those poverty-stricken

communities possess with which to bribe and conciliate omnipotent power? Their own life-blood was the most precious commodity and personal estate; the rude affections which swam in its tide were spilled out to avert disaster or secure a blessing. Human sacrifices rubricated the first sombre liturgy of mankind. And the subsequent expositions and palliations of those dreadful texts are the various forms of the doctrine of Atonement.

As the manners of Caliban grew softer and his feelings of kinship more authoritative, he contrived to substitute the blood of rams, goats, and other treasures of the pasture, for sons and daughters; a transition which no doubt was protracted through many centuries. But it is compactly summed up in the legends of Abraham offering Isaac, and Agamemnon offering Iphigenia; in both cases a substitute was provided at the critical moment by a divine power. So the doctrine of substitution began to prevail and extend into all the ancient forms of propitiating a Most High. Among these, notice only the one which lies directly behind the Christian Doctrine of vicarious suffering. Once a year, in the month which corresponded to our September, the Jews gathered to assist at an Atonement for Sin. Blood was still the symbol of it,—the element which Moses forbade his people to partake of, because it held the life; "whatsoever soul it be that eateth any manner of blood, even that soul shall be cut off from his people." The vital current was to be kept sacred for the purpose of sacrifice. Each person brought his trespass-offering to the priest who made atonement for him by sprinkling the blood upon the veil of the temple. At the close of the ceremonies, the consolidated trespasses were symbolically piled upon a goat and driven into the wilderness to perish. Then the people returned home to accumulate upon their own heads another twelvemonth of trespasses for another Atonement. The indignant language of the prophets apprizes us to what an extent the symbol became substituted for the reality in the popular mind. "To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith the Lord; I am full of the burnt-offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats. Bring no more vain oblations. Learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow." This is the Lord's old stereotype plate, cast in a universal language, still sharply cut and fresh, from which successive ages issue their editions of protest against vicarious religion.

It is plain that Jesus, in the last moments of his life, did not contrive to appropriate the ancient Hebrew symbols of atonement as if they had been express anticipations of himself. The point is important to notice. The pretensions of modern theology turn upon language which, half a century after his death, were attributed to him by the men who compiled the New Testament. Matthew, Mark, and Luke have allusions to the blood; it was a Judaizing afterthought. In the Gospel of John the last scene of the Master's life contributes not a word about atoning blood. Why not? Because that Gospel was written by an Alexandrine Jew who was imbued with the sentiments of Platonism. Instead of turning the Last Supper into a symbol of the remission of sins by blood, John gives us that exquisite symbolical action of washing the disciples' feet, and makes the Master say: "I have given you an example that ye should do as I have done to you." The crowned heads of Catholic countries repeat this symbol every year. "In a clean ewer with a fair towel" they preside over the sprinkling of twelve poor persons' feet, and thus perform the most significant sacrament of a Church which has always welcomed the poor and neglected.

Other thoughts were in the mind of Jesus than those elaborate ones which subsequently identified him with scape-goats and the sprinkling of blood. It was the first day of the Passover, a feast which the Jew celebrated with reminiscences of gladness. If he ate bitter herbs with his unleavened bread, it was his Oriental way of recalling the bitterness of Egyptian captivity and the hardships of the wilderness. All the sentiments of that great commemoration were kindred to our own New England Thanksgiving, when we dress the feast with plenty to enjoy a grateful contrast with the bleak December, the granite coast, the scanty Indian corn, and the vast unknown wilderness that stretched between the *Mayflower* and the Republic.

The early Christians manifested a wiser sensibility than the later theologians, for they instituted the *agape*, or Love Feasts, in memory of the Last Supper, and thus delicately prolonged the sentiment of friendship and the last urgency of the Master to be remembered. Not a thought of blood entered these frequent festivals of the first Christians. That of itself alone is quite enough to discredit the bloody texts of the Evangelists and of the Judaizing Epistles. Old Jews might be caught by the sacrificial language used in Hebrews and elsewhere to convert them to Christ, but Christians at large had no such symbolic prejudices to be consulted and flattered. They were simply moved to prolong the Gospel of Fraternity and Love. By-and-by abuses crept into the frequent Love-Feasts; wealthy men used to consider it a merit to give costly entertainments and invite all the brethren,—as the Roman patricians nursed their popularity by furnishing gladiatorial shows to the populace. This also is a stereotype plate, cast in a universal language, unworn by the usage of centuries, upon which human nature prints its false invoices, expecting to smuggle through itself; namely, a dutiable thing without the duty. And the thing does get through the ports of earth, and pays enormous profits here. Perhaps at the final port of entry a sterner scrutiny awaits it. When Daniel Drew promised \$200,000 to establish a Meth-

odist college, he had a season of prayer in order to find out where the money was coming from. Fortified by addressing the Throne of Grace, he went down to Wall Street, and "in oneforenoon," said he, "I skinned those fellows out of just \$200,000." It was highly meritorious, and more practically useful than that ambition of the rich Christians which led to the breaking up of Love Feasts and the establishment of a sacrament. This, at first, was merely symbolical; then the idea of commemoration was added, till at length the old texts having attained to great authority the Lord's Supper became a mystic presentation of the union of the divine and human natures, and finally an exhibition of the Atonement of a Divine Man. But when the idea of a sacrifice was first interpolated, the wealthy men who had been deprived of their opportunity to purchase merit by dining and wining poor Christians, began to make costly offerings to the Church, because at each celebration of the Supper the names of individual donors were pompously announced. Every offering was supposed to cancel the sins of the person who made it. So there was a lively competition in the business of procuring absolution for sins by donations to the Church. From this there was but a step to the purchasing of Indulgences, the abuse which first woke the thunders of Luther.

The doctrine of the Atonement was stated indistinctly and in fluctuating terms till the twelfth century. Then the Theory of Salvation from Original Sin by the Sacrifice of Christ assumed its first definite form. Previously Augustine had declared his opinion that God did not require blood in order to be reconciled with man; but that we are reconciled to God when we observe his love in sending his Son into the world. It was a method which related to our affections because it turned upon the assumption of human nature by the Creator of it. But now Anselm of Canterbury gave the doctrine the distinct meaning that an incarnate God suffered for the redemption of mankind. All sin required to be punished because it was contrary to the honor and justice of Deity. For all purposes of redemption good works are useless, because they are impossible to the heirs of Original Sin. As sin proceeded from one man, it was inherited by mankind as one Collective Man, therefore One Big Man, as big as all Mankind rolled into one, must offer the satisfaction that is impossible to single men. In men there can be no perfect obedience, but there was in the incarnate Son. Then St. Bernard modified this statement by giving his opinion that God did not require the death of his Son, in itself, as an act of suffering, but he recognized the perfect obedience in this death for sin, and accepted the will of Christ for the deed which is impossible to man.

But the Catholic Sacrament of the Eucharist dispensed with all these metaphysical evolutions, and transformed the bread and wine into the actual presence of the Atoning Savior, and made every distribution of the elements a gift of an actual Redeemer to the participants. This mythological transaction was stoutly repudiated by Luther and Calvin, who escaped from the debasing melodrama into views of the Atonement which were derived from the Hebraizing Scriptures; and the atoning blood became the central dogma of Protestantism. No matter how you state it, as, for instance, if you say with some of the early reformers that the sacrifice of Christ is not the cause of divine love toward sinful man but the effect of it, a contrivance of love to retain possession of a degraded race and to redeem it. Whichever way you juggle with the doctrine, the ugly fact remains that the redemption of mankind depends upon faith in an infinite sacrifice made by an infinite man. Private goodness and repentance pass for nothing, unless the federal debt is paid by the federal Head. Works are filthy rags unless they are continually redeemed by faith in a great sacrifice that was once made for all mankind. Virtue saves nobody who repudiates that doctrine, and vice can ruin nobody who accepts it because the acceptance buys the grace of God and cleanses the believer. It is easy to perceive what must ever be the practical effect of turning loose this spirit of Paganism and Hebraism amid the terrific competitions of the modern world. Simple societies can support their simple temptations. Superstition exhales in observances and emotional excesses; but when the reaction sets in the individual finds that the tether of his vice is short, and the end of it soon reached. But in our complicated civilization vice rages like an epidemic engendered by ill-drained doctrines of the past. When people understand that the foulness of their nature can be vicariously carried off to be disinfected by the grace of God, the outlets of their premises fall into neglect. How divine is that silent ordinance which cleanses the body and keeps every hidden organ pure by insensible transpiration through the skin! When the million pores are choked, some vice that wanted to escape is obliged to retreat and fall back upon some vital function. This occurs in the moral life whenever a man attaches sanitary value to an inward mental straining toward a doctrine of substituted health. It is as if one should imagine that the dangerous fluxes of his body are carried off by a course of metaphysics.

How then, you will ask, have all the various forms of sacrificial religion been illustrated by such suffering for conscience' sake, such martyrdoms in the arena of tyranny, such benevolences, such unselfish devotion to the welfare of mankind? Did the power which animated these good works of patience and charity emanate from a false doctrine? Will men and women let themselves be thrown to beasts, be crucified sooner than recant, be cast in prison rather than offer to idols, strip their lives of every grace and joy, go unclad and fasting to clothe and feed the destitute, impoverish their store to put the cup of water to thirsting lips, merely to minister to an imaginary Christ, a pretended ransom for many, a fraud of

priests and theologians? The reply to this directs us toward the inexhaustible source of moral power which human nature lavishes upon all its creeds. It is no more strange that the Christian, inspired by faith in a Redeemer, should resist an empire which tried to force him to his knees, than that Leonidas, with the tradition of a liberating Hercules in his heart, should gird himself for the hopeless work of Thermopylae. The first monument to Miltiades who rolled up the Persian host at Marathon was a pile of armor called a trophy; Themistocles, excusing his own ambition, said that the trophy of Miltiades would not let him sleep. Miltiades was a brave, indomitable man, but he could not add a single cubit to his stature. His adoring countrymen piled his trophy up as high as they could reach. So the spoils of every contest magnify its hero to supernatural dimensions. The size fills every eye, but size transfers no inspiring flame to the soul. While the eye is looking at the magnified tradition, the heart detects the genuine form around which it is built; that is, another heart, self-sacrificing, at once altar and immolator, offering itself up for mankind, standing in the imminent breach, planting its sanguine color in the astonished faces of the enemy; a heart, willing enough by nature to ransom all men as fast as they are born; the perfect willingness fascinates men; it is so uncommon, so preciously strange, so senselessly peculiar; men strain their eyes with looking at the holy prodigal, till the tears are brought, through which his portrait looms too large for earth, and heaven itself is fastened down here to this planet, as if with tent-pegs, to make a screen to catch the lofty image. The human heart works this miracle of aggrandizing its lovers till they walk as gods. It is the old story, begun in the far East, migrating westward to improve various mythologies and set up an atoning Christ at last. The sons of God are always miraculously conceived in the lowly manger of the human heart.

It is also doubtless true that in ages of implicit faith in supernatural doctrine a great zest is imparted to enthusiasm. When the first Christians thought that the world might end before they died, so that the mortal eye would see the millennial Lord coming to take them up into the air, there was bred a fanaticism of carelessness, neglect of self, disregard of persecution and privation, a sublime contempt for all that man could do to them. This temper lasted long after the expected season passed and no apocalyptic heaven opened; it was transferred to the heirs. Even to-day this tradition of a Second Coming can mislead men into selling all they have, dissolving partnerships, and surrendering themselves to wait for the blessed appearance. When we observe from time to time a revival of an ancient temper like this, we see what it must have been like, and to what lengths it must have gone in its days of palmy sincerity.

So in the sincere days of every supernatural belief the imagination can inflame human virtue to great prowess. The mind and the heart are partners for life in all countries. But as a woman idealizes a man, so the heart overestimates the contents of the mind. A very fantastic and laughter-provoking husband the average mind has been, but the heart never finds it out. Superbly unconscious, absurdly content, lusting after no other partner, she keeps the family together, and brings up the children with memorable strokes of housekeeping.

But the valor of human goodness is by no means to be credited to the mental doctrine which is found in its company. It is a sex as independent as a woman's. If the doctrine serves to convey the sentiment of sacrifice, or to enforce it, it is owing to the generous assumption of the heart, just as every woman is infallibly bent upon regarding her husband as her heaven-born guardian and protector till he succeeds in destroying her illusion.

The mischief which a doctrine of vicarious sacrifice can do appears when it is emphasized against the natural goodness of the heart. Then Calvinism procures a decree of divorce against the faithful, long-tried helpmeet to whom so much of its profit and fame have been owing. She retires into the alimony of sentiment. She languishes in fruitless recollection of the hours of love. The ransoming spirit in Christ was her spouse; he now lives apart as a professional ransom, a commissioner of pardons issued to everybody who will make oath that virtue is unpardonable without his certificate. He has paid the price of all. He is the infinite pardon-broker who has settled on certain terms with the Infinite Justice. No justification nor salvation exists by righteousness alone.

Calvinism says: "Lord, I am willing to renounce all other hopes, refuges, and righteousness, and to rely upon thee only. Duties cannot justify me, tears cannot wash me, reformation cannot save me; nothing but thy righteousness can answer for me."

That is the key-note of American Calvinism frankly struck. The subtlest intellects of the creed attempt to modify the pitch of it, so that it can be assumed by a rationalizing civilization, in vain. As the sound of the trumpet suggested to a blind man the color of scarlet, so the Calvinistic tone, upon whatever instrument it is played, calls up the tint of substituted blood. Another person offers up his veins that the operation of transfusion may be performed upon us. Nobody was ever yet known to rally from that medical expedient which seems to give only a temporary filip to the invalid, and cheat him with false hopes.

The late Dr. Bushnell tried his wit upon the accommodation of the vicarious idea to the natural common-sense of men. By a series of admirable statements, logically conceived, he succeeded in reducing the popular idea to its vanishing point, and then administered to the moribund thing the extreme unction of all the sacrificial terms, swinging them

like censers, lifting them up like the Catholic host, striving to call into the falling eyes a look of love for the old words which he had just bled to death. As Dr. Bartol has justly remarked: "To explain Calvinism as he has done is to explode it. Like iron conductors melted by the overwhelming thunderbolt that passes through them, all the old double and twisted wires of argument are dissolved by his white-heated wit, which they could not carry. No total depravity, arbitrary election, substitutional redemption, in the sound sense, is left." It is enough to recollect that he was put under the ban of heresy, to be convinced that Calvinism has nailed its red rag to the mast, whence whose would cannot haul it down.

The latest and sincerest statement of the virtue of the atoning blood is found in a discourse just delivered in the Hippodrome. Here are some leading sentences:—

"If you are sheltered by the blood of the Son of God, you are as safe as any man or woman on the face of the earth. That is not character; that is not deeds; it is the blood. God says, 'When I see the blood, I will pass over you.'"

"The old preacher, on his death-bed, pointed to a text of the blood, and declared he put his hope on that alone. It was not his preaching, it was not his good deeds,—away with them; works are all right in their place, but they do not save us; it was not what he had done, but what the blood had done. So it is not the strongest, nor those who have the best character, who are the safest, but those who are behind the blood."

"When Christ was down here, they said to Him, 'What shall we do?' Did He tell them to build colleges, teach in the Sabbath-school class, preach to the drunkard, feed the hungry, and clothe the naked? Ten thousand times, No! This is it; the work of God is to believe on Him."

It is of little consequence that Calvinism commends the practice of virtue, urges men to be pure, honest, lovely, and of good report, supports beneficial reforms, encourages revivals of religion. The whole moral effort is impaired by the vicarious doctrine which looms in the background, the phantom of a Redeemer, vast, impressive, throwing the little candles of our good deeds into shadow, and blurring with the same shadow the outlines of depravity. A federal depravity is supposed to be sopped up by that shadow, leaving individual vices to run round at large. There is a late twilight reigning that is created by a sun long set; vermin skulk, night-birds go mousing in the kindly gloom. Calvinism throws the whole stress of a man's faith upon the subjective doctrine of an Atonement made once for all to the divine justice. No wonder that human justice is incessantly employed in looking up the believers in that doctrine. Moral practice must be insensibly weakened by any afterthought like this of substituted righteousness. A noted Methodist preacher says: "A saint is like a lame wife, who cannot walk without the arm of her husband. Her arm gets crooked because it has so long relied on this support. So a true saint is known by this crook in the arm, this falch that leans on Christ." Yes, in this country, at least, the saints are known by a crook. The consequences of leaning on another man's righteousness were never more compactly stated. Let us not mortify and tire ourselves with the long record of Calvinistic villainies; crooked whiskey, crooked paper, crooked bribing and conniving, crooked bank-accounts, might show even a Methodist what it is to lean on Christ.

When a doctor perceives that his patient is in need of dieting, and recommends to him rigid abstinence, but at the same time holds forth to him a great specific, pleasant and easy to take, but quite essential to a cure, what is the average result? The patient swallows the specific, and goes on feeding and drinking as before. The medicine does not entice physical morality out of any organ; at no point of its passage through the body does it make the man in love with abstinence.

All doctrines which originate in the idea of sacrifice and expiation appeal strongly to emotion; its expression will be modified by the different temperaments of the races, but it is always so absorbing and exhausting that persons feel as if they had been working out salvation. It preoccupies the nature, taxes its sensibility to the utmost; ordinary life seems trivial, and is resumed with a sense of annoyance. Like novel-reading, which summons a crowd of passions and drains all the tears we have to spare, it leaves us dissatisfied with the privations of the day, and somewhat relaxed to meet its duties. And vast numbers of people have only a limited amount of nerve-power. They can only stand a few gills of fervor. The hands tremble so afterward that they are quite liable to slip into the wrong pocket. Melting views of Christ melt away the distinctions of weak minds. A colored sister happened to spy another in the act of appropriating a goose. The slight "irregularity" was not noticed at the time; but in the evening, when they were present at a powerful praise-meeting, and the thief had reached a high state of glory, shouting for the Lord, the sister could not resist the delicious opportunity. Bending over, she whispered, "How about dat goose?" Calm, but resolute, like a detected culprit who calls upon Massachusetts to remember his services, she turned: "Lor' bress your heart! Do you spose I'm gwine to let dat goose stan' 'tween me and my Jesus?"

Now Calvinism expressly claims that the doctrine of the Atonement is not only energetic for righteousness, but indispensable to procure it; a doctrine too vital to spindle into speculative belief. It has a twofold energy: to direct divine grace toward the believer in it, and to melt the believer's heart into emulation for the Redeemer's perfect obedience. If this be so, I call upon Calvinism to justify its preten-

sion at the bar of facts. It is now busy in thousands of churches, in rinks and hippodromes, appealing to the soul's emotional sensibility, preaching a pilgrimage to the foot of the cross, counting the wounds that were inflicted for our sakes, catching the dripping blood in the cups of hymns, exhorting the country to wash its scarlet sins in the cleansing tide. I call upon this fervent Calvinism to explain why the vast multitude of the liberal thinkers, the unchurched, the unsectarian, the unorthodox souls in this country contribute the smallest *per cent.* to its popular vices of fraud, dishonesty, swindling, uncleanness; why the names of the most prominent sinners are high upon the rolls of churches of the Immaculate Conception, of the Redemption, the Incarnation, the Messiah; why it is that while the tenants of pews have their emotions fixed upon a single crucifixion, a thousand crucifixions of righteousness are daily perpetrated; why, when a traditional sentiment is kindled upon numerous altars of the Atonement, the souls of church-members are not purged by the fire? I call upon Calvinism to account for the prevalence of decorous and decent living among the Jews of this country, who furnish cases of crime so seldom as to confer an aspect of anomaly upon those which do occur. The Church will never forget that the Jews crucified their Lord, and were denationalized in consequence. Certainly among the blessings which have been dealt to Western nations an eminent one is the dispersion of the Jews. It has been bad for Jerusalem, I know; but I hope that they will never return there; for wherever they have carried their household God, the Psalm and the Prophecy have reworded the old hatred of idolatries and uncleanness. Driven out of Arabia into Italy and Spain, thence into Germany, Holland, England, they have gathered up treasures of learning and subtle thinking, of domestic purity and simplicity and the old hatred of tyrants, and with their habits of industry and thrift have enriched place after place to which they fled. Yet they are destitute of an atoning Savior. If it be true, as the theologians claim, that this indestructible race has been scattered in punishment for the crucifixion of a heaven-sent man, it has heaped coals of fire on the head of Providence by preventing a thousand crucifixions of heaven-sent genius in art, music, letters, and liberty. And here the chosen people are, bringing with them symphony and song, and lifting up a chant of goodness against the Orthodox Church which pretends to stigmatize them and to sail above the stigma a scroll of mockery,—*"This is the King of the Jews."* By their fruits ye shall know them.

And here, too, are one or two million Germans, who have come over here with both hands free and brain unshackled, to serve no creed, to be no party-slaves, animated with the hope of doing something to earn the title of American citizen, as Carl Schurz has done. Observe their unsophisticated ways, admire their harmless amusements and childlike abandonment to them. No sectarian taint is in their blood; they have no plety to speak of, they do not run in debt for meeting-houses, and are not eager to procure sittings in our pews. The great majority of them are cast loose here without a Redeemer; but they are well-acquainted with the element of sacrifice, and out of that nettle they have plucked the flower of probity. I call upon Calvinism to explain why the free-living, free-spoken, lager-drinking, unsectarian Germans contribute such a slight *per cent.* to the crimes which destroy confidence, uproot the tender plant of credit, poison the domestic air. Once a year in every German home there stands a Christmas tree; the American evergreen is not jealous of the custom, and graces it fragrantly. Look among the branches of that tree for gifts to America of tricks, dodges, confidence games, forgeries, recipes for overreaching. No doubt you may find some, but they are so insignificant in number, compared with the contributions of the sects to the season of Christmas, that you thank God the German does not sit much under the blessed influences of the Gospel.

I sometimes hear it said in extenuation that the Calvinists of every stripe constitute the more numerous body, and therefore naturally furnish the greater number of delinquents. This is a weak evasion of the vital point that Calvinism assumes to possess and to administer the sole, sovereign, indispensable specific for the prevention and cure of delinquency. The liberals of every stripe, the churchless, the creedless, the spiritualists, the neutrals, the half-hearted Orthodox, the Teutonic element, constitute a formidable and increasing crowd which practices virtue without the means of grace. How is it managed? That is the vital point of the great indictment; not that there is a merely natural rate of vice under the doctrine of the atonement, but that there is virtue of the highest style outside of it.

There is a favorite Orthodox text in Corinthians: "The preaching of the Cross is to them that perish foolishness." How is it then that those who really perish, who grow sear upon the tree of goodness, and come to the ground with such an audible rustling, sit so largely under that preaching? It has been the exclusive boast of Calvinists that "we preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumbling-block, and unto the Greeks foolishness; but unto them which are called, the power of God and the wisdom of God." I call, then, upon Calvinism to explain why those who are not called, who are not covenanted, who refuse the means of grace, to whom the preaching of vicarious righteousness is foolishness indeed, have furnished, and continue to furnish, this country with the men and women who cannot be buried without the fertile eulogy irrigated by our tears, upon whose graves flowers in the form of crosses are aptly laid to mark the bodies that brimmed over with self-sacrifice and perfect obedience, whose broken alabaster sends a perfume round the world. The lives of heroes damage Calvinism more than the lives of its ras-

cals and hypocrites, because the world imputes their righteousness to themselves and to their contempt for the notion that another man can be their substitute. When a republic follows Sumner to the tomb, the funeral march beats accent upon his freedom from doctrines that demoralize and vices that enslave; when the bells tolled in the early morning to apprise the country that Lincoln's heavenly part had been withdrawn to seek some native heaven, each stroke gave another dint to our heart's conviction that righteousness exalteth a nation; and we measured the height of the man, whose life was a ransom for many, by the depth of his indifference toward a sectarian atonement. And so we were content that the clear eye of Dr. Howe should be dimmed, his ears made deaf and his tongue speechless, because he had no religion to speak of, no doctrine to speak for him; but the blind received their sight, the deaf heard, and the poor, the insane, the idiotic, came to him, the heretic philanthropist, to be redeemed. Even Calvinism praised the life that was a cutting sarcasm on its pretension to a monopoly of divine grace. So, too, Charlotte Cushman left the mimic stage that lighted her so often the way to dusty death, and, with the brief candle of her sorrow in her hand, walked piously and with resolution toward the great reality, as innocent of being saved by blood as any child could be, her whole career a vital protest against the dishonorable stain, a loud dismissal of it,—"out, damned spot! out, I say!" And ere the crosses which her tender mates of the theatre sent to have her virtue lifted on them, have withered, I hear a whisper from a Calvinistic pulpit, a regret that she was not a Christian of the proper stripe, and that so much goodness, such industry, such unbending rectitude, such firmness and decision, went to make an actress! If dissembling be a prime quality of the actor's life, the Calvinistic Church is becoming fast a dangerous rival of the theatre, and might supply successive relays of actors to the stage instead of to the goal. The turpitude that is suspected to exist behind the scenes is not yet black enough to welcome as comrades these graduates of an atoning God. These vicarious moralists who hurry past the theatre as if it were the gate of hell, are rapidly buying up seats in the pit of our moral detestation.

What a crushing indictment do these incessant disclosures frame against the doctrine of the popular religion that Christ died for our sins! Will that perfect man assume the rascalities of preachers and church-members? Is he at this moment engaged in making intercession for them with God because he satisfied justice once for all by letting Jews hang him on a cross? If the divine justice has been satisfied, why do we unearth and prosecute these rogues? Shall mortal man be more just than God? Their atonement has been made, their faith has been pledged to it, their doctrinal redemption has been sealed. From the prison, the scaffold, the limbo of our disgust and wrath, they ought to pass, confident of hearing, "Come, ye blessed of my father!"

The glory of Calvinism was exhaled from its struggle with principalities and powers, and hovers over some memorable passages of the past. The Catholic and the Anglican churches crushed the Calvinist into a salutary minority. All the non-conforming souls, all the oppressed, all premature dreamers of a republic, naturally sought shelter under the wings of a protesting religion; they were freely spread; there Calvinism brooded over the little ones of a new era, and kept their hearts warm all night till day appeared. What could be more aristocratic than her doctrine that a certain number of souls are predestined to be saved? The system of caste in the ancient Brahmanism is not more aristocratic than a doctrine of the elect; it promises, in fact, that heaven shall be an oligarchy of predestined saints. In strict logic, Calvinism sets up an odious monopoly of souls. But few men are capable of being strictly logical; and none care to be where family and kindred are involved. So that a theology which was the most aristocratic in theory has been the most republican in practice, because it was forced into the attitude of protecting the lowly, and of advocating human rights. Its bearing was so much of a threat that the Old World could not tolerate its presence; it fled, to be a herald crying in our wilderness. Here it invented and stoutly defended municipal usage, congregational discipline. The parish and the town-meeting trained the people for liberty. Calvinism was a shield between natural principles of justice and arbitrary doctrines of discipline in Church and State. It stood up for the morals which were native to human liberty. If it had not done so, we should not be at liberty to-day to observe how those natural morals which once made Calvinism so illustrious, and a terror to tyrants, have shrunk "into the lean and slippered Pantaloon" of a decrepit doctrine. The great exigency of a struggle for life or death has passed away. It was not waged by doctrine, but by the ethics which are native to the heart. Even in the austere days of Winthrop, Dudley, and their colleagues of the soul, when the Antinomian and the Quaker felt the feel of Calvinistic dogma, there was an instinct that the Church and the Colony must stand or fall together. Schism in the one threatened the life of the other. Unity of doctrine was defended that municipal rights might be preserved. Eddies of opinion rocked the nest too violently; a half-fledged Massachusetts was all but spilled out and ruined. Since then Calvinism, in the April of 1688, bravely resisted the usurpation of Andros, and, in the April of 1775, finished the work of the preceding century. But when the anti-slavery agitation came we saw clearly that her morals had decayed. It was because her historical function had been fulfilled. She had given life and religious sanction to a great republic, employing in the effort every generous impulse of the natural heart. When she achieved success, these

impulses were put upon the retired list. Righteousness, that "cheap defence of nations," was dismantled, and Calvinism reduced herself to a peace establishment. Then her aristocratic tendency appeared, unmodified, unchecked. She became a great comfort to tyrants. Bishops, presidents of universities, leading clergymen, Orthodox politicians, furnished the slave-holder with a patriarchal Bible. The republican texts were printed in small type: "Stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made you free, and be not entangled again" (as you were in the Old World) "in the yoke of bondage"; "Do unto others as you would have them do to you"; "God hath made of one blood all people"; "The doctrine that cometh from above is first pure, then peaceable." The oligarchic texts were printed clear to every eye-sight: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's,"—if any be left let God have them; "Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh"; "Be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates." Calvinism gathered all the broken fetters which were the spoil of her warfare, and melted them down into fresh ones for the slave. Her foundry was still hot enough for that, but the fuel that the heart once supplied was all raked out of it. St. Paul himself sent back a fugitive slave. A great point was made of this by the Church which had run away from oppression. Her abandonment of natural morality during the anti-slavery epoch was the turn of the tide; it has not since rallied. So deep is the ebb that the whole coast of the country is covered with decayed and stranded reputations which used to float upon her spring-tide. Her doctrines are still at anchor in the offing, the lines of her model rest proudly on the water, but the temptations of a new epoch have riddled her from stem to stern. The teredo honeycombs her hull. Her doctrines, no longer inspired with a generous flame of hatred of tyrants, can no longer attract the natural ardor of hearts. A long and sickening record of profligate circumstances proves her to be unequal to the liberation of souls from the clutches of gain and passion; all the more incompetent because her doctrine of a substitution for sin flatters a tempted period into a morbid taste for sinning. The Orthodox rascal is vastly more logical than the Church which repudiates his inference. His Church has spent a thousand years in teaching him that he is justified by faith.

What is the remedy? No question was ever fitted with a plainer answer. Calvinism herself contributes an illustrious experience to the country's hope of becoming redeemed by substitution of the natural morals and piety for every doctrine which weakens private responsibility and supports sacrificial refuges for lies. No form of theology is strictly logical. The only irrefutable syllogism is morality.

TAXATION OF CHURCH PROPERTY.

ARGUMENT BEFORE THE JOINT SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF THE MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE, AT A PUBLIC HEARING, BOSTON, MARCH 14, 1876.

BY R. P. HALLOWELL.

MR. CHAIRMAN, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE:—

In the month of July, 1874, in compliance with a resolve of the General Court, the Governor and Council appointed a Commission to inquire into the expediency of revising and amending the laws of the State relating to taxation and the exemptions therefrom. The report of that Commission was duly made. A majority of the Commissioners reported unequivocally in the favor of the entire exemption of church property from taxation. It may reasonably be taken for granted that whatever can be said, or certainly the best that can be said, in the interest of exemption, is to be found within the covers of that report. The high character of the Commission, of which Professor Seelye of Amherst College, and now a member of Congress, was a prominent member, and the reputation of the President of Harvard College, whose essay upon the subject forms a part of the report, may well make it the text-book of exemptionists. We who petition for church taxation cannot do better, perhaps, than to examine the argument as stated by these Commissioners. I propose, therefore, to call your attention to what, as I read it, may be regarded as the main and leading argument presented.

Religion, we are told (page 166), is "the foundation of national prosperity"; and again (page 161), "the State uses religion, and favors its advancement, because it is a means of civilization." "State favor may more properly be granted to institutions of religion than to any other, since all the prosperity of any State—its culture, its freedom from crime, its social order—will rest ultimately upon the religion of its subjects, and will be perfect in exactly the degree that this religion is perfect and completely prevalent."

Religion is the root of civilization, and therefore churches must be fostered by the State. That is the argument of the Commission. Now whether or not "religion is the foundation of national prosperity," depends upon what is meant by religion. If the term is a synonym for culture, virtue, morality, and piety, the proposition might be granted. But such is not the definition accepted by the great body of churches now exempted from taxation, and for which the Commissioners plead. Such a definition is repudiated by nine-tenths of them. The Roman Catholic will tell you that his religion implies primarily the absolute authority of his Church, with an infallible Pope at its head. The great majority of Protestant Christians will tell you that a confession of faith in some theological creed, and a belief in the divine inspiration of the Bible, are the first requisites, the essential elements, of a religious life. Without this

faith and without this belief, whatever else a man may be, he is not religious. He may have acquired all the culture that a life of study can give; he may be distinguished for his learning, his virtue, his morality, and his piety; the object and aim of his life may be to promote "civilization," to secure "social order," and to increase "national prosperity,"—but he cannot be a church-member; he is not recognized as a religious man by the church organization. Theodore Parker was emphatically such a man, and there was not a church in the Commonwealth that would admit him into fellowship. Churches were to be found, however, wherein men prayed to God to make an end of Mr. Parker's life, because he exposed the superstition and denounced the bigotry of the churches. Church religion claims to include virtue and morality as subordinate elements, but it means and professes to mean, primarily and essentially, theological creeds, doctrines, and dogmas,—and this is what it has always stood for in the Christian world, from the time that Christianity gained State ascendancy over other systems of religion, in the Roman Empire, down to the present moment.

That churches have a monopoly of virtue, of morality, of piety, or of virtuous, moral, or devout men and women, some zealots may be bold enough to claim; but no one of ordinary intelligence and culture will admit it. That they enjoy a monopoly of theological religion, that this is the key-stone of the arch of almost every religious sect, no one will deny. Church religion, by confession of the Church, is theological religion; and this is the religion that puts in its claim for State patronage and favor, upon the plea that it is the foundation of State prosperity.

Test this plea by an appeal to history, and it cannot stand a moment. On the contrary, it is my profound conviction, that Church religion has ever been and now is an obstacle, a hindrance—I had almost said a curse—to civilization. The religious wars of Europe—often conducted with all the cruelty that human ingenuity could devise,—wars, not for the promotion of piety, virtue, and morality, but for the triumph of Church religion in the State; the Spanish Inquisition; the horrible massacre of St. Bartholomew; the banishment of the Huguenots from France; the conflict between Catholicism and Protestantism in England; the persecution of dissenters in the Massachusetts Colonies,—these, with similar facts to be found on nearly every page of history, go far to confirm this view of the question. I do not propose to ignore the service to civilization performed by the Christian Church, Catholic and Protestant, in past ages. I desire to recognize it; but, after making full acknowledgment, I do maintain that civilization would be far in advance of where it now is, had the world remained in entire ignorance of the theological differences that gave birth to religious sects,—to sects that have sought either to impose their religion upon the State, or to secure the patronage of the State, by prolonged and cruel wars, by imprisonment, banishment, and persecution, and by Church tithes; or, to use more modern phraseology, by Church exemption from taxation.

Such, Mr. Chairman, harsh as it may appear to you, is my estimate of the value of Church religion to the State, and in the light of history it is a fair and proper estimate.

But let us assume, sir, that I am altogether wrong, and that the Commissioners are altogether right. Let us assume that Church religion is the foundation of national prosperity; that it is to be recognized not only as one of the forces that enter into civilization, but as the basis of them all,—does it follow therefore that churches are proper objects of State favor and patronage? The Commissioners answer, Yes, and appeal to the history of this Commonwealth to sustain them. I answer, No, with all the emphasis and conviction of which I am capable; and I appeal to the same history to vindicate my answer.

The Commissioners quote some laws and resolves passed by the founders of this State, and thereby demonstrate very clearly that in the early days the Church was fostered and favored by legislation. The founders laid down the principle upon which to-day churches are exempted from taxation.

We agree as to that fact. They sought to establish a theocratic commonwealth. First, a true Church; second a righteous State. They sought to secure religious liberty solely within the limitations of Puritanism. They granted civil liberty where it was supposed to promote Church interests; they denied it wherever it was supposed to conflict with Church interests. And now, gentlemen, permit me to call your attention to the laws by which the Puritan fathers attempted to maintain their theocracy, to vindicate their belief that Church religion is the prime necessity of the State, and must be sustained by State patronage and favor.

The Massachusetts and Plymouth Colony Court Records show that Roman Catholic priests were forbidden to come within the jurisdiction of the Colony. The Quakers, denounced by the law as "accursed heretics," were fined, imprisoned, publicly whipped, branded with hot irons, and horribly tortured by the mutilation of their bodies. Persons above sixteen years of age, professing Christianity, might be punished for denying the inspiration of any of the books of the Bible. Any one denying the immortality of the soul was liable to banishment. Penalties were inflicted for failure to attend church-gatherings. Church-members alone were allowed to vote. The people were taxed to maintain church and minister. Minister and church were exempt from tax for the commonwealth; the minister in part, the church altogether.

Such, gentlemen, was the character of our Puritan laws. They were the natural and logical result of an honest effort—I might add of a theologically relig-

ious effort—to apply in the fulness of its meaning the proposition, that as “religion is the foundation of national prosperity,” therefore the churches are proper “objects of State favor and patronage.” Such was their character, and such, moreover, is to some extent the character of all legislation of which we have knowledge that has sought to engraft the Church upon the State. Often cruel and barbarous, it has always been unjust and oppressive. We may grant or deny the claim raised for Church religion by the Commissioners. We may accept or reject President Eliot’s theory that the State “needs” the churches; but the proposition that the separation of Church and State is a necessity under a free government, and that their entire independence is essential to the progress of civilization,—this proposition is one which, with solemn warning, history teaches us to accept; and it is one which the American people have accepted. Our Puritan Fathers experimented with the theocratic principle, and failed. Their experiment and failure teach us that any bond between State and Church, beyond that which guarantees protection to the churches in common with other corporations, is dangerous, if not fatal, to religious liberty.

We are to-day experimenting with the republican principle, and shall succeed or fail as we are faithful or false to it. Lord Macaulay, in his *History of England*, remarks that “in logic none but idiots admit the premises and deny the legitimate conclusion; but in practice we see that great and enlightened communities often persist, generation after generation, in asserting principles, and refusing to act on those principles.” So it is with us. Generations have passed away since we declared for a republic. We long ago repudiated theocracy; but the practices that grew out of it have been perpetuated with the pertinacity which has ever marked the history of religious bigotry and superstition. Our statute-books are still marred by theocratic and anti-republican laws. Great progress has been made, but reformatory work is still in order. Roman Catholics and Quakers walk the streets of Boston without fear of molestation; men express their opinion of the Bible and the doctrine of immortality, and are not punished. Every one is protected in his right to perform public worship when and where it may please him, or to omit such performance altogether. Church membership is no longer the voter’s qualification, and there is no direct tax imposed for the support of clergymen. So much has been gained; so far we have been true to our republican professions. We no longer pay church-tithes, directly as such; but, by exemption of church property from taxation, church-tithes are levied upon every tax-payer in the Commonwealth. So long as this exemption continues, we are false to our republican professions. President Eliot avows very distinctly (page 371) that the State exempts the churches simply because exemption is the “cheapest” method of supporting them. He apparently believes that the direct tax was abolished from motives of financial economy. If then it can be proven that the church-tithe system will save a few dollars for the treasury, the State is ready to return to it! Are you, Mr. Chairman, ready to indorse that proposition? Are the people of this Commonwealth ready to indorse it? Carry the proposition to the polls, and overwhelming majorities will declare that church-tithes were abolished, not from motives of financial economy, but in conformity with republican principles; and that an attempt to renew them would be an assault upon religious liberty. This, I assert, would be the verdict of the people, and it would be a righteous and true verdict.

President Eliot makes little or no distinction between churches and educational institutions in his argument for exemption. Here again I am sure he differs from the majority of his fellow-citizens. The State orders the establishment of public schools, enacts laws for their government, levies taxes for their support, pays the teachers out of the public funds, and compels attendance where children are not otherwise educated. Now if theological religion was, in the mind of the people, “the foundation of national prosperity”; if the people regarded it as essential as secular education; if, with President Eliot, they placed churches and schools on the same list of State necessities,—then we should soon see established in every city and town churches supported by direct taxation, ministers paid from the public funds, and pews filled by compulsion. The American States now do more directly for the promotion of secular education than any other civilized nation, Germany excepted; and by President Eliot’s own confession (page 375) they “do less for the institutions of religion directly than any civilized nation.” And yet we are asked to believe that the American people value religious institutions as they value educational institutions, and; to quote the language of the Commissioners, that “State favor more properly be granted to them” than to any other institutions! And an appeal to our history is made to sustain the proposition! It will do so only when we read it backwards. The American people, and especially the people of Massachusetts, have steadily but surely drifted away from the old Puritan moorings, and every day show less inclination to tolerate the Church assumption of a claim to State support.

I have quoted Lord Macaulay’s remark upon the inconsistencies of great and enlightened communities. I know of no more marked illustration of this inconsistency than is to be found in the attitude of this community towards the churches. The great majority of churches declare that the primary object of their existence is the salvation of souls, and that all the virtues combined cannot save a man from eternal damnation. To secure salvation, it is necessary to believe in certain dogmas of the Christian Church; as a logical necessity, therefore, it is the primary duty of the churches to convert the unbeliever and to strengthen the faith of the converted. What these

dogmas are depends upon the sect which announces them. Why is the Church divided into sects? Is it because men differ on questions of morals? On the contrary, we have a system of ethics common to our civilization, and practically accepted by Catholic and Protestant, Orthodox and Heterodox alike. For the promotion of social welfare we can and do work together harmoniously; but the moment religious welfare is in question, we split into opposing sects,—each sect has its special faith, and all else is heresy.

The existence of the sect is due to the paramount importance attached to the special faith. We have in Massachusetts nearly two thousand churches, by their own confession, established in the interest of sectarianism. They support nearly as many ministers, whose primary duty is to preach theological religion. They maintain thirteen hundred Sunday-schools in which teachers are busy sowing sectarian seeds, in the shape of theological dogmas, in the minds of children. That these children learn something of morals is admitted; but that they are instructed primarily and almost exclusively in the mysteries of theological religion cannot be denied. If you doubt the statement, read the catalogue of tracts published by the Young Men’s Christian Association, and examine the shelves of the Sunday School Union book-stores.

Now what is the attitude of the State toward these institutions? It meets them at the threshold of the public school and says: “No trespassing here. You cannot enter. The public school is for the commonwealth. You are for the propagation of theological religion. The State knows nothing of theological religion; has no place for Baptist or Quaker, Protestant or Catholic, Christian or Infidel. The State sees only a citizen of the Commonwealth.” And thus it rebukes the pretensions of the sects to public favor. Yet, curiously enough, after the citizen has entered the school, but before instruction is given, by order of the State the Bible must be read; and thus we are guilty of a glaring inconsistency. As if, however, to repair the error, to atone for the apparent concession made, and to turn it into stern rebuke of Church pretensions, it is ordered that the reading shall be “without written note or oral comment.”

These facts sufficiently indicate the attitude of the State toward the Church, as viewed from one standpoint. They show a fixed resolve to reject all applications for patronage, and a determination to resist every effort to form an alliance. They imply a policy that will ultimately confine the Church within the limits of private enterprise. On the other hand, however, we see the same community employing chaplains in the army, and navy, and legislative bodies. We see it sustaining a law that commits us to the support of sectarian institutions, to the advocacy of sectarian theology. By law we forbid theological instruction in the public schools, and by law we support schools established for the express purpose of teaching theology! The assessed value of church property exempted in this State is \$30,901,912,—a greater amount, by over two million dollars, than the value of educational institutions and all other exempted property combined. So long as this vast amount continues exempt, we are as surely taxed for the purposes to which it is devoted as we should be if church-tithes were collected by the tax-gatherer.

The conflict of principles involved in our attitude towards the Church marks, on the one side, the distance we have travelled from Puritanism, and, on the other, the distance we must journey before we arrive at republicanism. Shall we go forward or backward? We cannot stop where we are. The hands on the dial must move; and the question upon which you, gentlemen of the Committee, are to report to the General Court is in which direction shall they move. If you believe in a theocracy, you will favor the continuance of the exemption law,—you will help to push back the hands upon the dial. If you have faith in republicanism, you will ask for a repeal of the law, and so contribute your share of the work in the building up of a FREE STATE.—*New Age (corrected).*

THOMAS PAINE’S BUST.

Mr. Thomas Paine has still many admirers. Some of these propose to place a marble bust of him in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, “as a recognition of his great services in behalf of human liberty.” We think that Mr. Paine’s revolutionary services have been overrated. We are still willing to admit that he was a sharp and clever pamphleteer, an adept in a certain kind of political dialectics not of the highest order, but with a homely and vigorous way of asserting truths which should never have been disputed. His writings did the service of newspapers when newspapers were very few. The Congress used him, and to the best of its power rewarded him. He was not, however, a man for whom it was possible to do much. He was conspicuously a hard drinker even in those days of hard drinking, and he disregarded most social restraints. He does not seem to have kept the friendship of the leading men of the Revolution; and he died in solitude and comparative poverty. His memory is maintained by those who think as he did, that Christianity is a fraud and a delusion. His political services are used to bolster up his reputation by those who would not have cared much for his politics if he had been a professed antagonist of their disbelief. There may be historical propriety in placing his bust in the Hall. Its presence there can hardly be misinterpreted. It will be recognized as the presentment of Thomas Paine, the political writer, and not of Paine, the feeble and ignorant foe of Christianity.

In the exercise of that charity which the Bible inculcates, Paine may be forgiven much. He was an English democrat, who had been soured by the incongruities of the Establishment; he had been

harshly treated on account of his crude notions; and he had been greatly influenced by the shallow infidelity of the French Revolutionists, who repaid his devotion to the Goddess of Reason by shutting him up, and by intending to cut off his head; for he only escaped the guillotine by the accident of an accident. Of what Christianity really is, we do not believe that he had the remotest idea. He thought that his quarrel was with the Bible, when it was only a quarrel with bishops. His criticism was of that small kind which picks out inconsistent texts, and discovers contradictions in passages which have not the most remote connection. So far have we advanced that his best arguments, if they may be so called, would not, if first published to-day, attract the slightest attention, nor would anybody think them worthy of serious refutation. The opponents of Christianity are now men of larger calibre, greater knowledge, and more respectable method. They perhaps do less mischief than he did, because fewer people understand them. He was an infidel without science, erudition, or philosophy. He was simply a sharp debater, a caviller, and a technical disputant. As such he was immensely admired by minds of the same class, but it is a class for which we cannot entertain the highest respect, or to the guidance of which methodical thinkers in these days resign themselves.

Such as he was, Paine was admirably fitted to expose the folly and the injustice of king-craft, and to defend the cause of a people against oppression. He had learned in a severe school how dangerous and how unscrupulous is power unrestrained by public liberty. He comprehended the value of free political discussion, which the English ministry regarded as much more dangerous than any discussion of the truths of religion. The cause of the Colonies commended itself to his common-sense; substantially it was the same cause for which he had suffered in England. He had a robust way of dealing with shams and pretensions; he was no respecter of persons, and hardly of himself. If his admirers ask that a bust of him may be placed in Independence Hall, and the request is granted, we trust that some suitable inscription will set forth the special merit to which the concession is made.—*N. Y. Tribune, March 25.*

SOME PERSONS are so devotional they have not one bit of true religion in them.—*Haydon.*

Poetry.

[For THE INDEX.]

MY IDLE NEIGHBOR.

BY C. APLIN.

’Tis mine to sow the chosen seed,
To till with care unceasing;
Nature her kindly forces lends,
To give the sure increasing.
I thank the Giver for his gifts;
I own my debt of labor;
Nor seek to shirk my honest work,
As does my idle neighbor.

He loves not toil; all future good
Is naught to present pleasure;
He plucks in Spring the blooms which bring
The Autumn’s richer measure.
And full and rank the wild weeds grow,
Nor wait for care or labor:
The better growth comes not to sloth,
He finds, my idle neighbor.

I grudge no man his ease; but yet,
When every wind that whistles
Blows straight to me a myriad seeds
From off his crop of thistles,
I see that for himself alone
No man can rest or labor;
My bones must ache for his sloth’s sake,—
My thriftless, idle neighbor.

And when within my field of life,
Grateful to Him who gave it,
I strive to make the stubborn soil
Yield all that Heaven would have it,
It grieves me sore to think how much
It adds of care and labor,
To kill these seeds of evil weeds,
Sown by my idle neighbor.

PROVIDENCE, R. I.

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The Index.

BOSTON, MARCH 30, 1876.

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CARRIE BURNHAM KILGORE, Ch. Com. Phil. L. L.
805 Walnut St., Philadelphia.

FERDINAND FREILIGRATH, the famous radical poet of Germany, died in Cannstadt, near Stuttgart, on March 18, at the age of nearly sixty-six.

MR. KILGORE writes: "Please say to the free thinkers of America, that, if they will be as true to their free thought as the devotees of Orthodoxy are to their own stale and sickly superstitions, the \$1000 for our Congress of Liberals will be raised in ten days, and as much more for the Paine bust. Already \$10,000 have been raised for a bronze life-size figure of John Witherspoon, D.D., the only minister who signed the Declaration of Independence; and before the end of next month \$10,000 more are expected for the same purpose. Compared to him, Thomas Paine should have a monument of gold high as the shaft of Bunker Hill."

SPECIAL ATTENTION is invited this week to the scathing indictment of Calvinism by Mr. Weiss, and the able plea for church taxation by Mr. Halliwell. The immoral tendency of Orthodoxy cannot be better exemplified than by the fact that it is Orthodoxy which insists on taxing the whole people indirectly for the support of its own dogmas; and these two papers have thus a close, though unintended, connection which ought not to be overlooked. Mr. Halliwell gives a powerful illustration of the moral tendency which Mr. Weiss exposes in general; and the two essays, marked as they are by great earnestness and unflinching directness of statement, are companion-pieces which will certainly win the applause of INDEX readers.

THE FIRST NUMBER of Mr. Voysey's new *Langham Magazine* was received just too late for mention in the last INDEX. It is a very handsomely printed pamphlet of 112 pages, with large type and excellent paper. It contains eight papers of varying length: Introductory, by the Editor; The Future of Asia, by Prof. Newman; Thoughts on Strikes and Trades' Unions, by the Rev. B. Lambert; Health and Holiday Haunts—Cheltenham; The Agricultural Rip Van Winkle, by W. E. Bear; The Course of True Love, by Ascott R. Hope; The Stone Age in Europe, by Edward Clodd; and Religion, by the Editor. The soul of the new magazine is the advocacy of pure theism, and the opening paper by Mr. Voysey is marked by even more than his usual fervid earnestness and high moral purpose. The price of the number is half a crown; address S. Deacon & Co., 150 Leadenhall Street, London, E. C.

THE SPIRIT OF 1876.

The New York Tribune of March 25 has an editorial article on "Thomas Paine's Bust," which slightly animadverts on the project of placing such a bust in Independence Hall, and exhibits the mingled ignorance, arrogance, and malevolence with which Orthodox Christians usually write of Thomas Paine. We can now only notice its closing words: "If his admirers ask that a bust of him may be placed in Independence Hall, and the request is granted, we trust that some suitable inscription will set forth the special merit to which the concession is made." That is, as the context shows, it will be a great "concession" by this Christian Republic to outlawed "infidelity" to allow Paine's bust to be placed by public sanction in a public hall; and it should not be granted, unless a formal inscription distinctly explains that the honor must not be misconstrued as any indorsement of Paine's "infidelity" by the State! Why this insulting requisition, when no similar requisition is made in the case of Christians whose busts are placed in a similar position? Why should not the State be equally scrupulous to disclaim any supposed indorsement of their Christianity? Why should this bullying spirit be so quick to reveal itself the very moment that "infidels" are suspected of claiming simple equality with "believers"?

Because the State is cunningly entangled with the Church by Sunday laws, Bible-in-school laws, etc., and thus made to recognize Christianity by indirection as the State's religion.

Is there no self-respect, no honorable pride, no manly resolve among non-Christians to put an end forever to this insufferably contemptuous repudiation of their equal rights? Have we not all been publicly kicked and spit upon about long enough? It is now four years since THE INDEX first published the "Demands of Liberalism," which must be all publicly acknowledged to be just before the equal rights of non-Christians will be practically respected by the government. Patiently have we labored to rouse the spirit of manhood and noble self-assertion among the liberals of America, in vindication of their right to think freely and speak openly without being cowed by any State recognition of a religion not their own—the private religion of only a part of the people, which by usurpation alone robes itself in the imperial purple of nationality. So long as liberals submit to be thus trampled into the dirt,—to be called on to be thankful for favors and "concessions" when all they want is a recognition of their equal rights,—just so long will they be despised by their Orthodox superiors as craven-hearted, mean-spirited, cowards without burning convictions for which sacrifices would be made, slaves in fact of a religious system which exercises an actual dominion over the whole land. It makes the blood of any self-respecting and honorable freeman boil with indignation, when the Tribune, in the name and spirit of Orthodoxy, thus cracks its whip over his head. He looks about him to catch some sign of such a response as this long-continued bullying ought to have evoked—some token that the consciousness of EQUAL RIGHTS IN RELIGION has created a universal demand for STATE SECULARIZATION, which is its practical outcome. Shall he look in vain? It cannot be!

The Centennial Congress of Liberals at Philadelphia is called to proclaim our national independence of the power which has ruled and still rules us—the power of a Church which has no foothold in the United States Constitution, but has stealthily entrenched itself in statutes, precedents, usages, and the subserviency which it contemptuously exacts from the liberal public. It is time to break this long tradition of servitude, to declare the State's liberation from the invisible but strong chains of the Church, and to inspire the liberals with a new and mighty purpose to achieve the legal recognition of their absolutely equal rights as American citizens. Not only is their civil equality at stake, but their personal character as well; for no man can submit meekly to unjust impositions without personal degradation and demoralization. Orthodoxy has no right to enact its dogmas into laws. The acts of a republican government are the acts of the whole people; no citizen can escape responsibility for them, if he forbears to exert his utmost power to make them conform to justice and reason; and when the Orthodox majority insist on putting the government practically, though in defiance of the spirit and letter of the national Constitution, on an Orthodox basis, every liberal who consents to this usurpation even by silent acquiescence suffers a moral loss in his own individual character. It is his privilege, his right, his duty, to protest against such usurpation and to labor for the

State's deliverance from it; and no sophistry, however specious, can absolve him from this high obligation to make common cause with public freedom and righteousness. It is for these reasons, private as well as public, that we appeal to the liberals of the country to aid the movement represented by the Centennial Congress of Liberals alike by their presence, their influence, and their purse. The need of State Secularization is sufficiently obvious, when a great journal like the Tribune, relying on the brute power of Orthodoxy in its usurped capacity of a State religion, prates of its State "concession" to "infidelity." If patriotic heterodox citizens, with rights every whit equal to those of Christians, propose to commemorate by a bust in Independence Hall the distinguished services of Thomas Paine to the nascent republic, what business has any one to require that a "suitable inscription" disowning his "infidelity" shall accompany the bust? Of course the State should no more indorse Thomas Paine's "infidelity" than it should the Christian Orthodoxy of Samuel Adams; but it should no more disown the one than the other. It is only the covert denial that ours is a purely secular government which could sustain for an instant the Tribune's monstrously arrogant pretensions; and the Tribune's insult will recoil in a most righteous rebuke to itself, if it so rouses the liberals as to inspire them with a new-born and determined earnestness to make the Centennial Congress of Liberals a triumphant success.

What is all this Centennial enthusiasm for? Is it not to pay a nation's homage to "the spirit of 1776"—that spirit of burning devotion to liberty which was the creator of the nation itself? Well indeed it is to honor thus the splendid heroism of the fathers; but better still will it be to prove that the children have inherited the fathers' greatness, and know how to discharge the high duty of this generation as nobly as the generation of a hundred years ago discharged its own. The principle of STATE SECULARIZATION, which is the great commanding word of the incoming century, demands of us all the same sturdy fidelity which immortalized the founders of the republic. It means EQUAL RIGHTS IN RELIGION; and that means the full and unhindered development of all that is noble in humanity—the free competition of all human thoughts and aspirations, and the certain survival of the truest, the purest, and the best. Shall not to-day prove itself worthy to be the heir of yesterday? If all the festivities of the Centennial Year revolve exclusively about the accomplished purpose of the fathers, and do not enclose in germ the yet to be accomplished purpose of the sons, our rejoicings will seem hollow and meaningless enough to our own posterity. Magnificent and inspiring, verily, was "the spirit of 1776," and fitting above all to be honored to-day. But one hundred years hence will be asked the searching question, "What was the spirit of 1876?"

Liberals of America; it is for you to record beforehand the answer to that question; it is for you to write it now in deathless words. The love of liberty is as ancient as the human heart, but the great heroes of liberty have been those who knew and did what liberty demanded in their own age; and it is for you, or for none, to know and do what liberty demands in ours. Suns rise and set; but the glory of each day lies in the great thoughts, the unselfish purposes, the heroic deeds whose birth it witnesses. Cannons and drums, processions and parades and fireworks, celebrations and orations and songs, will impart no lasting glory to the great day of the Centennial Year; but it will be memorable forever, if then and there "the spirit of 1876" shall reveal itself in a grander grasp of the American Idea, and speak to the people the new word of national inspiration for a coming hundred years.

CONCENTRATE.

The ineffectiveness, so much complained of by liberals, and so justly too, is due in considerable measure to their diffusiveness. They scatter their force; worse than that, they divide their force, and set detachments against one another; they are jealous, factious, partisan. They support, or rather try to support, try desperately and vainly to support too many papers; they undertake too many incidental projects; they stickle over too many points of purely speculative interest; they indulge in too many private crotchets. The secret of combination is the willingness to concede some things for the sake of a few things of essential concern. The proposal to organize a comprehensive scheme to counteract the influence of Orthodox Sunday-schools by starting Sunday afternoon classes for the instruction of children in liberal ideas, was defeated by the jealousy of special

cliques, which held the same cardinal ideas, cherished the same hopes, looked forward to the same consummations, and agreed on the same general methods. But they could not cooperate because there were shades of speculative opinion just deep enough to mark off separate departments by lines of nomenclature. No single object presents itself with sufficient vividness to throw these half-imaginary distinctions into the background. It is one of the mischiefs of the theological training we have been subjected to, that the phantoms of opinion are more real than the forms of things; and concerns of vital moment are postponed to crotchets and prejudices.

There are two interests of vital moment to all liberals of whatever school: the release of the civil powers from ecclesiastical influence, and the overthrow of authority in the realm of mind,—the complete separation of Church and State, and the complete enfranchisement of the intellect. These two things all liberals who deserve or claim the name have at heart sincerely. These two things are of prime consequence to them all as elementary conditions of their success in other directions. The failure to secure these two things must embarrass all their movements. It would be wisdom on their part to set their personal differences aside, to waive considerations of party policy and sectarian aggrandizement, and throw their whole strength, pecuniary and intellectual, into the struggle for these objects. There is money enough, and mind enough, and earnestness enough to make the Liberal Leagues triumphant in their work of secularizing the government, and to beget modesty in the Catholics on the one side, and the Protestants on the other.

Progress goes on by successive steps. Not having seven-league boots, we must measure off the ground foot by foot. The ultimate goal is beyond the reach of many of our short generations; but each one of them may occupy and hold its position, and make fast its own link in the chain of development. The immediate apprehension is that in the diversity of interests, the multiplicity of aims, and the diffusion of energies, nothing of solid and permanent value will be accomplished. And if nothing is accomplished, it will be through the fault of the liberals themselves.

For the task is not difficult, at least, in its practical aspects. Multitudes are ready for the reform, and only wait to learn the method of it, and feel the impulse to it, from those who might be presumed to have it at heart. If the organs of liberalism in different parts of the country would lay their emphasis, for six, or even for three months, on two or three primary ideas, nothing more would be required. They would in this way, too, rescue themselves from the peril of death from inanition. As it is, ten minutes is a large allowance of time to give to the perusal of a liberal paper, and the result of the ten minutes' study is the conclusion that three-fourths of the contents of the paper is "stuffing," and the feeling that the silence of the "organ" would increase our enjoyment of sounds it would be pleasanter to hear. They lack what the French call a *raison d'être*, a justification of being,—and the efforts made to keep them in being exhaust the strength that would carry through some worthy cause. THE INDEX seems to be doing its part to infuse a working spirit into the liberal host. That its efforts should not be seconded would be indeed a misfortune.

O. B. F.

A PENITENTIARY VISIT.

A recent visit to the South Carolina Penitentiary, at Columbia, put before me in new light some of the difficulties of the present social problem in the South. It showed especially what a dense mass of mental and moral ignorance is to be enlightened before society here can be in a tolerably healthy condition.

This Penitentiary has only been in existence a few years. There was none in the State before the war. Indeed, it is the boast of some of the old South Carolinians that, in the good old days of slavery, the State had no penitentiary because there was no need of any. To them the necessitated establishment of a penitentiary is evidence of the demoralization and retrogression of society produced by the war and emancipation. Before the war, they say, the county jails were sufficient to take care of all criminals; and even these were not half-filled. But now the county jails are full, and the State Prison has its hundreds besides. And all this may be true, and yet the reasoning from it not be correct. For it is to be remembered that in "the good old days of slavery" the law was seldom invoked in the case of the negroes, either to protect them against crime or to punish them for it. More than half of the population of the State stood then outside of the courts and the law. The

colored people when slaves could be maltreated without redress, and for their own offences were punished by their owners without the clumsy intervention of judge and jury. Under the "patriarchal institution" the State had no penitentiary, because for the blacks every patriarchal family had its lock-up, and lash, and other modes of punishment, and because among the whites many crimes, now brought before the courts, were settled by the duel. The establishment of penitentiaries, strange as the remark may sound, is indeed a mark of advancing civilization. South Carolina, we may admit, did not have any before the war. Neither do savage tribes have such an institution.

It is not to be wondered at that the greater number of the inmates of the South Carolina State Prison should be colored; but I was surprised at the very large proportion of colored to white prisoners. For the year ending Oct. 31, 1875, according to the printed official report, there were received 312 prisoners, of which 21 were white and 291 were colored. At the time I visited the institution, last February, the number of prisoners was 399, and the excess of colored to white was quite as great as at the time of the official returns. If this were in a State where the administrative power is in the hands of the white conservative Democracy, we might suspect that justice was not evenly administered,—that negroes were arrested for offences for which whites were allowed to go free. But here, where the power is so largely in the hands of the blacks, where so many colored men are in office, making a majority of the Legislature, and generally of the juries, such an explanation is not admissible. It is doubtless true that in their changed social and civil condition some of the negroes have taken to a roving, lawless life. It is easier for them to steal than to work. And many who do work think it no great crime to eke out their subsistence by a little thieving. The explanation of this large proportion of negro criminality is to be found in the mental and moral ignorance on the subject of property, which is the natural effect of slavery. It would be surprising if the colored people, not having been allowed to own themselves or the produce of their own labor, should possess very clear ideas, or a very quick conscience, concerning the rights of property. Of the 312 prisoners in the penitentiary last year, 237 were there for "crimes against property," and 75 for "crimes against person." And one who is well-informed on the subject tells me, that, throughout the State, while a very large proportion of the crimes against property are committed by negroes, the whites are more addicted to crimes against person. He added, moreover, the curious observation that among the white population of the State, even to the very lowest class, there has existed, and still exists, a remarkably nice sense of honor with regard to rights of property, from the fact that stealing has been regarded as a *low caste* crime, being particularly a negro propensity. To be called a "nigger-thief" was worse to the white chivalry than to be a murderer.

In one respect the large *per centage* of colored convicts in this penitentiary is to be remembered to the credit of the colored administration of the power of the State. I have heard not a little since I have been in the State about the subjugation of the whites to the blacks, and about the determination of the blacks to get away the property of the whites. But this State Prison, established and maintained by the negro government, and filled almost wholly with negro violators of the laws, and mostly with violators of the laws of property, is a sufficient refutation of the absurdity of the charge.

I had intended to say something about the fact that some of the present inmates of the penitentiary have been members of the Legislature, and held other high offices in the State. But this is hardly an exceptional fact in these days. I am not sure that Massachusetts will not soon have as many of the like class of criminals in her State Prison.

In general condition and management, so far as means will allow, the South Carolina Penitentiary, I judge, will compare well with similar institutions in Northern States. It is under the superintendence of Colonel T. W. Parmele, formerly of New York, who is an excellent man for the post. He is wise, watchful, and humane, and has a real interest in his work. One most admirable thing that he has done during his year of administration is already showing its good results. As there is no separate prison in the State, and no Reform School, for juvenile offenders, this class of criminals is also sent to the penitentiary. Colonel Parmele soon saw the evil effects of these boys associating with the older and more hardened

inmates, and he separated them into a department by themselves. Then he organized them into a school, under an efficient teacher whom he found among the older convicts. This school has been in existence since last September only; but I heard there exercises which would have done credit to the members of any grammar school. The sixty scholars, with two or three exceptions, were colored. The boys have also a military drill, which helps to educate them to habits of discipline and order, and do, moreover, a part of the necessary work of the place.

Owing to lack of funds the chaplain, paid by the State, has been dismissed. But religious exercises are still conducted on Sunday for the prisoners, by the Young Men's Christian Associations, white and colored, of the city. This arrangement seems equally satisfactory to all concerned, and shows how easily one of the "Demands of Liberalism" for the entire separation of Church and State might be met without any loss to religion.

W. J. P.

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY E. C.

Four important decisions by the United States Supreme Court were announced early last week. The first relates to Chinese immigration, which the people of California have endeavored to prevent, or at least to check, by legislation which the Supreme Court now decides to be unconstitutional, and appends to the decision, moreover, a severe criticism upon certain laws of California. The two steamship lines which run between China and San Francisco are said to have all their steerage-room engaged for the coming six months for the transportation of Chinese, and as some of the steamers bring no less than 1,000 of these passengers each trip, it is evident that the Supreme Court has given a timely decision. The Chinese problem may eventually prove a very troublesome one, but some other solution than the prevention of immigration must be found for it. The second decision is upon an analogous subject, and declares unconstitutional a tax levied by the State of New York on immigrants, a tax which we believe was paid by the steamship companies, and which, if we are correctly informed, went to the support of a society which was supposed to look after the very poor or very ignorant emigrants who land in New York City. The third decision refers to the payment of a debt by a county in Wyoming Territory, the county claiming that a portion of the debt should be paid by two other counties which have been "set off" from the mother-county since the date of the contraction of the debt. The case derives especial interest from the fact that the principles involved are supposed to be the same as in an existing dispute between the two States of Virginia and West Virginia. The Court decides that the counties "set off" are not liable for the payment of any portion of the debt. The fourth decision is in favor of Mrs. Myra Clark Gaines, a lady who has spent literally the whole of a long life in the prosecution of a lawsuit, and whose case, whether she be right or wrong, is a telling satire upon the principal function of government,—the administration of justice.

The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations has reported against the confirmation of Mr. Dana, although, as we write, the Senate has not yet taken action on the report, and it is still possible that he may be confirmed. General Butler's and Mr. Lawrence's attempt to influence the Senate Committee against him has been conducted in a thoroughly dishonorable manner. The Committee has taken umbrage at a manly letter of Mr. Dana, in which he very properly declined to attempt any justification of his conduct before men who had been willing to form their opinions concerning him from the *ex parte* statements of personal enemies. Dignity of conduct is something utterly incomprehensible by men like Cameron, Morton, and Conkling, and if anything had been needed to prove the unfitness of these last two for the Presidency, their course with regard to Mr. Dana would be conclusive.

Caucus-managers, however, care very little about the result of the controversy with regard to Mr. Dana. Their heroes, naturally, are men of a different stamp, and it need create no surprise, therefore, that the New York Republican Convention last week passed a resolution instructing its delegates to the Cincinnati Convention to present the name of Mr. Conkling for the Presidency. This resolution was passed by a two-thirds vote, notwithstanding a courageous and unanswerable speech by Mr. George William Curtis in opposition. Mr. Conkling may be briefly described as a stock politician with a glib tongue, the chief element of his popularity being found in his ability to make a rhetorical stump speech. He is the fit associate of Babcock, Morton, Shepherd, and Grant, and is often spoken of as a confidential friend of the latter. He has been the earnest advocate of everything which has brought discredit upon the administration of General Grant, has voted for all of the latter's worst appointments, and, during his congressional career, has given no indication of the possession of the least administrative ability, or of any statesmanlike quality of mind. His election to the Presidency could result only in giving us four years more of all the worst features of the present administration.

Ex-Senator Stewart has been testifying at length before the Emma Mine Investigating Committee, and

although his testimony contradicts in some particulars that of Mr. Lyon, and although he still expresses his belief in the value of the Emma Mine, his revelations show at least that the Mining Company was projected as a stock-jobbing operation of the worst description, and incidentally, also, he damages his own character beyond all hope of successful repair. He admits, for instance, that, as attorney of Park, he made a very profitable bargain with himself as owner of the transferred claim of Lyon, in a manner analogous to that in which Pendleton, as President of a railroad company, made so excellent a bargain with Pendleton, as attorney of the same company. This method, by the way—that, namely, in which a man acting in one capacity makes a bargain with himself while acting in another capacity,—seems to have become in recent years a favorite money-making method. The Credit Mobilier affair, so much talked about a few years ago, was an illustration of this method on a large scale, and Massachusetts people have had recently familiar illustrations of the same method, modified to agree with changed circumstances, in Chapin as owner of the Ware River Railroad making an excellent bargain with Chapin as President of the Boston and Albany Railroad, or in Kimball as contractor (or contractor's partner) getting a good thing out of Kimball as director. Stewart, however, was by no means confined to this one method of making money out of the Emma Mine, but admits the use of other, and, as some people would consider them, more questionable methods; so that, whatever the fate of the mine, the ex-Senator may hereafter be dismissed into the company of Babcock, Pendleton, and Belknap, the fast increasing company of men whose public work is done. Schenck is ill in Washington, not having testified as yet, and Park is still to be heard from.

Governor Rice, in his recent proclamation appointing "a Day of Fasting, Humiliation, and Prayer," earnestly invites the people of Massachusetts to pray that God "will give power on earth to the Gospel of his Son Jesus Christ Our Lord." We know nothing whatever of the theological opinions of Governor Rice beyond what might be gathered by any one who should read carefully the above-mentioned proclamation, and we are aware, moreover, that, by an old provision of the Constitution of Massachusetts (whether in force at the present time or not, however, we do not know), the Governor of the State must be of the Christian religion. But if Governor Rice is, as may be presumed, a devout Christian, he should remember that a belief in Christianity, as he evidently understands it, is not among the requirements of citizenship in Massachusetts; that his proclamation is addressed to all the people of the State; and that some of the most estimable citizens of the State are Jews and Unitarians (omitting the names of other large classes) of whom none of the first and only a portion of the second could under any circumstances pray for power to be given "to the Gospel of his Son Jesus Christ Our Lord." In the supernatural sense implied by the Governor's phraseology. A governor should remember that he is chosen to perform certain specified functions of government, and should not take advantage of his position to intrude or to promulgate his personal religious convictions any more than the State Director of a railroad, for instance, who is chosen to look after the interests of the State, should take advantage of his position to make money for his personal use.

Daniel Drew has failed, and the Drew Theological Seminary, to which he is indebted to the amount of \$250,000—the interest on which sum he has paid annually for some years past,—will probably lose its expected legacy. We should like to suggest to the Methodists that the present would be a most favorable time for restoring to Mr. Drew the various sums of money which he has contributed to the Seminary and to other Methodist institutions. The opinions of most Methodists with reference to "ill-gotten gains" is certainly no secret, and although they have heretofore been somewhat guarded in their expressions when referring to Mr. Drew, we feel assured that by this time they must be fully convinced that Mr. Drew's gains have been decidedly "ill-gotten." By restoring the sums of money heretofore accepted, they would not only be helping to put old "Uncle Dan" on his legs once more, but would also give the best possible proof of the sincerity of their sorrow at having unguardedly received money made by the sinful practices of stock gambling.

Petitions, signed by members of the temperance organizations of sixteen different States, have been presented to Congress, praying for the passage of a prohibitory liquor law for the District of Columbia and the Territories; and that the use of liquors be prohibited among the officials of the civil, military, and naval services of the United States. Several thousand women of Massachusetts, also, have sent to Congress a petition asking for the prohibition of the importation of alcoholic liquors. With hearty sympathy for the purpose sought to be attained by these two sets of petitions, we have no feeling but that of antagonism for their methods. It seems impossible for many well-meaning people to understand that there is both a right and a wrong way of doing the right thing, and that most of the present methods of temperance reform are as wrong as any methods can be which are wholly unjustifiable either by reason or by practicability. We have never listened to or read an argument by an alcoholic prohibitionist which would not have been equally serviceable to the late Mr. Trask in his ridiculous crusade against tobacco, to Dr. Trail in his efforts to stop the eating of salt, or to any vegetarian who should desire to force his fellows to live without meat. The utter futility of the methods proposed is at once evident to

any one who will take the trouble to consider fairly the various elements involved. Prohibition might have been an appropriate method during the Middle Ages; it is as impossible to-day as would be a return to the social customs of those times.

The Senate has appropriated \$150,000 to feed the Sioux Indians, amending the House bill for the same purpose which appropriated \$100,000; has passed the Post Route bill; a bill to regulate the transportation of bonded merchandise withdrawn from the warehouse; has decided to sell the arsenal at Stonington; has ordered the printing of the eulogies pronounced upon the late Senator Ferry; and, after a lengthy debate, has passed the joint rule relating to the counting of votes for President and Vice-President. The House, early last week, by a vote of 100 to 108, refused to suspend the rules in order to repeal the Resumption Act; passed, after a hot debate and the acceptance of several amendments, a bill to prohibit contributions to election funds by officers of the United States; ordered the reduction of the area (to 54 square miles) of the military reservation at Fort Laramie; authorized commissioned officers to make deposits under the act of May 15, 1873; repealed the law which forbids the appointment, to any position in the army, of any person connected with the military, naval, or civil service of the Confederate States during the late rebellion; and appropriated \$82,000 to supply a deficiency in the manufacture of postal cards. The Senate is not likely to consent to some of the reductions of salaries ordered by the House, nor does it seem possible for the two Houses to agree upon any financial measure heretofore introduced. There is some prospect, however, that the hard-money men of both parties and of both Houses may unite in support of the much-needed financial bill, thus setting party aside for the sake of the country. The various investigating committees are still at work, and the return of Marsh, from Canada, may now enable the Committee to continue the impeachment proceedings against Belknap.

ENGLISH SKETCHES.

BY MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

LONDON, March 3, 1876.

Yesterday evening saw a demonstration in London worth the noting, if only for the hope that it affords of more earnest labor, and more successful toil. For a long time past an association has been in existence, entitled the National Sunday League, which has been endeavoring to promote a rational observance of the Sunday, claiming that the museums and art-galleries should be thrown open on the Sunday, and that the only day on which the mass of the industrial classes could enjoy them should not be the one day on which their doors were barred. The League has performed much useful service. It has encouraged the running of Sunday trains, has organized Sunday excursions, and has led thousands out from the beer-house, from the gin-palace, from the stifling court, and from the filthy alley, to taste in the open country the fresh charm of the bright flower-bloom, and of the deep, shady wood, the beauty of the thrilling carol of the lark as he rises quivering into the golden radiance of the summer sun, and of the full melody of the speckled missel-thrush, as he pours out his warbled symphony of joyous welcome to the cool evening breeze. Much has it done; but despite its efforts the museum gates still bear a padlock from Saturday night to Monday morning, and the art-galleries are close barred against the wistful looks of the sauntering, objectless wanderer. There is much of apathy; much of sloth; much of indifference. The League has in some way failed to grip public feeling, and to enlist enthusiastic support. Why? For the commonest of reasons. In opposition to the prejudices of respectability, it has yet ever endeavored to cling to the hem of the garment of the "respectable classes," striving to catch a clergyman to speak on its platform, eagerly anxious not to "needlessly offend," i. e., to be so colorless as to be almost invisible; striking against the dogmas of Sabbatarianism, it has yet ever struggled to shelter itself under some rag of orthodoxy and religion; pleading for the cause of the poor, it has yet ever striven to gain the patronage of the wealthy and of the aristocracy. Thus it has committed the fatal mistake of alienating its best friends, and of excluding from its platform those who alone could make those platforms a force. Naturally, therefore, the progress of the movement has been infinitesimally small, and little or no advance towards the object of the League has been made.

But the true reason of the stagnation now appears to have been recognized, and the meeting in St. James' Hall promises to be the starting-point of a more vigorous policy. To this meeting, in spite of strong opposition, Messrs. Charles Bradlaugh and G. J. Holyoake were invited as speakers, the majority of the Executive feeling that the enormous popular strength led by Charles Bradlaugh was worth the gaining, even though purchased by the loss of one or two Broad Church clergymen and dissenting ministers. The *Free Sunday Advocate*, in a sensible article, put the case plainly and tersely:—

"To achieve this ultimate triumph for our principles, we have to urge the great body of anti-Sabbatarians to extend their sympathy to an active, practical support. Let them not be ashamed of the faith that is in them. We must be tolerant to meet on the same platform, and act with those on the Executive with whom, on other questions, we may differ widely. A present case in point: among the invited and consenting speakers for our St. James' Hall meeting are Messrs. Charles Bradlaugh and G. J. Holyoake,—the one unquestionably able to bring large numbers to the support of the cause, the other

a recognized and respected exponent of public questions, and against the honesty of neither has a word ever been raised; yet we are pained, though not surprised, that some of our good friends shrink from being associated with them. We trust the time will be, ere long, when such earnest men as Dean Stanley, Cardinal Manning, and others, who agree in the value of opening museums, etc., on Sundays, will appear by the side of Messrs. Bradlaugh and Holyoake in the promotion of our common object. We complain, as we think justly, that the non-conformists, who exist as a body by toleration, should act so intolerant a part in opposing civil and religious liberty to ourselves, and we ask all who would see our national museums and libraries open, to ponder ere they write such a reply as the following from a Church of England clergyman to a friend who asked him to speak in St. James' Hall, and mentioned, as showing its unsectarian character, that Messrs. Holyoake and Bradlaugh were to speak:—

"DEAR H.—
I much prefer (excuse my joke)
A holiday to Holyoake;
And though the Fourth Command be bad law,
Far better 'tis than Mr. Bradlaugh."

This clergyman is said to be a Mr. Haws, a "liberal" of that multitudinous school who admire liberty when stretched to include themselves, but who call the same liberty license when it is claimed by any whose convictions lead them beyond the line at which these pseudo-liberals have stopped. Such men are no true champions of liberty at all. They only fight for their own freedom, in the hope that the triumph at which they aim may make their own opinions the Orthodox creed, and that they may win the right to tyrannize to-morrow by oversetting those who tyrannize to-day.

The Sunday League reaped the reward of their courage. Some threat was made that the Lord's Day Observance Society would pack the hall, and carry an amendment against opening museums; but they had now to deal with a stronger than they, and a few short words from the secular leader put a thousand sturdy followers in the hall as soon as the doors opened, an hour before the meeting, while others flocked in later, making all thought of riot an impossible absurdity. Before the appointed time the hall (holding comfortably some three thousand) was densely crowded, and it was decided to commence proceedings at once. The Hon. Auberon Herbert was the appointed chairman, and he led the way, followed by Mr. Bradlaugh and myself, and the whole train of speakers and special guests. When the Secretary announced the names of the speakers, the storm of applause which had greeted Mr. Bradlaugh's appearance broke out again with fresh vigor at the sound of his name, and caused some black looks to pass from one to another among those whose bigotry made them dislike the Atheist and Republican orator. Mr. Auberon Herbert was much applauded on rising, as also during his speech,—and thoroughly he deserved the people's welcome, for he is one of those whose patent of nobility is signed by Nature, an earnest, loyal, brave-hearted man, simple and straightforward, true as steel. He spoke with his heart evidently in every word, with some keen satire against the sham-sanctimoniousness of the religious public, and with a frank honesty that stamped "freethinker" on every sentence.

He was succeeded by a delegate from various trade societies, who was deputed to bear a message of their desire for the success of the movement, and the first resolution was then proposed and seconded, and the chairman called on Mr. G. J. Holyoake to support it. Some slight disturbance was attempted, but "the police" were too good, and speedily ejected the riotously-minded, who were of the feeblest character, and were promptly disposed of. Mr. Holyoake was very warmly welcomed, and sat down amid great applause. The resolution was then put, and carried with only one dissentient, its purport being that the closing of museums, etc., was distinctly injurious to the moral and intellectual welfare of the people. The second resolution, urging that the "present state of Sabbath legislation was shamefully unjust in favoring the rich and injuring the poor," was moved by the well-known Mr. Lloyd Jones, and was seconded by Dr. Bennett. Mr. Bradlaugh was called on to support it, and, as he rose to his feet, one understood the force of the objection made to him as a speaker by one of the promoters of a late public meeting: "No, don't ask Bradlaugh, or it will be Bradlaugh's meeting, and he will have all the glory." Round after round rang out, making all speech impossible, until he himself silenced them, and they obeyed the gesture of command. He spoke shortly only—more shortly than any preceding speaker,—but with a marvellous force and impressiveness, his magnificent voice dominating the irrepressible cheers which greeted almost every sentence. When he sat down, it was worse than ever; shouts, waving hats, handkerchiefs, umbrellas, the whole mighty crowd one mass of beaming excitement, the roar breaking out some five or six times, and the chairman—a friend much honored by Mr. Bradlaugh—looking placidly on, apparently well-pleased at the demonstration.

An amendment was at last moved by a street preacher, and seconded, but of supporters there were none, and the resolution passed amid general applause. At this point Mr. Bradlaugh quitted the platform, being far from well, the persistent applause breaking out once more to "speed the parting" speaker; here my personal experience of the meeting ends, as apparently must have ended that of a large number who attended it, as the crowd came pouring down the stairs, satisfied with the speeches they had heard. So successfully ended a grand demonstration in favor of "Free Sunday for free people," a demon-

stration that, vigorously backed up, cannot fall of effect.

This question of the Sunday opening of museums is a very important one. The churches and the beer-houses are the only places open on the Sunday, save the one or two halls for lecturing, such as that managed by the Sunday League, which provides a good lecture and some "sacred music," and that of our party, affording a lecture and subsequent free discussion. Drunkenness is much preached against; but an Act of Parliament throwing open art-galleries on the Sunday would do more to empty the gin-palaces than a hundred Permissive Bills. Culture the faculties, refine the taste, enlarge the capabilities of enjoyment, and drunkenness will be really destroyed, because the bestial pleasure it imparts will be replaced by a higher enjoyment, and those who have drunk deeply at the pure and sparkling fount of intellectual refreshment will not stoop to quench their craving for some pleasure outside the circle of their daily toil in the foul and muddy stream of intoxication. Give art, give beauty, give science, some chance of casting a ray of light through the thick clouds of ignorance, and the human mind will turn to that sun-glory, as the flower grows towards the day-god, and drunkenness will melt away and disappear as the night vanishes before the sweet, fair face of the dawn. We do not ask to close the churches. "Free Church in free State" is our motto. We claim freedom to kneel for those who wish to kneel; we claim freedom to stand for those whose knees are too stiff to bend; and we urge, we insist, that all means of culture shall be accessible on the one day when that culture is possible to the poor, that the museum shall be as open as the Church, that the picture-gallery shall rival the beer-shop, that our English people may be saved from the curse of intemperance, and beauty, art, and taste may brighten the homes of the poor.

Communications.

THE BISHOP'S LECTURE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I have read with great interest Bishop McQuaid's lecture and your reply, and think that you have in general successfully met his arguments; in especial, it would be impossible to improve upon the thoroughness with which you have exposed the fallacy of his advocacy of the "parental prerogative." That is an argument that no consistent Roman Catholic has a right to make.

You seem to me, however, to have missed one point made by him, and that, in my eyes, the most vital of all; that is, the impossibility of secular education pure and simple. What you say of denominational schools teaching irreligion so many hours a day is good so far as it goes, but it does not go very far. In the first place, the school is not merely a place of instruction, but a place of discipline, and it is in the enforcement of discipline, not in teaching how to parse, or draw maps, or do sums, that the teacher finds it hard to abstain from religious appeals involving the recognition of certain dogmas. In the next place, all instruction, even in the common schools, is not confined to bare facts of universal acceptance, but controverted points in all departments continually come up; and we must bear in mind that theological doctrine is, in this point of view, merely a type of differences of opinion which occur equally in political, and even scientific, questions. It is hard not to confess some cogency in Bishop McQuaid's reasoning, when he says of the teacher: "If he but mentions the name of God, of Christ, with reverence, he leads his bright pupils to infer that such a being exists; if he evades a question about God, he indicates doubt; if he speaks the name with a sneer on the lip, or a shrug of the shoulders, he inculcates to young, impressionable minds his contempt for such a belief." In this paragraph is contained, I must confess, the only part of Bishop McQuaid's argument which has given me any embarrassment.

Nevertheless there must be a fallacy here, or we must perforce admit the supremacy of Church over State. Bishop McQuaid does not say so, but he knows that his argument, logically carried out, will land us in a theocracy. What is true of the schools is equally true, and perhaps even more true, of the State. If a secular State is possible, so is a secular school. If instruction cannot be divorced from dogma, neither can administration. Moreover, if danger lurks in the school-room, all the more does it lurk in society; the boy cannot pass through the street, enter a railroad-car, glance at the daily paper, without seeing or hearing something which may shake his faith. And if the assiduity of priests and parents can protect against these perils, it surely can protect against the far smaller perils of the school-room. The *Syllabus* is a logical deduction from this doctrine of Bishop McQuaid.

In short, while we may admit that instruction which shall be absolutely indifferent on all controverted questions is very hard to secure, we may claim that it is not hard to secure instruction so fair and conscientious in its impartiality that it will exert absolutely no influence in the face of the steady impressions of home and the Sunday-school. Catholic parents know this, and are perfectly willing to trust their children to the common schools for secular education, having a well-grounded confidence that the Church influences will be strong enough to protect their faith against all danger from this source, as well as others; it is only the priests that are hostile to secular schools, for the reason that they are not

satisfied to have the children brought up as Catholics, but will have them Ultramontanians.

W. F. ALLEN.

MADISON, Wis.

[It was not strictly a reply to Bishop McQuaid that devolved upon us, but rather an independent consideration of the same subject from a different point of view. Hence we made no attempt to answer all his arguments, or even to notice all his points. His tactics seemed to be to charge along the whole line, and assail the defenders of State education with a vast multiplicity of arguments—to confuse and overwhelm them, as it were, by the sheer force of numbers. Our own tactics were to concentrate our forces in a solid column, and break the opposing line at the decisive point. The arraignment of the school system for injustice (and that is the one great and formidable accusation) rests wholly on the theory of "parental prerogative"; and we made it our chief object, first to annihilate this theory, and then to establish positively the State's just right to tax all without exception for the public schools. But a great deal remains to be said on other points which we by no means overlooked, but were simply unable to treat in a single lecture. Professor Allen, in the above most excellent letter, treats one of these other points very candidly, and points to a true solution. The fact is that there is just as much impossibility of religious education pure and simple as there is of "secular education pure and simple." But this is a subject we cannot discuss in a mere note.—ED.]

NO FOR THE CONGRESS!

CURWENSVILLE, Clearfield Co., Pa.,
March 12, 1876.

F. E. ABBOT:

Dear Sir,—When I read Bishop McQuaid's lecture on "The Public School Question," I experienced an almost irresistible impulse to blossom out in a reply; but, when I learned that you intended replying, I felt easier, confident that you would do the subject justice. The result proves that my confidence was not misplaced. I cannot praise your effort too highly. It is just the right word in the right place, and at the right time. It covers the ground completely, and leaves nothing to be said. I am much obliged to the Bishop for furnishing the opportunity. The Cincinnati Times published a synopsis of Bishop McQuaid's lecture; so I sent a copy of THE INDEX containing your masterly reply with a request to publish; but I am not very sanguine of success. The editor of the Times, while professing to "hear both sides," publishes only such articles as favor the Bible in the schools and God in the Constitution. Blessed are they who do not expect justice at the hands of a bigot! They shall not be disappointed.

If alive, I will be at the Centennial Congress. It will be an occasion of as much interest to liberals as the laying of the corner-stone of the temple at Jerusalem to the Jews, or the fabulous resurrection of Christ to Christians.

Yours truly,

HARRY HOOVER.

THE TRUE BASIS OF THE SCHOOL.

SANDY SPRING, Md., 3 mo., 17th, 1876.
MY DEAR FRIEND, FRANCIS E. ABBOT:—

I wish to congratulate thee on thy reply, in the number of THE INDEX of the 9th inst., to the articles on the Public School Question in the two preceding numbers by Bishop McQuaid. I had looked forward to thy promised reply to his very plausible and, as viewed from his stand-point and with his assumptions, very strong presentation of the question, with very great interest, and I must own, some little anxiety; and I regard it as a complete success in every respect.

The several points presented in thy concluding paragraph, which cover the whole ground involved in the question, I scrutinized closely; and, being an old mathematician, I carefully examined the arguments by which each point is supported, and I regard them irrefutable.

A foundation on which the public school can alone firmly and steadily repose, as thy article shows, must be individual freedom, intelligence, justice, and right, which induce truth, kindness, and love.

With sentiments of high respect and esteem,

I remain thy sincere friend,

BENJ. HALLOWELL.

Soon after Chief-Justice Chase assumed the gubernatorial chair in Ohio, he issued his proclamation appointing a Thanksgiving day. To make sure of being Orthodox, the Governor composed his proclamation almost entirely of passages from the Bible, which he did not designate as quotations, presuming that every one would recognize them, and admire the fitness of the words as well as his taste in their selection. The proclamation meeting the eye of a Democratic editor, he pounced at once upon it, and declared that he had read it before—couldn't exactly say where,—but he would take his oath that it was a downright plagiarism from beginning to end. That would have been a pretty fair joke; but the next day a Republican editor came out valiantly in defence of the Governor, pronounced the charge libellous, and challenged any man living to produce one single line of the proclamation that had ever appeared in print before.—*Toledo Commercial*.

Sanctuary of Superstition.

WHAT TO PRAY FOR.—For the conversion of two young men for whom much prayer has been offered. For the conversion of a son, and that his wife may be restored to health. Pray that the pastor of a Unitarian Church may be converted from "Spiritualism." For a sister, that her eyes may be healed. For a minister who is embarrassed financially, but trusting in the Lord for relief. Also for his wife, that she may be delivered from the bondage of discontent, and wholly sanctified.—*Requests for prayer, given in Dr. Cullis' "Times of Refreshing," March, 1873.*

THE CURSE ON DANCING.—We heard last week of some remarks that were made upon the subject of dancing by Rev. A. Wheeler, pastor of the First Methodist Church of this city, that struck us as being too fanatical for any Christian to utter when clothed in his right mind. In order, if possible, to do justice to Mr. Wheeler and also to our readers, we called upon him at his residence on Elm Street, and stated the purpose of our visit. Mr. Wheeler received us very courteously, and we took from his lips, word for word, the remarks uttered by him in an afternoon prayer-meeting one day last week. Mr. Wheeler said: "That the dancing community seemed to be doing all that they could to break up the religious interests. I have read well-authenticated instances, under similar circumstances, where Divine Providence had seemed to interpose in a summary way, and persons had been carried from the ball-room dead. If it were necessary for the salvation of souls that the balls should be broken up, and in order that they be broken up it were necessary that a similar visitation should occur, I would not object to it, and hope it might occur." Comments are worse than useless.—*Warren (O.) Constitution, Feb. 15, 1876.*

DRIVING THE DEVIL OUT OF A SICK CHILD.—John Wybrick, who lives at 3513 Broadway, is a blacksmith in comfortable circumstances. For the past three weeks one of his seven children, an infant, has been dangerously ill with a disease, the symptoms of which are exactly similar to those of the cerebro spinal meningitis. As the child did not appear to get any better, a priest was called in on Monday evening; and to this priest the balance of this tale principally relates. Upon viewing the child, the clerical gentleman informed the parents that it was troubled with witches, and he thereupon laid a large cross on the legs of the little one, which, he claimed had the effect of driving out the evil spirits. They were only driven out of the body, however, to enter the bed upon which the sick child was lying. By direction of the priest this bed was then taken and burned in the back-yard; but, as it was asserted that the devil still lingered in and around four other beds that were in the house, they also were burned up. As a crowd had gathered on the occasion of the first burnt offerings, these beds were taken to a remote spot on the river bank, where an extensive conflagration ensued. The beds in question were worth about \$150, and the neighbors, upon hearing of the sacrifice to be made, pleaded piteously for them, but without avail. Not only were the beds destroyed, but also bolsters, pillows, and everything else which was constituted of feathers. Despite the well-meant efforts of the parents to aid the recovery of their child, they were informed the witches still held possession of it, and that they could not be driven out; and, further, that the child could neither recover nor die until the evil one took its departure. The parents devoutly believe all that has been stated by the priest, and, in token thereof, a large cross hangs at present from the neck of the sick one; but its healing powers do not seem to be very efficacious.—*St. Louis Democrat*.

GENERAL STATUTES OF MASSACHUSETTS, CHAPTER 84.—Section 1. Whoever keeps open his shop, warehouse, or workhouse, or does any manner of labor, business, or work, except works of necessity and charity, or is present at any dancing or public diversion, show, or entertainment, or takes part in any sport, game, or play, on the Lord's Day, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding ten dollars for every offence.

Section 2. Whoever travels on the Lord's Day, except from charity or necessity, shall be punished by fine not exceeding ten dollars for every offence.

Section 4. Whoever is present at a game, sport, play, or public diversion, except a concert of sacred music, upon the evening of the Lord's Day, or upon the evening next preceding the Lord's Day, unless such game, sport, play, or public diversion, is licensed by the persons or board authorized by law to grant licenses in such cases, shall be punished by fine not exceeding five dollars.

Section 6. No person shall serve or execute any civil process on the Lord's Day; but such process shall be void, and the person serving or executing such process shall be liable in damages to the party aggrieved in like manner as if he had no such process.

Chapter 165, Section 19. Whoever wilfully blasphemes the holy name of God, by denying, cursing, or contumeliously reproaching God, his creation, government, or final judging of the world, or by cursing or contumeliously reproaching Jesus Christ, or the Holy Ghost, or by cursing or contumeliously reproaching the holy word of God, contained in the Holy Scripture, or exposing them to contempt and ridicule, shall be punished by imprisonment in the State prison not exceeding two years, or in the jail not exceeding one year, or by fine not exceeding three hundred dollars, and may also be bound to good behavior.

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THE WEEKLY SUN.

1876. NEW YORK. 1876.

Eighteen hundred and seventy-six is the Centennial year. It is also the year in which an Opposition House of Representatives, the first since the war, will be in power at Washington; and the year of the twenty-third election of a President of the United States. All of these events are sure to be of great interest and importance, especially the two latter; and all of them, and everything connected with them, will be fully and freshly reported and expounded in *The Sun*.

The Opposition House of Representatives, taking up the line of inquiry opened years ago by *The Sun*, will sternly and diligently investigate the corruptions and misdeeds of GRANT's administration, and will, it is to be hoped, lay the foundation for a new and better period in our national history. Of all this *The Sun* will contain complete and accurate accounts, furnishing its readers with early and trustworthy information upon these absorbing topics.

The twenty-third Presidential election, with the preparations for it, will be memorable as deciding upon GRANT's aspirations for a third term of power and plunder, and still more as deciding who shall be the candidate of the party of Reform, and as electing that candidate. Concerning all these subjects, those who read *The Sun* will have the constant means of being thoroughly well informed.

The Weekly Sun, which has attained a circulation of over eighty thousand copies, already has its readers in every State and Territory, and we trust that the year 1876 will see their numbers doubled. It will continue to be a thorough newspaper. All the general news of the day will be found in it, condensed when unimportant, at full length when of moment; and always, we trust, treated in a clear, interesting, and instructive manner.

It is our aim to make the *Weekly Sun* the best family newspaper in the world, and we shall continue to give in its columns a large amount of miscellaneous reading, such as stories, tales, poems, scientific intelligence, and agricultural information, for which we are not able to make room in our daily edition. The agricultural department especially is one of its prominent features. The fashions are also regularly reported in its columns; and so are the markets of every kind.

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THE CENTENNIAL

CONGRESS OF LIBERALS!

AN APPEAL TO ALL

Who believe that the United States should be

Absolutely Secularized.

And who favor the movement to carry out the principle of

STATE SECULARIZATION,

As indicated in the "Demands of Liberalism."

605 WALNUT ST., PHILADELPHIA, }
March 1, 1876. }

To the Liberal Leagues and the Liberal Public of the United States:—

The General Centennial Committee, appointed at a convention held in this city last September for the purpose of making all necessary arrangements for a General Centennial Congress of Liberals next summer, have decided to call said Congress to convene at Philadelphia, Saturday, July 1, 1876, further particulars to be hereafter announced.

Each organized Liberal League will be entitled to send five delegates as special representatives—three in addition to its President and Secretary. But all individual Liberals who sympathize with the general objects and aims of the Liberal Leagues will be equally entitled and welcomed to seats and votes in the Congress.

REPORT PROMPTLY!

In order to lessen as much as possible the expenses of the delegates, each League is requested to elect them as soon as possible, and to report their names to the undersigned through its Secretary. All Liberals, delegates, or individuals who desire and intend to participate in the Convention are requested also to forward personally and immediately their names and full post-office addresses to the undersigned, that he may be enabled to make the most favorable terms possible for their accommodation. If notified early, he hopes to secure for them a considerable reduction in railroad fares, and to provide boarding-places at perhaps half the usual rates of the season.

Donations Solicited!

The Centennial Committee on Finance having through their Chairman transferred their duties to the General Centennial Committee, the undersigned has been appointed to attend to the financial department, and hereby appeals to the Liberals of the country for voluntary contributions to the amount of One Thousand Dollars. This amount will be needed to make the Congress a complete success, though the utmost possible will be done with whatever is contributed. The officers of the union of Liberal German societies propose to raise the same amount for their convention, and have already raised \$600 of it. The Young Men's Christian Association here have already spent this year nearly \$100,000 in preparation for the Centennial, in the interest of Orthodox superstition; it would be a pity if all the friends of "Liberty and Light" could not do a hundredth part as much for the cause of national development and free humanity! The money will all be wanted (and much more could be advantageously expended) in providing suitable halls and headquarters, advertising the Congress liberally in advance in the chief dailies of the country, defraying the necessary expenses of desired and invited speakers, paying *verbatim* reporters, publishing a complete pamphlet report of the proceedings, etc., etc. What is done must be done speedily, since the arrangements should be completed, as far as practicable, by the first of May.

All sums donated will be duly acknowledged in THE INDEX, and a full report of all expenditures will be sent for publication in the same paper. Remittances should be sent to the undersigned, 605 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. Will not all friends of the movement respond heartily and at once?

DAMON Y. KILGORE,

Acting Treasurer.

I believe that Mr. Kilgore is a gentleman of unimpeachable personal integrity, and that all money remitted to him as above will be faithfully and economically devoted to the legitimate uses of the Congress.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT,

Chairman of the General Centennial Committee.

At the preliminary Convention held at Philadelphia on Sept. 17, 18, and 19, 1875, for the purpose of making arrangements for the Centennial Congress of Liberals, the following were appointed a

General Centennial Committee:

FRANCIS E. ABBOT,

DAMON Y. KILGORE,

ALEXANDER LOOS,

ISAAC RHEN,

BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD,

H. S. WILLIAMS,

with power to increase their number to fifteen. The completion and success of the arrangements must depend on the liberality of the friends of the movement, who are respectfully and earnestly solicited to contribute the necessary funds.

The Index.

Three Dollars a Year.

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VOLUME 7.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, APRIL 6, 1876.

WHOLE No. 328.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fairs shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

- ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF —.
- ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in —, and thereby to effect the total separation of Church and State in fact as well as in theory.
Also to send delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League, when organized, and to cooperate heartily with all the liberals of the country in furtherance of the above-named object.
- ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.
- ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.
- ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.
- ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League.
- ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

lon. No person shall ever in any State be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious practices shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

MOODY'S success as a revivalist is attributed by a correspondent of a religious journal to the fact that "he is a thorough business man in matters of religion." No rationalist will be permitted to smile at this statement.

Do NOT forget to inscribe your name early in the list of those who prove their earnestness for State Emancipation by subscribing to the fund for the Centennial Congress of Liberals. In coming years, that list may be looked back to as the Centennial "Roll of Honor."

CARDINAL CULLEN, of Ireland, in his Lenten Pastoral, recommends heads of families not to allow their children to read the newspapers, but to read the lives of the saints instead! Which manifests the zeal of the Holy Apostolic Empire for the mental illumination of mankind.

THE BOSTON LIBERAL LEAGUE will hold a public meeting at Parker Memorial Hall, corner of Berkeley and Appleton Streets, on Friday evening, April 14, at half past seven o'clock. Rev. M. J. Savage, of this city, has kindly consented to address the League on "State Secularization," and other addresses will be made.

MISS SUSAN B. ANTHONY has evinced a noble spirit in paying off a debt of \$10,000 in which she was involved by the failure of the *Revolution* a few years ago. She has lectured one hundred and twenty times this season, it is said; and has just paid off the last dollar of this heavy debt with the proceeds. Such an instance of high integrity is worthy of all praise.

THREE STATE CONVENTIONS of the Republican party, in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Vermont, have just adopted resolutions on the school question. These are quoted below, and especial attention is due to the Ohio one; but they are all non-committal as to Bible-reading in the schools, and show that the Republicans do not dare, as a party, to take positive ground either for or against this sectarian practice. It would be a great misfortune to perpetuate this non-committalism in the United States Constitution.

THE REPUBLICAN State Convention at Burlington, Vermont, on March 29, adopted the following among their resolutions: "Third—The safety of the republic depends upon the intelligence as well as the virtue of its citizens, and it is essential that the public school system shall be maintained in order that every child may receive such education as will fit him for useful citizenship; and we are unalterably opposed to any diversion of the public school money for any purpose whatever."

THE REPUBLICAN State Convention at Columbus, Ohio, adopted a platform on March 29 containing the following plank: "Seventh—We stand by our system of free common schools, supported by general taxation. There must be no division of the school fund, and no sectarian interference with the schools." If the members who voted for this resolution should become aware of the full meaning of their own words, they would be amazed to find they had voted to exclude the Bible from the schools.

ACCORDING to the *London Times*, "a papal brief, addressed to the Archbishop of Toledo, denounces

the liberty of worship in Spain as leading the State with a great crime, and paving the way to the persecution of Catholicism"! Catholics in America are very anxious that no attention should be paid to what the Church does in other lands; like Bishop McQuaid, they declare themselves "in no way responsible for Mexico, South America, Spain, or any other country in the world." But, begging their pardon, they are responsible, just so long as they uphold the Church, which will do precisely the same things here, if it ever gets the opportunity. To allow religious liberty, forsooth, is to persecute Catholicism; therefore, down with religious liberty! It is almost funny to see radical lambs trying to let the lion out of his cage that they may lie down in peace together, and innocently hoping it will not be inside of him.

THE REPUBLICAN State Convention at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, on March 29, adopted the following resolution as a part of their platform: "Resolved, That the common safety demands that our public schools shall not only be free to all, but shall be preserved from all special or partial control. All attempts to divide the school fund for any purpose whatever, or to divert any portion of it into a channel not under popular control, are to be frowned upon and resisted with unyielding firmness. The recent defeat, in the Democratic Legislature of Maryland, of a Constitutional amendment to secure the common school fund of the State against division reveals at once a grave danger and its source, and, with other like facts, makes plain the duty of Congress to submit such an amendment to the Constitution of the United States as, when adopted, will effectually defend the common school system from all enemies, open or covert."

THE OPENING paper of this week's issue of THE INDEX is by Rev. Father Lambert, of Waterloo, N. Y., who offers a reply to our recent lecture on the school question. We have carefully read and considered it; but we can neither profess to regard it as a "valid reply" nor yet go over the same ground unnecessarily a second time. To do this would be unprofitable as well as tedious; but we will do for Father Lambert what no Catholic journal would do for us—give him a full and fair hearing before our readers. A few misreports (of course accidental) of our own words we have ventured to correct in the body of his article; but we can only enter a general disclaimer as to many "inferences" he draws. Whether he strengthens or weakens Bishop McQuaid's argument, our readers will be able to decide for themselves without our help. It is only necessary to remind them of one passage in our lecture: "In saying this, I do not in the least question the sincerity of the Roman priesthood." Father Lambert seems to have overlooked this passage.

ALL WHO believe that a secular State can in justice support only secular schools should heartily combine to make the Centennial Congress of Liberals a great success. It is needed to give audible and emphatic utterance to the conviction of all true Americans that the public school system, in order to be permanent, must be just to all; it is needed to warn the people against precipitately adopting a Constitutional Amendment which shall practically put the schools under the control of the Protestant sects as a whole. This species of sectarianism is exactly as bad as any other; and the greatest danger at present seems to be the probability of the adoption of Mr. Blaine's studiously ambiguous amendment to the Constitution. It would be better to wait till the public mind is brought to a clear perception that all the institutions of a true republic, so far as they are sustained by general taxation, must be absolutely secular; and a well advertised, well attended, and well reported Congress of Liberals would exert no small influence in directing wisely the general tendency of public opinion on this subject.

LIST OF LIBERAL LEAGUES.

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 BOSTON, MASS.—F. E. Abbot, President; J. P. Titcomb, G. A. Bacon, Secretaries.
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A Catholic Priest's Reply.

BY REV. L. A. LAMBERT.

EDITOR INDEX:—

In an editorial paragraph on your lecture on the school question, you say: "If a valid reply can be made to our reasoning, we shall be the first to admit its force." These words are my excuse for submitting the following thoughts on the lecture.

Mr. Abbot sets out by objecting to the word "sect" as applicable to the party which he represents. The secularists are strenuous in the endeavor to appear above and independent of partisan or sectarian influences, that they may the better assume the character of unbiased and disinterested judges, and look down with the superiority of gods on poor wrangling mortals below. But the world has a stubborn way of not always granting us the positions we would fain assume. The secularists must submit to the inevitable, and be classed where they belong; that is, among partisans and sectarians of the bitterest type. Their bitter hostility to everything that does not meet with their approbation; their supercilious contempt for those who differ with them; their obtrusive professions of patriotism, philanthropy, and interest for the "whole people"; their exalted opinion of their wisdom, and their contempt for the opinions and rights of others when they clash with their theories; their disposition to attribute improper motives to opponents; their slurs, jibes, and gulps at religion and Christianity stamp them in indelible characters as an anti-Christian sect,—insidious and crafty, because wanting the candor to avow openly their ultimate principles and designs. As a sect, then, they must expect to be treated, and as such their arguments must be met.

A few extracts from Mr. Abbot's lecture will illustrate what I have said. He says: "What makes a party partisan or sectarian is the selfish endeavor to sacrifice the interests of the whole people to their own interests as a mere part of the people; while, if any party aims honestly (the secularists, for instance?) at securing the interests of the whole people, by rendering equal and exact justice to every individual, it is strictly a non-sectarian party." This definition has no force except on the supposition that the secularists are honest, sincere, and unselfish, while all Christian denominations are dishonest, insincere, and selfish; therefore they are sectarian, and secularism is not. This is an instance of that cool assumption of superiority on the part of the secularists which cannot for a moment be tolerated in debate. This method of dealing with the school question is characteristic of the secular party. They assume to be the judges of individual rights, and the sole guardian of the interests of the "whole people," forgetting that the good of the whole people is best attained by securing to each individual his constitutional rights.

Once for all, then, it must be understood that we are all on equal terms, equally sincere, honest, and patriotic, and any argument based on an assumption

to the contrary is not valid,—not worthy of respectful consideration.

MINOR OBJECTIONS.

Under this head Mr. Abbot groups together the following objections to the State schools, and makes what he deems a suitable reply.

1st. "It is charged (by Bishop McQuaid) that the State school system, as compared with the Catholic parochial school system, is unduly expensive, and the merit of economy is pleaded for the latter."

Mr. Abbot concedes this to be true to a certain extent. The Bishop says the Catholic schools cost no more than one-fourth or one-third the expense of the public schools. The former replies by insinuating (a method of statement in which he is an adept) that the education given in the Catholic schools is inferior to that given in the State schools. As this is entirely gratuitous, I meet it with a simple denial. The Bishop, in his lecture, contends "that in every important point, except costliness of building and expensiveness of teachers, Catholic schools are superior to State schools. They are more thorough in secular studies; there is less cramming, and less multiplicity of useless branches of learning." And he challenges comparison. This, it would seem, ought to settle this point, at least until some tangible proof is given to the contrary.

Mr. Abbot does not understand how the denominational system, if universally adopted, would reduce the total cost of education on the whole. The Bishop anticipates this difficulty by quoting from an article in the New York Daily Bulletin on the cost of education in Germany, where the denominational school system is in operation, showing that our State schools cost most and perform least. The first portion of his statement he proves by a comparison of figures. The heaviest taxed German State is Hesse Cassel. The tax for school purposes is 34 cents per head, while in Cincinnati the tax per head is \$2.50. Yet more than half the children of Cincinnati are in denominational and private schools. New York City taxes four dollars per head, while 30,000 children attend denominational schools. And in Boston, in 1873, the cost was seven dollars per head. This argument from economy is, then, based on fact.

2d. "The gradual expansion of the common school system, by the establishment of State high schools, normal schools, and universities, is dwelt upon as a great evil which will ultimately involve the destruction of denominational institutions of the corresponding grade."

Mr. Abbot sees no injustice in this crushing out of existence those denominational institutions that have been established by the people at their own expense, inspired by a love of education. He rather boasts of it as a proof of the superiority of the State institutions. There would be little to boast of if the State institutions were placed on equal footing, subject to fair competition. That evangelical institutions of learning are fast fading away before the atheistic development or expansion of the State school system is a fact clearly set forth in Bishop McQuaid's lecture. We look upon this decrease of Protestant colleges with regret, for with all their faults they inculcated some idea of Christianity. But whose fault is it? The evangelicals have no one to blame but themselves. For many years back they have been playing into the hands of the secular party in their blind zeal to oppose and harass their Catholic fellow-citizens. By their assistance that party, having grown strong, begins to make manifest its ultimate purposes. It turns upon those it has used; it casts them aside as the gambler throws away the cards with which he has won the game and robbed his antagonist. One of the first results of this unfortunate action on the part of non-Catholic Christians is to see their colleges and institutions of learning fade away, as the Indian fades and disappears before the onward march of the white man, or as a ship disappears in a storm. Will they learn anything from this? Will they see their mistake before it is too late? Will Mr. Abbot's contemptuous fling at their "worthless colleges" open their eyes? We fear not. In the words of the Bishop, "some heads take in truth slowly, others only by trepanning."

It is unjust for the State to paralyze legitimate private enterprise and monopolize education, when it cannot give it as cheaply or as satisfactorily as it can be otherwise obtained. The very existence of those denominational institutions at which Mr. Abbot laughs is a solemn protest against the usurped monopoly of the State. He draws a comparison between Cornell and Michigan Universities and the other institutions. These universities should certainly show some result for the money they have received from the people. Millions have been expended on them, and what is the social result? It is absolutely imperceptible, intangible,—like a drop of water in the ocean. So few are their students compared with the great bulk of American youth that when they return to society they are lost sight of, and are as rarely to be met with as the proverbial dead ass. The denominational institutions must contend against incalculable odds. The vast resources of the State are pitted against them, and yet they struggle on, and their beneficent influence on society is manifest in every direction. A generous sentiment of manhood would impel us to look upon them with admiration for their self-sacrificing earnestness and manly perseverance in the face of unjust and unfair competition, and yet we find one who rejoices when they are crushed beneath the juggernaut of secularism.

Again, State universities work injustice to the great majority of the people, by giving to the sons of the rich, who can afford to send them, an education to earn their living in the learned professions. This is taxing the poor to educate the rich. Any system, school or otherwise, that brings about this state of

things, has in it something radically wrong. To put all on an equal footing, poor children should be taught trades at the expense of the State. Give a man sound religious principles and a good trade, and you will have a good, reliable, and trustworthy citizen, precisely what the State needs. An expansion of the school system in the direction of trades would be far less objectionable than the expansion towards universities; as well as more wise and statesmanlike. Two of the prime causes of crime are the ignorance of trades and the education of youth to be above honest toil. The learned professions are overstocked; it is only the few who enter therein succeed, and the greater number who fail are unfitted for work, and, being ashamed to beg, they are led to use or abuse their education in questionable directions. This leads to the forgeries, frauds, and swindlings in high and low places, that are beginning to make us, as a people, notorious over the civilized world.

3d. "The common school system in its present form and manner of administration tends to demoralize both teachers and children."

To this Mr. Abbot replies first, by referring to the "Report of the Committee of Education of the New York City Council of Political Reform, etc. Published in 1873"; and secondly, by the truly Arabic reply, "You're another." Neither of these is satisfactory. The public school system is now on trial; the Catholic schools and convents will plead when their case comes on. When it does come on, I would suggest as the most appropriate place for the trial the ruins of the convent under the shadow of Bunker Hill Monument, that was burned some years ago by a Boston mob; it would be exceedingly appropriate in this our Centennial year. If Mr. Abbot had given less of his space to the bugbear of *Patria Potestas*, and a little more of it to those statistics to which he merely refers, this portion of his lecture would have been more interesting, and perhaps more convincing. He has only thought fit to give a reference to a book that not one in ten thousand will ever see; but how could he give statistics?—since there are no statistics of common-school morality or immorality; for, from the very nature of unconvicted crime, such statistics are impossible.

The Bishop's statement in reference to the immoral tendency of the common school system is based on documentary evidence, to which he referred. He quoted Henry Ward Beecher, a defender of the school system in full accord with the secularists. This representative New England divine in his last Thanksgiving sermon drew a picture of the condition of morals in the Brooklyn schools, in which were teachers who held their positions by the sacrifice of their virtue to the school commissioners. Thomas W. Field, Superintendent of Schools in the same city of Brooklyn, in his annual report of four or five years ago, gave a fearful account of the prevalent immorality; so fearful, indeed, that, in the interest of morality it was thought better to suppress the foul and disgusting details. Professor Agassiz, in his address before the Massachusetts State Teachers' Association, stated that by their own confession a majority of the unfortunate women of that city traced their introduction in their downward course to the public schools. To show that these are not isolated cases, I will add some additional, that will convince the reader that the immoral tendency is the rule and not the exception.

Some years ago the public were startled by awful developments of depravity in one of the female schools of Boston,—so horrible indeed as almost to stagger belief. The Boston Times published the whole occurrence at the time; but after creating great excitement for a few days or weeks, the matter was quietly hushed up, for fear of furnishing arguments to the Catholics and injuring the character of the common schools. Some few years ago other startling facts came to light in New York, involving the character of leading school commissioners and of some of the principal female teachers in the common schools of that city. These scandals became too notorious to be either blinked or smothered, and several of the secular papers came out to lash vice in high places. Among these was the New York Sunday Dispatch and the New York Tribune. The Dispatch opens its article with the following caption and paragraph:—

"PROSTITUTION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS."

"Oh! that we had gone to reside in the backwoods, or been buried among Hottentots, ere we had been felt constrained to write that startling caption, and print what will be found beneath it. If we are to have our children instructed by the abandoned of both sexes; if our very schools are to be converted into instruments of harlotry; if our courtisans are to teach the young idea how to shoot, we had better adopt the creed and practices of Mormons at once. We were anxious to disregard it; we have tried to throw it overboard; we have endeavored to force a disbelief of its contents; we have made every effort to convince ourselves that such a horrible state of affairs cannot possibly exist; but all these endeavors have resulted in a conviction that it is our duty to bring the matter before the public. . . . It appears that the object of some who seek an election to the school-board is not only to 'raise the wind' whereby they may live in splendor and fare sumptuously the remaining years of their lives after they have become politically defunct, but also a desire to satisfy their carnal appetites, at the expense of the honor of some of the weak-minded engaged in teaching the female youth of the city. Does the public doubt that a school-commissioner or trustee can succeed in obtaining a mistress from among the many female teachers employed? If so, doubt no longer, because, unfortunately for truth and virtue, and for all the frail victims of their lust, they are too often successful! And for what consideration do these deluded creatures become the willing sacrifice to a scoundrel's

beastliness? Ambition. Ay, elevation from the position of a virtuous subordinate to that of a crime-steeped principal. In the ward in which I reside, there exists at this time an exemplification of the truth of my assertions, and the fact is as notorious as that the commissioner, who holds a prominent position in one of the important committees of the board, required all who made application to be appointed teachers to submit themselves, not to an examination as to the capacity of the applicant, but to a personal inspection by his fair innamorata! If the applicant's personal appearance pleased this queen, she received an appointment; if not, the applicant was told that her examination had not proved satisfactory, and she could not be appointed. The remedies that have been resorted to periodically, to rid ourselves of present and to prevent future grievances, have proved abortive. . . . What answer can we make to this charge? The purity of our children is too sacred a trust to be trifled with in the minutest particular. We cannot submit for one moment to even a bare suspicion that the children are contaminated by the touch of lewd and lascivious preceptors supposed to be virtuous, or glared at with libidinous eyes by lechers in educational office,—the thought that innocent young girls instructed in these schools may be subject to these vile influences. What evil could not be effected by a depraved mistress of a commissioner,—a mistress in charge, as principal, of a female school? How speciously and skilfully she could distil the leprous poison into the ears of the eldest for the advantage of herself and her official paramour! We shudder as these thoughts find utterance" (see *Spalding's Miscellanea*, page 679).

Such documents as these, and many others could be adduced, prove the tendency of our public schools to demoralize both teachers and pupils. And they are sufficient of themselves to establish the statement of the Bishop. We take no pleasure in tearing the bandages from this ulcerous institution which is honey-combing and sapping the very vitals of a noble and naturally virtuous people; but when this Mookanna of American society is held up as the boast of our age and the glory of the republic, to touch which is treason; when millions of dollars are expended in support of it; when strenuous effort is made to perpetuate and make it compulsory; when it is beginning to be used as a huge and irresistible machine to crush out what little of positive religion remains to save society from social shipwreck,—it is time to tear away the mask and exhibit it to the gaze of a deceived and too confiding Christian people, in its naked and revolting deformity.

O Christian people of whatsoever creed, in the name of the Christian's God whom we all adore, pause and reflect on the consequences of your action! Your prejudices lead you to join with those who would expel all religion from the schools, because in doing so you oppose your Catholic fellow-citizens; but remember, when we are down, they will turn and rend you, and they will make of the school system a propaganda of infidelity or atheism, and obliterate revealed religion from the land. Instead of uniting with them under the vain delusion that you are using them and not they you, you should unite with all who believe in Christianity, and come to some compromise before it is too late.

THE CATHOLIC CONSCIENCE.

Mr. Abbot recognizes the importance of conscience, and says that the strength of the Catholic objection to the school system lies in the claim that the Catholic conscience is violated and oppressed by this system. This is not strictly correct. It is our individual sense of justice and equality before the law and the Constitution that is violated. The Catholic conscience, unlike that of the secularists, if they have any, is not aggressive. The Catholic conscience is not violated by the school system as such, nor by Protestant worship and instruction therein, nor by the negative atheism of the secularists, providing they are not compelled to pay for it. It is against the Catholic conscience to support Protestant worship, or pay for Protestant instruction, or to support schools from which God is formally and officially expelled. But, as the case stands at present, he is compelled to support either the one or the other of these kinds of schools, and it is this fact that constitutes the invasion and oppression of his conscience. From this invasion the Constitution pledges him immunity, and in the schools as they now exist, or would exist under pure secularism, this pledge is broken. It is against this instance of bad faith that the Catholic protests.

The Catholic conscience is the measure and expression of his reason, instructed in the law of God as interpreted by the Church. It is of no consequence, whether he gets it from the priests, bishops, or the Pope, providing he has adopted it of his own volition; it must be respected and protected as long as it does not infringe on the rights of others, or lead its possessor to violate the laws of the land. But "uninstructed and perverted consciences are altogether too common in this world." Mr. Abbot never said a truer thing than this, and, as an illustration of it, I quote from his own lecture delivered in Syracuse some time ago: "There is good in Christianity, but its fundamental idea—being founded on the will of Christ—is not consistent with liberty. It is enough to say to a Christian, 'It is the will of God, or of Christ,' to satisfy him of a duty. But this is not sufficient." This, I presume, is the kind of non-sectarianism Mr. Abbot would have taught in the schools.

[It is necessary to interpolate here the statement that the alleged quotation from our "lecture" is only an inaccurate newspaper report of an extempore speech. The pith of our argument was that Christianity rests on will, while Free Religion rests on

reason—that the former finds its highest law in a supposed personal command of God or of Christ, while the latter finds its highest law in the impersonal obligations of natural morality. It was the substitution of mere will for natural reason and right, as the supreme authority in morals, that we declared to be inconsistent with liberty. By this statement we abide.—ED.]

WHAT THE CATHOLIC CONSCIENCE CLAIMS.

The Catholic conscience demands "Catholic education for Catholic children." This is the whole question in a nutshell. But of whom is this demanded? Not of the State. The Catholic does not demand education of the State; he would rather that the State would confine itself to its legitimate sphere—law-making and police duty,—and leave education of children to the parents, their natural and divinely appointed guardians. But if the State assumes the office of teacher and taxes him to support schools, the Catholic tax-payer claims to have some voice in deciding what kind of education is to be given,—particularly to his own children. This is what he claims, and he claims it not as a Catholic, but as a tax-payer and a citizen, and his claim is at least as good as the secularist's. If the State will not furnish education to suit us, we object to its furnishing, at our expense, an education that will suit the secularist.

"Whoever wants sectarian education is perfectly free to get it; but it must be at their own cost."

And I answer, whoever wants schools from which God is expelled is free to have them; but it must be at his own cost. To say, as Mr. Abbot does, that the State does not prevent Catholics educating their children at their own expense, is to defend the State against an attack that no one has made. The Catholic, being a citizen and a tax-payer, has the right to send his child to the State schools; in this right is the right that his child's religion be not tampered with. When he brings his child to the school, he finds two bars to its entrance,—Protestantism, in some form, or secularism. In this sense he is debarred from his rights and the benefits acquired by taxation, and punished for his faith. Thus indirectly, yet practically and as a matter of fact, his conscience is trampled on. And for not submitting uncomplainingly he is accused of having an unreasonable conscience.

"The State ought to furnish education, but not sectarianism."

By sectarianism Mr. Abbot means religion according to the ideas of the parent. And I ask, why not furnish this, if it could be done in a manner satisfactory to all? Is it wrong for the State to consult the will of its citizens? If a system could be found that would give satisfaction to all denominations as well as to the secularists, would it be wrong or unjust to any one for the State to adopt such a system? I fail to see it. The State in this matter of education is the agent of the people, and we find nothing inconsistent in its consulting, where it is possible, the interests and predilections of those it represents.

"The Catholic conscience demands equal rights. Very well; that it ought to have."

As a matter of fact the Catholic conscience does not demand equal rights. The Catholic demands equal rights as a citizen by virtue of the Constitution, and not by virtue of his conscience. This may seem a small matter, but bad logic often creeps in through inexact expressions. It is this false notion of conscience that misleads Mr. Abbot to say the Catholic conscience is unreasonable. But do Catholics have equal rights? We answer, they have not. Mr. Abbot admits our rights are invaded by Protestant worship and teaching in the State schools. We are taxed to support this worship and teaching. This is as great an injustice as to tax us to support an established Church. But if the schools are made purely secular, if all religion is carefully excluded therefrom? This does not lessen the difficulty, because under no circumstances can we in conscience support a system that formally and officially excludes God, the Master and Giver of life. The State compels us to do this, and thus it will be seen that we do not enjoy those equal rights guaranteed by the Constitution. But even if the purely secular system were tolerable, could Mr. Abbot guarantee us immunity from the opposite wrong? A little reflection will show him he cannot. While Protestants are in the majority, it will remain the same, and if Catholics are ever in the majority, which is not improbable, what is to prevent them imposing on the minority? Certainly nothing in the school system, which from its very nature is liable to this abuse. This is a radical defect of the system.

"Equal rights will be secured when Catholics have as much right to have their religion taught in the schools as Protestant Jew, or Radical,—that is, none at all."

In this hypothesis the Catholics, Protestants, and Jews will not have equal rights with the secularists. The secularists will have the schools to suit them at the expense of Christians and Jews. The latter have the same right to be consulted as the former. The secularist would consider it an oppression to be compelled to support schools that would meet my views, and I, as well, consider it oppressive to be taxed to support schools that he approves of. He will say I am unreasonable; but who is the judge of the reasonableness of it,—the secularist? I deny his jurisdiction and competency; and for want of an umpire I answer, *Tu quoque*.

"To whom shall the schools belong—to the Church or to the State? That is the clean issue. I do not see any way to reconcile here the two consciences."

I was not aware until now that that soulless corporation called the State had a conscience, but there is a way to reconcile them. The schools should belong to neither, or to both, as would be the case in the

denominational system. The schools should belong preëminently to the parents; let the State manipulate the funds, if you will, but let the parents agree upon a system that will be just and satisfactory to all.

"To make the schools Protestant by requiring or permitting Protestant worship in them is truly a violation of all but Protestant consciences. But it is easy to rectify this wrong, and to establish a perfect equality of rights in the case, by simply secularizing the schools altogether."

This method of settling the question has the merit of simplicity. It is a short way of making their rights equal by ignoring all their claims, and heeding only the claims of the secularist. In this way the slave-holders in the South recognized the equal rights of the slaves by reducing them to zero. The vast majority of tax-payers in this country are Christians, yet it is coolly proposed to ignore their rights and predilections in favor of a party which is so contemptibly small as not to be able, when left to itself, to make a perceptible ripple on the surface politic.

"The Catholic conscience is not satisfied with equality,—it demands privileges."

It is the secularists who want the privilege of settling this school question according to their own notion, and in disregard of the consciences of others,—and carping at every one who has not independence enough to differ with them. They it is who, under false pretences, want the privileges of having their wishes alone consulted, and of looking upon religion as a tolerated nuisance in the schools; and this, as Mr. Abbot would express it, is an instance of unparalleled audacity.

"To pretend that this careful exclusion of all religious worship and instruction is to teach irreligion, is an instance of unparalleled audacity."

The careful exclusion, etc., is not to teach irreligion, but the careful exclusion is itself an act of unparalleled irreligion which no Christian can tolerate. It is a public, formal, and official insult to Almighty God, equal in kind, if not in degree, to the anti-Christian edicts of the Roman Emperors. To thrust religion out of the schools is certainly to teach the children that it is something very contemptible, if not very bad. To place religion on a level with immoral literature is certainly to leave an irreligious, if not an anti-Christian, impression. From the very nature of man, religion is the nearest thing to his heart; more have died for it than for any other cause; and yet it is proposed to insult the great body of tax-payers, through their children, by a public, formal, and official expulsion of religion from an institution supported at their expense!

"It is impossible to teach the multiplication table and the Catholic catechism at the same instant."

Well, this is coming down to first principles; but, seriously, did Mr. Abbot ever attribute such an idiotic idea to Catholics? If so, it is no wonder he thinks them unreasonable. Does he think by a religious school we mean one in which two branches are taught at the same instant? A religious school is one in which the will of God is recognized as the norm or rule of conduct; in which positive principles of morality are inculcated; into which a corrupt political school-commissioner cannot send his mistress to be supported at public expense; in which a person who would say that Abraham attempted to murder his own son, as Mr. Abbot did, would not be permitted to teach the A B C; from which a teacher who would say that "the will of Christ was not consistent with liberty," as Mr. Abbot did, would be expelled. Such is our idea of a Christian school,—not one in which mathematics and theology are taught at the same instant. The irreligion of secular schools consists not in not teaching religion, but in the formal exclusion of it. This once understood, it obviates the disagreeable necessity of selecting either of those formidable horns which Mr. Abbot took such care to construct for us.

Mr. Abbot makes a distinction between the citizen and the parent, and says that the claims of the Catholic's conscience rest on his claims as a parent. I have said the Catholic conscience has no claims in the case. The guarantees of the Constitution and the pledged faith of the government are the basis of the Catholic's claim, and the claim is not made as a parent, but as a citizen. It is not correct to say that "the Catholic conscience claims exemption from the public school-tax for Catholic parents as such." This is a false assumption, and Mr. Abbot draws many false conclusions from it. For instance, "It is the rights inherent in Catholic parentage which constitute the grounds of protest against taxation for the public schools." It is the sacred obligations which God has imposed on him as a parent that constitute the grounds of his protest, and it is the guarantees of the Constitution that constitute his claim.

Again: "The protest (of Catholics against the school-tax) is essentially a denial of the general obligation of citizenship in the name of church membership and family ties."

Do the obligations of citizenship imply a denial of church membership and family ties, or the denial of our obligations to God? Is the State all, and the individual, the family, and the Church nothing? Must they all be crushed beneath the ponderous machinery of the State? If so, it is time to know it,—time to consider whether we are tending.

"I must consider the astounding claim of Catholic parents to be treated as if they were not citizens at all, but to be excepted, set apart by themselves, and permitted to receive the benefits of the State without discharging the corresponding obligations."

The Catholic claim is that they should not be set apart and denied the rights enjoyed by others. They are willing to bear their share of the burdens of citizenship; but if by "benefits of the State" is meant secular education inspired by the principles an-

nounced by Mr. Abbot, they cannot accept them under any circumstances. *Timeo Daneos et dona ferentes.*

PARENTAL PREROGATIVE.

The Parental Prerogative is the authority which God has granted to the individual over his offspring. This authority arises from the obligations which God has imposed upon the parent, on the principle that every obligation supposes the means to fulfil it. St. Paul formulates it in these words: "Children, obey your parents in all things; for this is well pleasing to the Lord." This prerogative has of course no meaning for those who believe not in God, or for those who, like Mr. Abbot, hold that the will of God is not consistent with liberty.

[We never held or said that. The will of God as interpreted by the Catholic Church is certainly the destruction of liberty; but the will of God as interpreted by the individual conscience and reason is only another name for liberty.—ED.]

It has, however, a very definite meaning to the Christian, which he wishes his child to learn in the schools. It was not necessary for Mr. Abbot to exhaust his time in committing Catholics to the doctrine of the Parental Prerogative and its natural sequence, that the family is the unit of society. They hold these two doctrines, and accept the consequences that logically follow. There is no tribe, society, or nation in existence, savage or civilized, that does not recognize the Parental Prerogative. There is not a theological school in existence, Christian, Pagan, or heathen, that does not recognize it. There was never a state or condition of society, not even excepting Spartan paganism, that did not, in a greater or less degree, recognize the Parental Prerogative as the result of a natural or divine law. It may have been distorted, exaggerated, and carried to extremes, as it was in pagan Rome, but it never, in any State or age, ceased to be recognized as one of the cardinal principles of social order. It is recognized by our common and statute law, and by the decisions of our courts of law, as well as by every known code of laws. It is recognized by Mr. Abbot himself in another part of his lecture. He says: "The parent has a right to exercise authority over the child, his authority is that of the natural guardian of the child. The child's reason and conscience being undeveloped, the parent represents them during the child's minority. The parent also has the right to supervise and direct the education of the child to a very considerable extent." We have here, in Mr. Abbot's own words, a full admission of everything comprehended under the term "Parental Prerogative." [By no means.—ED.] This prerogative is not a concession of the State; it is a concession or grant from God, and is independent of, and above, the authority of the State, circumscribed and limited by the laws of God alone.

THE FAMILY IS THE SOCIAL UNIT.

That this fact is recognized in all antiquity is admitted by Sir Henry Maine, whom Mr. Abbot quotes. All God's dealings with men as recorded in the two Testaments are based on this truth. Both Christian and heathen nations have acted on the principle that the family is the unit of society. Our own government recognizes it. For instance, the law that a wife cannot sue or be sued during coverture; the law of inheritance whereby the children inherit the property of the father of the family recognize the family as the social unit. The individual is the political unit, that is, the recognized agent or actor in all political functions. Our government does not, however, recognize even this unity fully, since it does not permit all individuals to vote. The doctrine that the family is the unit of society is recognized as a Christian principle. The secularists are free to reject it, and we are equally free to hold it, and we are not to be frightened out of it by the bugbear of *Patria Potestas*.

STALKING-HORSE OF THE POPE.

Mr. Abbot tells us by inference that Catholics are not candid in their professions and claims of the Parental Prerogative. "The Church does not recognize any 'Parental Prerogative' at all as towards itself." We are not dealing with the Church; the Church as such asks nothing of the State. We have to deal with individual Catholic citizens in reference to their rights under the Constitution. This introduction of the Church as a party in the case only tends to throw dust in our eyes. If the Church is harsh and tyrannical with her members, or unreasonable in her demands, it is the business of those members. Looking on the Church as a divine institution, as the Catholic does, he is bound to respect her decisions, and obey her laws; and this obedience does not make us spiritual slaves, for the will of God is not inconsistent with liberty. Every society has the right to make its conditions of membership. The Church, as a society, makes certain conditions of membership. The individual is to judge whether the advantages arising from membership are an equivalent for the obligations incurred. But it is absurd to suppose he could trample on her laws, despise her authority, and still continue a member. Catholics generally prefer the teachings of the Church to the philosophizing of modern progressionists; and, forming his conscience on this teaching, that conscience must be respected and protected, or else the Constitution is a farce.

Mr. Abbot, after quoting from the *Syllabus*, adds some testimony of his own. It appears that he followed the Bishop to Cambridgeport and heard him read and comment on the *Syllabus*; but there was nothing new in what he said; he had spoken as pointedly, if not stronger, in Horticultural Hall. But, with his usual adroitness, Mr. Abbot makes his point by inference, that the Bishop had a double tongue, one for the enlightened audience at the Hall, and another

for the ignorant and terrified Catholics at Cambridgeport.

The remainder of the lecture is devoted to a consideration of the rights of the child, the parent, and the State. Mr. Abbot's "State" is an ideal one, an abstraction, but a monster, nevertheless. We cannot accept his State as a common ground. We want the State in the concrete, such as it is in the republic, circumscribed and limited by constitutions. The State is the form of a people's political existence; when it becomes oppressive it is changed. Such is the lesson of history.

BUDDHA.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

THE INDIAN SAINT; or, Buddha and Buddhism. A Sketch, Historical and Critical. By Charles D. B. Mills.

Readers of the old *Radical* may remember some fine articles that appeared in its later numbers on "Pythagoras and the Eleatic Philosophers," those earliest Transcendentalists of Europe. One day we saw their author. It was in Syracuse, N. Y. A friend had taken us to see the throng of books in the great library of Andrew White, the President of Cornell; and then to a greenhouse, where, not among the flowers, but at the ledger in the counting-room, she introduced a clear-faced man as Mr. Mills. Was it because we had met him among the Eleatics that he looked so much the Transcendentalist? Perhaps so; but we suspect his eyes were windows to his soul, and that we saw it looking out. He left his bread-and-butter post, led the way home, and showed us his library. It was a little three or four-shelfed book-case, as we remember it, such as you pin up against the wall with two screws. And what we remember about it was the old volume of *Spinoza*—whose face he had had photographed from the coarse frontispiece, to hang upon the wall,—some talk about Giordano Bruno, but more distinctly the reverent, disciple's way in which he took down one precious volume, then another, and fondled them as one who was showing us the things which made the earth worth living on. In a distant way we have loved C. D. B. Mills ever since, and welcomed his long procession of initials wherever our eyes rested on it, in paper or on lecture-placard.

And here we have him in a book. Of course he would write a life of Buddha some day! Of course he would sometime wander far and long about the shores of that great ocean of Indian mysticism. This is the little map of his pilgrimage which he has brought back with him,—only a pocket map, quite the thing for any other pilgrim to con over before he puts his sandals on and begins to wade through the somewhat sandy big books that he must traverse, if he would reach the secrets of that shore himself. Through these books, Koepen for Tibetan Buddhism, Beale for Chinese Buddhism, Hardy for Cinghalese Buddhism, and St. Hilaire and Burnouf, Max Müller, Bishop Bigandet and Wassélew, and others yet, our lover of *Spinoza* and *Pythagoras* has gone, and because he carried the discipleship in heart and head, we can hardly help trusting him when he tells us what Nirvana means.

Discipleship—and yet he can criticize; he sees the weakness and the danger, as well as the strength and nobleness, of his "Indian saint," and that saint's system.

Five short chapters hold the story,—about a hundred and fifty pages are all you have to read; but you will be apt to glance them over twice. The first is the story of "The Life"; and one, Christian-bred, keeps thinking, all the way through, how the *Idyl of Jesus'* birth pales before the glow of myth and miracle that halos his Indian and elder brother's advent. Here is a preexistence of innumerable births and lives, in virtue of which the final Buddha, "the Awakened One," must needs have sympathy with all creatures, having been tried in all points like as they, and thus been fitted to become the great Redeemer of all sentient races. Here is a miraculous conception, whose marvel to the Gospel marvel is what the rose-bush in June is to the ashy-budded willow yonder on this March Sunday. Here is another young man "about thirty years of age" leaving home for the wilderness; fighting there triumphantly gigantic Satans of temptation; attaining the beatific vision in a rapture that all Nature shared,—the ocean by becoming fresh, the flower-trees in all the worlds by bursting into blossom, the blind from birth by seeing! But this, we judge, is "Oriental." The more prosy and possible facts of his self-denying but successful career are followed through to the day when he bade his disciples good-by, and told them, "By the doctrine I have taught you I will continue to abide with you."

The next chapter, "The Effect," shows how truly he had spoken. Three hundred years pass by, and his name had been borne by ardent missionaries to all the Indies and beyond the Himalayas. Three hundred more and it was well-established. Six hundred more and it may perhaps be called the prevailing religion of Central, and Eastern, and Southern Asia. Then came the Mohammedan persecution from the West, and, stranger, somewhere about the year 1000 of our era a great revival of the old Brahmic faith in India itself, so strong, so desperate and all-extirpating, that Buddhism was uproot, root and branch, from its native soil, and, like Christianity, triumphant elsewhere, from its own home is to this day an exile. Though Buddhists number one-third the population of the globe, not one, it is said, is to be found to-day on the Hindu peninsula. And where the Buddha's teaching came, it taught equality, taught tolerance, humanity, and charity, and gentleness, and humility, and self-sacrifice. Christianity is the second great religion that has thrown its stress of emphasis upon this side of character; and

as the European nations under it, so the Asian peoples under Buddhism, have tended towards kindness through all their culture.

With moralities so similar—the chapter on "Sentences of Scripture" attests abundantly this general similarity,—why is it, then, that Christianity seems to carry with it a breath of energetic life, an impulse of progress, that Buddhism has not? The answer lies deep in questions of race and climate, more than in the question of doctrine; but so far as it lies in the latter, Mr. Mills' remaining chapters called "The Man and the Thought," and "The Doctrine," give hint of it. It is the difference between the inward and the outward look at the universe; between the method of salvation by self-renunciation and the method of salvation by conquest of circumstances. Each look and method has its danger. The danger for the Eastern mind is absorption, for the Western is idolatry. Carlyle somewhere gives the rule, Do not increase your numerator, but lessen your denominator, would you have true life. The core of Buddhism might be put into some such formula as $\frac{1}{2} = \infty$. Reduce your denominator, "that which shows into how many parts you are divided," i. e., your desires, to nothing, and you have achieved infinity. There is pain and sorrow in the world; its source lies in our desires; its cessation therefore lies in the cessation of desire; and there is a "way" to compass this beatitude, and reach the "bright rest, Nirvana": there is the Buddhist's scheme of things. "Nirvana" is not annihilation, but the self-less existence, and therefore existence so much the more real because no longer cut across by births and deaths of personality.

That "way" to the height is summed up in the sacred sentence oft-recurring in his Scripture, "To abstain from all sin" (here he might cite the five great *Not-commandments*—not kill, not steal, not commit adultery, not speak untruth, not drink intoxicating drink); "to practise constantly all virtue" (here the six great moralities, charity, purity, patience, courage, contemplation, knowledge); "to hold perfect mastery of thyself" (and eight paths to such self-mastery were reckoned, the path of right views, of right words, right ends, right methods, and so on); "to abstain from all sin, to practise constantly all virtue, to hold perfect mastery of thyself,—this was the injunction of the Buddha."

Room enough here for all one will of ethics or of metaphysics! And the room is all engaged and occupied by these Asian thinkers. No *ism*, great or little, of Western philosophy but has probably been anticipated in the East,—say they who know the thought of both the continents. No system, materialistic, nihilistic, spiritualistic, but has been established and confuted, reestablished and reconfuted, there. Think of a half-ton Bible! The Tibetan canon in the Peking edition weighs a good deal more than that. The canon of the Chinese Buddhists is seven hundred times as large as our two Testaments, we are told. "It is to be hoped that the substance of these may be given in an English dress." Y-e-s,—but in some very homœopathic, quintessential way, we beg!

"Probably the most purely unselfish system of morality ever offered to the world," thinks Mr. Mill; and contrasts it, to its favor, with the Jesus-promises of heaven and hell with which the Christian morality was preached. We are not so sure. The Westerners, the Christians, have shown themselves more "vigorous and rigorous" in both directions, we should say—for good, for bad; more practical in their enthusiasms of humanity as well as in their enthusiasms of inhumanity. And as to the system viewed as theory, every noble system of ethics proclaims, must needs proclaim, reward and retribution in some fashion; and it makes not the difference between selfishness and unselfishness whether you say Heaven and Hell and a certain Day and a personal Judge, or preach it like the Buddha as a *Karma* doctrine (*Karma* being the moral law conceived as carrying its own sanctions, blessings, penalties, inherently, inevitably,—"the power that makes for righteousness" through men and in them). Nirvana far transcends the localities of Hebrew fancy, but no less is it beatitude which is set forth to draw men on and upward; and it is as selfish to be self-less for self-gratification as to aim for the seat on the right hand of the throne.

These last words suggest the impression which Buddhism as a whole makes on a Western mind. It is *massy*, not individualized. Being is recognized, not concentrated to person; power, not God; *Karma*, not law-giver; evolution, not creation; Nirvana, not heaven; selflessness, not immortality; the race more than the present generation; and, in general, things measured by the scale of eternity rather than by the scale of time. The inner meanings are the same, are they not? The difference lies in the mind that needs *much form*, and the mind that needs little, to realize its conceptions. But that difference practically leads to most divergent civilizations. In a closing chapter, called "The Fine Problem," Mr. Mills would fain hint how these two tendencies, the Eastern and the Western, should find true reconciliation.

But in the West, also, we have the Transcendentalists who put little "form" to their ideas; and in the East, as everywhere, in contrast with their thinkers the people use much of it; so that for these the Buddhist pantheon practically lacks no kind of demon or of deity, no sort of hell or heaven has been forgotten; and "the Indian saint" himself, idealized, is lifted up through Buddhist lands as the great self-sacrificing God who thereby draws all men to himself.

Mr. Mills' book is for sale at the office of THE INDEX, 1 Tremont Place, Boston, and at the Unitarian Association Rooms, No. 7, a little farther down the court. Its price is \$1.50. Possibly, too, it might be bought at the Orthodox Congregational Book-store just round the corner. We wish that the Free Religious Association, whose desk is also not far off, would carry out a plan which Mr. Mills has approached,

rather than begun, in this little venture; we wish it would publish a series of, say, two-hundred-page accounts of the great ethnic religions—careful and vivid sketches, larger than the essays offered in the magazines, smaller than the solid volumes which the student needs,—a series of popular but trustworthy dollar-books corresponding in its way to the *International Scientific Series* published by the Appletons. Is the interest in the subject ripe enough to warrant the undertaking? W. C. G.

THE TAXATION OF CHURCHES.

The question of the justice and expediency of taxing churches in this Commonwealth has not yet received the careful and statesmanlike consideration which the great importance of the subject demands, although the plan of such taxation has been urged with much pertinacity by the advocates of a radical change in the usage of the State in this matter. The subject was, indeed, incidentally discussed before a committee of the legislature of 1874, appointed to consider the propriety of discontinuing the exemption of charitable, literary, and religious institutions, at a number of largely-attended hearings; and pursuant to a resolution of that legislature a commission was appointed "to inquire into the expediency of revising and amending the laws relating to taxation and exemption therefrom," whose voluminous report was printed in January, 1875.

The commissioners state, however in their report that the obligation to report in full, in print, to the General Court, made the time intervening "altogether too limited for so large and difficult an undertaking"; and it is certainly unfortunate that this limitation of time should have been imposed on a commission who had to deal with a subject of the first importance. To the pressure of work which this limitation brought on the commissioners may be due the fact, that, while several "valuable discussions by gentlemen who have given special attention to the respective topics of which they treat" were "prepared at the request" of the commission, and are printed in an appendix, including an argument from Mr. F. E. Abbot in favor of taxing churches, the only discussion of the arguments against such taxation is contained, incidentally, as it were, in President Eliot's unanswerable argument in favor of exemption, the chief portion of which is a demonstration of the suicidal folly which there would be in taxing the higher institutions of learning. The report of the majority of the commission did, indeed, strongly state the importance of continuing to exempt the churches of the Commonwealth, but it is, nevertheless, to be regretted that no opportunity seems to have been given to some expert to discuss this whole branch of the subject in a separate paper. To this may perhaps be due in part the fact that, while the question of taxing hospitals and colleges is allowed to sleep for the present, petitions were presented to the present legislature for "the taxation of church property," thus bringing this fragment of the whole question to a separate issue.

A joint special committee of the Senate and House, to whom the petitions were referred, has had three hearings upon the subject, and has reported a bill (now before the House) in favor of taxing all church property above the value of \$12,000. Here again, however, no opportunity has been given for a fair and thorough treatment of this important subject. The "religious public" had undoubtedly supposed that the strong statement in the commissioners' report adversely to such taxation settled the question for a time at least, and was not looking for further hearings,—the notice of which appeared only in the usual inconspicuous place in the Boston daily papers. Two hearings were given to the petitioners in favor of taxation, while "those who had anything to say against it, if there was anything to say"—to use the words of the chairman of the committee,—had only a part of a single hearing, and were only represented by three or four gentlemen who had happened to see the notice at the last moment. If the churches are regarded merely as stewards of a property which at the assessors' valuation would be upward of thirty millions of dollars, it seems that so important a financial interest should have had larger opportunities than this to state its case.

The bill now before the House, which limits the exemption to property of the value of \$12,000, will be liable to the same objection with the recommendation to a similar effect, but for a larger amount, of Mr. Thomas Hills of the commission of 1874,—that it is neither one thing nor the other. It cannot satisfy the demands of those who claim that churches should be taxed "on conscientious grounds"; for, as the president of the Boston Liberal League states, "a point of conscience is most certainly involved in the exemption of a fixed minimum of church property as much as in the present state of things." On the other hand, to those who hold that churches should be exempt from taxation, such a bill must seem to apply the principle of sumptuary legislation in a peculiarly oppressive form. For sumptuary legislation is usually directed to check future expenditure in what are deemed excessive ways; but this bill would operate retrospectively on all church property over the minimum which it fixes, as an annual fine for expenditure in the past. It is evident that such a temporizing measure has in it none of the principles of essential justice, and would be only a temporary step. If it is just to tax the churches, any exemption is unjust; if it is just to exempt at all, why fix the arbitrary and totally inadequate limit of \$12,000?

It is impracticable to fix any absolute and unvarying limit at a fixed sum, and to decree that churches shall be taxed on the excess of their valuation over that sum, for several reasons. The idea which lies at the root of such a plan is, of course, that it is pos-

sible to fix an invariable amount for which all the proper functions of a church can be accomplished. It is supposed that, this being done, all excess over that expenditure is a wasteful use of money, and should be restrained by taxation. But how shall the precise amount which is necessary be ascertained? It is obvious that what is ample to provide suitable accommodation in a small town in Berkshire or Hampden County will not begin to provide an equivalent in the heart of Boston. \$12,000 may suffice for a lot of land and a wooden building in the former case, while in the latter the assessors' valuation on the land alone which the city church covers may amount to ten or twenty times that sum. The laws of the city then require the building to be put up to be of brick or stone, so that it is safe to say that an equivalent in some parts of the city for the accommodation which the village church obtains for \$12,000, cannot be obtained even in the simplest form for less than twenty to thirty times that sum. The only approach to justice in such an estimate would be by means of a "sliding scale," which should proportion the exemption in a fixed ratio to the total valuation of real estate and buildings in such locality; but this would obviously be so complicated as to be wholly impracticable.

Besides, if it is seriously proposed to indulge in sumptuary legislation against "expensive churches," the question of the relation of their cost to their uses requires very dispassionate investigation. The wooden village church, which costs \$12,000, and holds three hundred worshippers of the sober, moral New England stock once a week, may discharge, proportionately to its cost, a less service to the community, in the extent of its moral and religious influences, than the cathedral which holds five thousand, where from two to five services are held every day in the week for different congregations who get little morality elsewhere.

The appliances which are needless in the former case for the proper administration of religion in the eyes of the worshippers, may be needful in the latter. The ritual of Rome demands more outlay than the ritual of the Quaker; and yet unless we are prepared to say that the religion of Rome makes men worse citizens than no religion at all, the State would be unwise to throw difficulties in the way of its fit administration to those who are influenced by it as they can be by nothing else.

The reasons for the total exemption of churches, as well as colleges, on grounds of public policy, have been stated by President Eliot of Harvard College in the argument to which we have referred, which has been before the public for more than a year without, we believe, even any attempt to reply to it. We have given elsewhere such extracts from this as space would allow, and would urge our readers to ponder them well. The change proposed is one which would deal a heavier blow at the cause of good morals in Massachusetts than any legislation ever yet devised here. If adopted, the measure will be one of the most painful illustrations of the evil of undue and partial law-making. To pull down is easy, but to build up is very hard; and after one generation has done what it can to discourage public and religious spirit in the citizens of Massachusetts, the next generation may labor in vain to repair the moral and spiritual loss.—*Boston Advertiser*, March 30.

THE INJUSTICE OF DISCONTINUING CHURCH EXEMPTION.

The proper adjustment of the burdens of taxation so that they shall fall justly on every member of the Commonwealth is, perhaps, the most difficult and delicate function of the legislature. That it is so is sufficiently proved by the fact that great irregularities and injustices still unquestionably remain in our system of taxation, notwithstanding they have been often pointed out by those who feel the need of some remedy. The thoughtful paper by Mr. William Endicott, Jr., printed in the appendix to the *Report of the Tax Commissioners*, to which we alluded yesterday, indicates very forcibly some of the most glaring of these imperfections in our present methods. But it is doubtful whether even these can be well remedied by piecemeal legislation; and it is certain that the wider and deeper question, whether the exemptions accorded by the State need any revision, can never be properly answered by bits and corners. The only scientific method of determining the expediency of any such revision would be by referring the whole subject to real experts, giving them time enough to elaborate a rounded and symmetrical scheme of taxation.

It is one among the many objections to the bill now before the legislature, that it thus nibbles at the edges of this comprehensive subject. Without any report stating the reasons for their recommendation, after few and scanty hearings, a committee recommends a law which, if enacted, would change the unbroken usage of the State from its earliest history, and (even if the amount exempted by it should be considerably enlarged) would lay a crushing burden on many of the churches in the Commonwealth. We have already pointed out some of the objections to discontinuing the total exemption. Churches, colleges and hospitals stand on the same ground in this matter, having been originally freed from taxation in return for their higher services to the State, and still relieving the State of that part of the public burden. There would be, however a peculiar wrong accomplished by the taxation of church property, when the property is thus singled out from its companions in the moral and charitable service of the Commonwealth, from the fact that church property is even more inconvertible into other forms than that of hospitals or colleges. If worst came to worst, the latter could fairly turn themselves over to the public; but the State having prohibited churches from ever

being alienated to any other than religious uses, on the one hand, has, on the other, so cut itself loose from the idea of a connection of Church and State, that it could not take the churches if they were offered to it, and would not know what to do with them if it did.

The fact is, that as far as concerns the \$30,000,000 of such property (according to the assessors' estimate) now held in Massachusetts, taxation in any form would be essentially unjust. And for the reason that every church standing to-day within the limits of the Commonwealth was built on the implied pledge of the State that the unvarying precedent would be followed, and that the building would be free from taxation so long as used for the worship of God. Great sums have been alienated by their owners and put into buildings for religious worship, which are wholly different in cost and character from what they would have been made if it had been thought possible that they would be taxed for large amounts annually. They were put there on faith in the implied pledge of the State, and if that pledge is broken, a large part of the pecuniary value of existing churches would thereby be cancelled. To keep them and pay the taxes would, for many societies, be impossible; to sell them and realize even a fraction of what they cost would be equally impossible, since they are unsuitable for any but religious purposes, and no one would hereafter be able to buy them for those purposes, subject as they would henceforward be, to a heavy impost. If a man has a house or a store which he cannot afford to keep, he sells it and gets as much as another similar house or store in the neighborhood would bring; but a society could not sell its house of worship for as much as a house or store of the same valuation would bring, for this non-exemptive legislation would cause this whole class of property to depreciate to comparatively nominal values.

The church property now existing here has been locked up from the donors for its public and sacred uses, on the faith that the public policy of the Commonwealth would be in conformity with those words of the bill of rights which recognize that "the public worship of God, and instructions in piety, religion, and morality promote the happiness and prosperity of a people, and the security of a republican government." Any law changing the uniform policy of the State would as effectually destroy a large proportion of the existing church property as a law appropriating one-half of the churches in the State as town-halls.

If, indeed, it were necessary to have any sumptuary legislation on the subject of expensive churches, that legislation should in justice be wholly prospective and not retrospective in its action. It should undertake to restrain men from hurtful expenditures in time to come; it should not undertake to punish them for what they have believed to be proper expenditures in the time past. If the great danger of the community is from costly and beautiful churches, warn men that they will hereafter build them only under penalty of a heavy tax; but do not fine them with that tax now for having formerly built them, as they supposed, under the encouragement of the Commonwealth.—*Boston Advertiser*, March 31.

A YOUNG lawyer from Virginia took occasion a few days since to air his eloquence and his views before the United States Supreme Court at Washington. It was a case in which the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad was a party. The young pleader remarked: "If it please your honors, this is a most important case. Grand, because it is great; intricate, because it is complicated; far-reaching, because there is much of it; and astonishing, because of its marvellous revelations. My clients, your honors, have been most grievously wronged, and if so, and such be the case, Virginia, the great State of Virginia, the mother of Presidents and the father of all loveliness, will be the recipient of gross injustice. Can we submit to it as honorable men, as public-spirited citizens, as God-fearing members of the human race? Your honors, I ask you candidly, can we submit to it?" Before the orator could reel off any more of this sort of thing, Chief-Justice Waite, after metaphorically taking his eye in his hand and throwing it at the orator, interrupted him in the most quiet and good-humored way imaginable, and said, "The gentleman must remember that we are here to listen to constitutional argument, and not for the purpose of having the counsel appeal to the bones of our forefathers, or build monuments with rhetoric."—*Harper's Weekly*, Jan. 22.

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The Index.

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IT IS SAID that Mr. Richard H. Dana, who is an Episcopalian, argued some two hours against the appointment of Mr. John Fiske to a professorship at Harvard College, on the ground that his religious views were unsound and heretical.

THE MIRACULOUS "shower of flesh" in Kentucky is explained by Professor J. L. Smith, of Louisville, as the "dried spawn of the batrachian reptiles, doubtless that of the frog, transported from the ponds and swamp ground by currents of wind."

LAST AUTUMN we were surprised by an invitation from Mr. John Morley, editor of the London *Fortnightly Review*, to rewrite for his pages an article on "The Catholic Peril" which was published in THE INDEX of September 2, 1875. The great pressure of regular duties made us hesitate to accept this invitation; but the opportunity of bringing INDEX ideas before a large and wholly different audience proved too strong a temptation. This article is contained in the *Fortnightly* for March, and embraces some new matter, especially statistical information respecting the marvellous growth of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States. Notwithstanding the absence of international copyright laws, regard for the obligations of honor in such a case will prevent us from republishing this article without Mr. Morley's express permission; and we must therefore be content with informing our readers of its existence, and hoping that some of them will order copies of this number of the *Fortnightly* through Henry Holt & Co., of New York city. The price is one dollar. It is needless to say that the *Fortnightly Review* is the leading liberal publication of England; but it may not be amiss to state that this number contains an extremely valuable review of "M. Taine's New Work" on the French Revolution by Mr. Morley, an able analysis of "The Disestablishment Movement" by Mr. R. W. Dale, and other papers of great interest.

THE VESTED RIGHTS OF INJUSTICE.

Since our last issue, the bill before the Massachusetts Legislature to amend the General Statutes so that "houses of religious worship shall be exempted from taxation only to the amount of \$12,000" has been rejected by a vote of 116 to 64. The major portion of both morning and afternoon sessions on Friday, March 31, was devoted by the House of Representatives to the consideration of this bill. Mr. Churchill, of Boston, and Mr. Merritt, of Springfield, spoke in favor of the bill, while all the other speakers, we understand, more or less strongly opposed it; in fact, the opponents of the measure exerted themselves to the utmost, while the advocates of it seemed reluctant to come forward in its open defence. This may have been partly due to the fact that the bill, being a compromise which sacrificed the very principle at stake (i. e., that it is unjust to tax indirectly the whole people to propagate the religious creed of only a part of the people), was little calculated to excite enthusiasm in its supporters; but the frequent intimation that all the favorers of the bill were "infidels" probably daunted many who would otherwise have made themselves heard on the right side. Even as it was, so evident is the wrong involved in the practice of exemption that more than a third of the House cast their votes in the affirmative. Mr. Churchill is entitled to especial credit for advocating the bill on the ground that it proposed a step in the direction of separating Church and State more thoroughly, adding that he hoped to see all religious instruction and worship discontinued in the public schools on the same ground. This was bold and manly, and will win for him the hearty commendation of all friends of purely secular government. He argued with cogency that members had no right to cast the imputation that those who favored the bill were "infidels." It only required an impartial regard for equal rights to suggest such a course to them.

Two articles published just before this action of the Legislature in the Boston *Daily Advertiser* will be found on a previous page. The first requires no particular notice here; but the second, that on "The Injustice of Discontinuing Church Exemption," is a pretty good illustration of the desperate logical expedients to which the opponents of church taxation are driven in this controversy.

The writer contends that churches are as much entitled to State aid as hospitals and colleges, on the plea of their "relieving the State" of duties which otherwise the State would have to discharge. Now hospitals are established to provide for the care of the sick who cannot be provided for by their own friends, which is truly a public duty; and colleges are established to promote the interests of education, which is another public duty. But for what are churches established? To instruct the people in "mere morality," and thereby simply to make them good citizens? Not at all. The churches themselves are busy enough in deriding "mere morality" as sufficient for salvation. They are emphatic in declaring that religion has a far higher function than that of making mankind "moral"; namely, to fit them for citizenship in the "kingdom of heaven" in a life to come. They themselves profess to be established to teach the "gospel of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ," and treat "mere morality" in this world as a consideration quite secondary to the salvation of souls in another world. They all have the "fundamental truths of Christianity" to teach, each according to its own particular creed; they all propound their own theological doctrines as constituting those "fundamental truths of Christianity" which it is their special mission to inculcate. Instruction in the "mere morality" which alone is sufficient for good citizenship, and which they concede may be possessed even by "infidels" and "atheists," is purely an incidental part of their work, and not the essence of it; they do indeed claim to exert a "good moral influence," and thus to be useful to society here on earth, but they are strenuous in disclaiming this as the chief object of Christianity. The "good moral influence" thus incidentally exerted they themselves declare to be inseparable from, and wholly dependent upon, the religious creeds and forms of faith which are the main burden of their pulpit instruction; and they vehemently assert the supreme importance of these other things as the very essence of the gospel. Now the teaching of the Christian gospel, construed as the churches themselves construe it, is no part of the State's duty to its citizens, nor is it claimed to be, even by those who justify church exemption from taxation. It is the special duty of the churches, and not at all of the

State; and if it should be unfulfilled, the State would not be called upon to fulfil it. Unlike colleges or hospitals, the churches do not "relieve the State" of a duty in this respect. If they do, then not only is church exemption right, but the State ought to support the churches, as in old times, by direct and universal taxation. The churches do not do what, if they did not exist, the State would be obliged to do for itself; and they cannot without utter absurdity claim to be excused from taxation on this score. The argument is sophistical, false, and insincere; it cannot be believed by those who urge it. The churches which, facing one way, declare to their own members that instruction in "mere morality" is only an incident, and not the essence, of their work—and which, facing the other way, declare to the State that they ought to be exempt from taxation because they are only doing the State's work, as if they did nothing but teach "mere morality,"—are playing a thoroughly Jesuitical game which entitles them to the profound disrespect of all who have the least regard for common honesty. They seek to escape their just share of the public burdens, not to be able to teach "mere morality," but to be able to teach religious creeds which, by their own confession, are only hindered by it. All that the State wants is "mere morality"; what they themselves want is anything but that. And when they, or their apologists and *claqueurs*, demand that the public shall pay part of their bills on the plea that they are doing the State's work, suppressing the fact that they devote their chief energies to doing a work which is not the State's work in any sense, they are guilty of a species of immorality which could only be fittingly characterized by terms we do not choose to employ.

The *Advertiser*, however, not content with putting forward this more than questionable argument, in order to block the way of public reform, resorts to another still more extraordinary. It declares that church "taxation in any form would be essentially unjust," because the practice of exempting churches hitherto constitutes an "implied pledge" that they should be exempted forever, and because \$30,000,000 in Massachusetts have been invested in churches on the faith of this pledge which would never have been so invested without it. In plain words, because the churches have grown rich by robbing the public, it would be a blazing sin ever to put a stop to the robbery! On this principle, President Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation was a deed of shame that cries to heaven for vengeance. Had not the slave-holders always been permitted to invest their money in negroes? Did not this fact constitute an "implied pledge" that they always should be permitted to do so? Were there not thousands of millions of dollars, instead of a paltry \$30,000,000, thus invested? Was not the Emancipation Proclamation a total annihilation of all this vast property, an abominable violation of the vested rights of the slave-owners? What was the nation about, to send up a shout of irrepressible joy at the perpetration of this monstrous iniquity—the violation of the "implied pledge" that the negro's neck should be eternally under the heel of his master? If the *Advertiser* can prove that this analogy is not a true one, we shall be much gratified by the demonstration.

The fact is that the churches have accumulated vast wealth, not only by evading taxation and thus appropriating to their own uses a part of the money of all who paid taxes, but also by confiscating the rewards of the general industry through the rise in value of all real estate; and this process, continued for hundreds of years, has been from first to last a great but ill-understood oppression of the whole community. Now the community is discovering the enormity of this oppression; now it is awakening to the truth that this systematic spoliation ought to stop, and stop immediately. No demand for the restitution of all this stolen property is made; it is only proposed that the stealing shall cease. Granted that the perpetrators of the theft have been ignorant that it is a theft; we would by no means imply the contrary. But their ignorance does not make the money theirs, or destroy the right of the true owners to it. In consideration of their mutual ignorance, the owners (that is, the public) waive the right to restitution, and only begin to ask that the hitherto innocent robbery be promptly discontinued. If this moderate and just demand is not complied with, the innocence will disappear, while the robbery will remain. That evil should acquire a right to exist by mere continuance, is a proposition too monstrous to be seriously entertained; that oppression should plead either legal or moral claims to perpetuity, is contrary to every principle of good morals; that it is

unjust to stop injustice, is a declaration too ridiculous to be listened to. The absolute, short, decisive reply is that *injustice can have no vested rights*. Instant extermination is its only possible right.

Look at the plain fact. It is unjust, by universally established laws, that any man should be compelled to pay taxes to any religious society of which he is not a member. But church exemption compels the tax-payers as a body to pay the taxes that should be paid by the religious societies themselves; and every man, therefore, must pay his share. That is, the religious societies compel every man in the community to pay taxes to themselves, by compelling him to pay the tax bills they themselves ought to pay. Let the *Advertiser* get round, or over, or under this fact, if it can. There is the patent, undeniable injustice; and the *Advertiser* argues that, because it has always existed, therefore it ought always to exist! There never was, or could be, any "implied pledge" of such a nature; to hint such a thing is the device of desperation at its wits' end. Injustice has no vested rights; and it will avail nothing for the unjust to invent them.

Gentlemen of the Massachusetts Legislature, you have voted justice down; but justice is stronger than you are, and will yet constrain you to do her own eternal will—not yours!

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY R. C.

Republican Conventions for the election of delegates to the Cincinnati Convention were held last week in Vermont, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. The Vermonters adopted a hard-money platform, and sent an unpledged delegation to Cincinnati. The Pennsylvanians instructed their delegates to present Governor Hartranft's name for the Presidency, and, perhaps, intend to be understood as in favor of hard-money when they "arraign the Democratic leaders in Congress and their abettors for the combined recklessness and cowardice of their course on financial questions,—a recklessness which mischievously holds out a threat to overthrow the existing laws, and a cowardice or incapacity to originate a substitute for them." On the subject of the tariff, they declare that "the attempt of the Democratic House of Representatives at Washington to inflict upon the nation a free-trade tariff is an insult to the intelligence of the people," and that "the remedy for our suffering is in a higher not lower tariff,"—two pretentious and shallow assertions which could hardly have been adopted outside of the State which recognizes Henry C. Carey as a great political economist. The delegates were instructed to vote as a unit upon all questions, "as the majority of the delegation shall direct." The Ohio Republicans declared themselves in favor of hard-money, and of Hayes for President. As regards the tariff, their platform reads, "We favor a tariff for revenue with incidental protection to American industry,"—as profound a declaration as would be one in favor of hard-money with "incidental" shipplasters for necessary purposes. The only commendation of General Grant (and that a mild one) was in the Ohio platform. All the Conventions pronounced in favor of free schools, and against any division of the school fund for sectarian purposes.

The testimony of Mr. Schenck before the Emma Mine Committee began early last week, and, as we write, is still unfinished. He denies the truth of the testimony of Lyon and Johnson, declaring that they are "infamous characters, and not worthy of credit under oath"; but he substantially admits, nevertheless, everything essential in the charges which have been brought against him. According to his own testimony, Stewart first suggested that Schenck should take an interest in the Emma Mine project, and, after looking over Silliman's report, Schenck agreed to do so, provided Park would let him have the money. His statement of the agreement between Park and himself corresponds with accounts heretofore published. Park let him have five hundred shares of stock, taking in payment Schenck's note for \$50,000. Park, moreover, guaranteed the payment of 24 per cent. interest upon the investment (subsequently reduced to 13 per cent.), and also agreed to take back the stock at par value, provided Schenck should become dissatisfied with his purchase. A short time after this arrangement was made, Park and Stewart thought that Schenck ought to be one of the managers or directors of the company, in order to protect their interests in London. Schenck admits that he was at first doubtful with regard to the propriety of this step, but subsequently gave his assent to it.

Schenck's note was never paid, but was settled as follows: he paid Park \$2,500 cash, which amount he received from a sale of twenty-five shares of his stock. He was also allowed \$10,000, which had been erroneously credited to Park by Albert Grant, or to Albert Grant by Park, as commission for the sale of five hundred shares to Schenck, but which sum Park generously considered that Schenck should have the benefit of. Subsequently, in 1874, Schenck paid Park \$1,700 cash, gave him a note for \$3,000, and transferred to him some shares of stock in various coal and insurance companies for the balance, retaining, however, the privilege of redeeming these

shares in four years' time, and, as he admits, continuing to receive the dividends upon them.

Some other portions of Schenck's testimony are of peculiar interest. He admits, for instance, that he speculated with Emma Mine stock in the open market, putting up a margin with Jay Cooke, McCulloch & Co., who carried five hundred shares for him and a friend. Again, he asserts as follows: "For that purpose (to ask for a full investigation), although not invited to appear before the Committee, I left London as soon as I learned from the newspapers what action had been taken, and came at once to Washington." How true these statements are may be inferred when we recall the facts (1) that he knew "what action had been taken" as early as the 1st or 2d of February, but did not leave London until the 4th of March; (2) that on the 8th of February he telegraphed that he should remain in London to vindicate his character before the courts; and (3) that on the 29th of February he was told, by telegraph, that the Committee wanted him. Again, when asked why he had left England without taking formal leave of the Queen, he replied that he did not know whether he was to return to London or not, but supposed he was still minister on leave of absence,—which reply should be read in connection with the facts (1) that his resignation was requested by the State Department on the 11th of February, (2) was forwarded on the 19th, and (3) he was informed, by telegraph, on the 3d of March, in answer to his request that his resignation might not be accepted, that the President had taken steps to fill the place immediately. Again, when asked for an explanation of a former statement, that he had given Park "dollar for dollar" for his Emma Mine stock, his explanation was that "he meant he had given a note which created a debt." Again, he asserted that "it had never occurred to him that Park was bestowing favors upon him in order to secure his influence as United States Minister," an assertion which, if true, would manifest a degree of simplicity wholly unpardonable in a foreign minister, but which in a celebrated poker-player must be pronounced utterly incredible.

The Committee on War Expenditures, better known, perhaps, as the Clymer Committee, has got hold of an interesting witness in the person of Mr. C. L. Bell, at one time a spy in the army, subsequently an applicant for a post-tradership, and recently a special agent of the Pension Office at a salary of \$2,200, and travelling expenses. According to his story, he received this last appointment, at the recommendation of the President and of Mr. Luckey (Babcock's assistant), in order to work as a detective in the Babcock trial. The President desired to find out whether Babcock was guilty or not, and recommended his appointment for that purpose; but Luckey directed him to go to Bradley (Shepherd's brother-in-law) for orders. Bradley told him to go to St. Louis and get hold of the evidence against Babcock in the office of District-Attorney Dyer, and destroy it. A part of this work he accomplished, but, becoming convinced that Babcock was guilty, reported to the President, and soon after was discharged. Babcock, Luckey, and Bradley unite in denying Bell's truthfulness, but Dyer admits the essential correctness of the statements made with regard to interviews with him (Dyer) in St. Louis, and Secretary Chandler admits the appointment of Bell in the secret service of the Pension Office, upon the President's recommendation. As we write, it is impossible to predict the result of Bell's story, but the present week promises to be an exciting one at Washington. Schenck, Bell, and Lyon are there, a son of ex-Secretary Delano is expected to reveal a little of what he knows concerning certain dark transactions, ex-Senator Cattell, of New Jersey, is to be asked why Matthews & Co.—a firm of contractors for navy clothing—have paid him \$100,000, and the Judiciary Committee will present to the House articles of impeachment against Belknap.

The Senate concurred in the joint resolution giving all government clerks a holiday on the 14th of April; debated at length, and passed the Consular and Diplomatic Appropriation Bill, restoring, very sensibly, in our opinion, nearly everything which the House had stricken out, including numerous consulships, the Ministry to Italy, and the salaries of the Ministers to England, France, Germany, and Russia; authorized the deposit of Indian trust-funds in the Treasury; and passed the Mississippi Resolution, which has been so vigorously urged by Morton, appointing five Senators to inquire into the alleged frauds and intimidations at the last election in that State. The House refused, by a vote of 81 to 156, to pass Mr. Payne's bill for the gradual resumption of specie payments by retiring annually an amount of coin equal to three per cent. of outstanding legal tenders—this reserve to be used as a redemption fund,—and repealing the Resumption Act. The bill was defeated by the united votes of inflationists and hard-money men. The House also passed a resolution prohibiting the mails from carrying lottery advertisements; refused to deliver Kilbourne—a contumacious witness in the Real Estate Pool Investigation—to the District of Columbia authorities; provided for the payment of the expenses of the admission of foreign goods to the Centennial Exhibition, and for the expenses of witnesses before committees; directed the conversion into coupon bonds of so many of the five per cent. registered bonds as may be necessary to pay the judgments of the Alabama Claims Commission; cut down the pay and allowances of army officers,—a bill which, we hope, the Senate will not pass; directed all naval estimates to be made in detail; allowed the separate entry of express packages imported with other goods; defined the tax on fermented and malt liquors; concurred in

the "holiday" resolution, and in the Senate amendment to the bill for the sale of the arsenal at Stonington; passed a number of private bills, including one to pay the St. Albans bank for the treasury notes stolen by the raiders from Canada in 1864; and, by a vote of 122 to 100, passed a bill appropriating \$163,000 for the deficiency in the Treasury Printing Bureau, and for the issue of subsidiary silver coin.

This last bill, we sincerely hope, will be defeated in the Senate. It provides for the issue of silver coin in denominations of ten, twenty, twenty-five, and fifty cents; for the redemption of an equal amount of fractional currency; and makes silver a legal tender in amounts not exceeding \$50. It has been advocated as a step towards the resumption of specie payments, but in reality it is nothing of the kind. The price of silver is now exceedingly low; but if the price should rise, as may be the case, after the conversion of our present fractional currency into silver, our new coins would flow out of the country as certainly as water flows down hill, and we should be driven to the printing of makeshift shipplasters for small change. Gold, and not silver, is the present standard of value in all commercial nations, and the attempt to make silver a legal tender to the amount of \$50 is, therefore, a mistake. Specie payment means, just now, *provision for the redemption of our greenbacks dollar for dollar in gold*; it does not mean silver for small change. This last may be exceedingly desirable, but cannot be had, with safety, without the former.

The English government has not yet decided to surrender Winslow, the Boston forger. It seems that Parliament, in 1870, decided that no refugee should be given up to a foreign nation except upon assurance that he should be tried only for the crime for which he was surrendered. This assurance our government declines (or, perhaps, is unable) to give, although it is understood that the English law was passed from an excellent motive; namely, to prevent the surrender of political refugees upon trumped-up charges. The present English Ministry is not gaining in public favor, and some of its recent majorities have been very small. The endeavor to turn the Queen into an Empress is received with great dissatisfaction, and the Burial Bill (which forbids any service but that of the English Church in parish graveyards) is certainly an unfortunate measure. People have discovered, also, during the visit of the Prince of Wales to India, that the people of that country are not in love with their English rulers, and that a successful revolution is still a possibility. The dismissal of Sir Daniel Lange—the representative of English interests on the Board of Directors of the Suez Canal,—by Lesseps, lessens the favor with which the purchase of the Khedive's shares was at first received, especially as Lange was dismissed because of an indiscretion of his own government,—an indiscretion which Disraeli persists, unfortunately, in attempting to justify. Somewhat inopportunistly, also, it must be confessed, the Queen has chosen the present moment, while Parliament is still in session, for a visit to Germany.

ENGLISH SKETCHES.

BY MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

LONDON, March 11, 1876.

I do not know whether you, in America, have the same curious style of Christian newspaper literature as obtains among ourselves. The many divisions of the seamless robe of Christ all have their appropriate organs, and attack each other with a vigor that is quite refreshing. I propose to devote this letter to some of the charms of this holy press. First and foremost comes the *Church Times*, a ritualistic journal of the strictest sect of the ritualists, and wielding considerable influence in their ranks. It is bitter, domineering, full of the essence of priestcraft. For some years it was, perhaps, distanced in these qualities by the *Church Herald*, but that remarkable sheet is dead and buried, and vexes us no more. It was the *Church Herald* which, when Dr. Stanley, Dean of Westminster, unveiled a statue of John Bunyan, suggested that the admirers of the devil should raise a statue to Satan, and doubtless the Dean would officiate at its inauguration; it was the *Church Herald* which said that the devil would make an appropriate quartet with Dean Stanley, John Bunyan, and John Stuart Mill; it was the *Church Herald* which danced over Mr. Mill's grave, and yelled with joy at the news of his death. The *Church Times* is not so bad as this; it is more decorous, although quite as narrow. At present its righteous soul is sorely vexed over questions of vestments *et id genus omne*. It walls piteously over the persecutions to which millinery-clergy are exposed. "Timid Catholics feel now exactly as Christians felt when the outbreak of the Tenth Persecution showed that three hundred years of blameless conduct had done nothing to conciliate Pagans." "Tall talk, my masters." How mighty must be the power of that faith which, seeing things that be invisible, beholds in the decisions against vestments to-day the equivalent of the "Christians to the lions" of long ago. We have often thought that the severity of those early persecutions was much exaggerated; and, truly, the exaggeration must have been great if they were no worse than the persecutions of the present time. There is no reason why clerics should not array themselves in many-colored garments, if their soul delights therein, any more than there is reason why Harlequin should not gambol in similar raiment. But if clerics are State paid they must obey State laws; if they want freedom they must give up privilege; if they desire their own way they must depend upon their own exertions; and disestablishment is the answer to the vexatious waste of public time and

public money squandered in the settling of these miserable squabbles. The true liberality of the Church is shown in such a sentence as the following: "The Church evidently regards adultery and the slandering of God's word as offences standing on the same level." "The slandering of God's word" refers to the remark of Mr. Jenkins—of Satanic fame,—that some parts of the Bible were contrary to decency in their ordinarily received sense, and the phrase would include every criticism on the Bible which should impugn its infallibility on any point.

It is well to know the moral status allotted by the Church to all rationalists. You will be alarmed to hear that "the honor and worship of the Almighty are at stake" because some city churches are to be pulled down,—there being many churches in the city, but few congregations. The *Church Times* pleads that, before they are pulled down, they shall be beautified and many services held in them, to see if congregations cannot be drawn to them: "No experiment can be too costly when the honor and worship of the Almighty are at stake." And, meanwhile, round these churches are the filthiest dens and alleys where men and women wither and die; and a tenth of the money spent to build for them churches to which they will not come, would build for them, instead, houses in which they might live with some possibility of decency. Millions spent to build houses for a God who does not need them, and no thousands, even, to build houses for the poor who droop for the lack of them; and yet men wonder that our tongue is sometimes bitter against the creeds who waste for the glory of God what is so sorely needed for the service of man.

The *Rock* is the organ of the other religious pole, the extreme Low as opposed to the extreme High. While the *Church Times* raves in defence of gorgeousness, the *Rock* raves against it: "During the present dispensation, and so long as our great High Priest is received into the heavens, the sole scripturally-appointed wearers of 'precious stones and pearls' are the apocalyptic harlot, or the 'strange god' whom the wilful king 'delighteth to honor and increase with glory'; or, in other words, the various branches and offshoots—be they Anglican or Roman—of the great apostasy, as we have shown again and again. Hence, although the communion plate at All Saints, Margaret Street, may sparkle with rubies, or the vestments of St. John's, Kensington, may be stiff with gems, we cannot regard these 'purposes' as 'the highest' to which precious stones can be put; nay, rather we regard them as degraded by such an application. We greatly fear that those who do such things will not be found among the 'jewels' which the great King will 'make up' in the day of his espousals." How is a poor rationalist to know what pleases God?

How far bigotry can push a writer is well seen in an extract on "mortality and occupation," giving the death-rate in various employments, and among others that of the Protestant clergyman and Roman Catholic priest; the Protestant has much the longer lease of life, and the *Rock* asks: "How is this disparity to be explained? . . . We must go deeper for the true cause, and this we take it is shadowed forth in the old Roman adage, *mens sana in corpore sano*. Where there is a 'mind diseased' there can never be a healthy body; and we see not how, in the case of the Roman Catholic priests, you are to have the one, if the other is constantly exposed to the polluting influences of the confessional." Truly, there are few things which bigotry cannot twist to its own advantage, or forge into a weapon against a hated foe.

The *Christian* is a lower depth below the *Rock*, the ultra-evangelical dissenting organ. Its pages glow from time to time with the thrilling discourses of your Dr. Talmage, and gloom with Mr. Moody's foolish sermons. Its key-note is ignorance, struck boldly in a number before me. "I do not know much about theology (not that I wish to disparage it at all); therefore there are a great many things that puzzle some friends that don't seem to puzzle me, because I have the bliss of not knowing anything about them." What a blissful state of existence must be that of a red cabbage! To proceed: "This world is without God and against God, and he might have said, 'Let them be without me'; he might have left us to our perdition." But that would have been scarcely fair, seeing he put us here. "What did he do? If we can speak thus of God, we can imagine him thinking within himself what he could do to save the world; and finally seeing that, if the world is to be saved at all, he must himself, in his own Son (God was in Christ),—he must go down and be a man, in order to atone for the guilt of men, and to reconcile the world unto himself." Such is the mental pabulum offered to readers of the *Christian*: a God thinking, puzzling, contriving, and "finally" making up his mind to turn himself into a man. How beautiful the imagination; how dignified the ideal!

A special feature of the *Christian* is a column devoted to "Requests for Praise and Prayer." Here we find such items as: "For a daughter in great danger from rationalistic errors"; "For my employer, who is living without God in the world"; "For a young physician of great ability, but without faith"; "That my husband's trouble may lead him to Jesus"; and so on, the requests being sometimes of so specific a nature as to be most certainly recognizable by friends of the unfortunate prayed-at. The advertisements of these papers are quite a curiosity: "Will sixty-two of the Lord's stewards make up the sum by giving £5 each?" asks the *Christian*; servants either ask for "full religious privileges," "Gospel privileges," or "Catholic privileges," according to the paper in which they advertise; a "good plain cook" requires a "weekly commission," as well as £18 a year and all found; "any priest" is asked to recommend "a tidy girl" who "knows how to dress

poultry. A communicant preferred." "A young man would be thankful if a Christian friend would assist him with a loan to enable him to complete his preparation for the ministry. Address Baccalaureus," etc. Many young men would be glad to be assisted by loans from Christian friends, or non-Christians, as the case might be, as well as this gentleman with the unpronounceable name. But surely funniest and coolest of all is the following: "Wanted, gold and silver—odd studs or links, chains, or any kinds of jewelry—to melt down to form wires (Ex. xxix.). 3) to complete the *fac-simile* of the dress of the High Priest of Israel. Contributions to be sent to Dr. Cranage, Wellington, Salop, who desires also to make another, and he believes much more perfect, model of the Tabernacle of Israel, double the size of that in his possession, made by the Rev. G. Rogers; namely, two inches to the cubit. He purposes to have all the gold as real gold, as described in Exodus xxviii., etc., and all the silver real silver. Contributions solicited." Dr. Cranage must have full faith in the stupidity of Christians, or he could never venture on so stupendous a practical joke as to ask them to give him gold and silver that he may amuse himself in his leisure hours in making toy-tabernacles, that are doubtless pretty and costly, but can be of no possible utility.

Of course the three papers that I have commented on are only three out of many, for the name of religious papers is legion; the *Guardian* and the *Record* are Church papers of a more reputable stamp, the first moderately High, the second moderately Low. Then there are shoals of dissenting papers of all kinds, Spurgeon's brimstone among them. The press is still further utilized in cheap propagandism by myriads of little tracts, noticeable generally for their coarseness of phraseology and their redolence of "the blood"; and, latterly, those who won't take tracts have the "truths of the Gospel" forced upon them by huge placards bearing startling texts: "The wages of sin is DEATH," in mighty capitals; "Why will ye die?" shines out inquiringly between Parr's Life Pills—to which one at first refers it—and that terrible Hindu who has not, perchance, yet glared upon your happier shores, who, holding a red herring impaled on a fork, pours down his gaping mouth a bottle of the "only sauce." Thus is our life made burdensome to us by these aggressive Christians. We never object to their preaching in churches and chapels, for we need not go to listen to them; we say nothing when they lift up their voices at street-corners, for we are not forced to stop; we submit to be tracted, for we can tear them up; but we groan in the spirit when from the respectable four-wheeler or the flying hansom, we, doing no harm unto any man, and mindful only of our business, find texts jumping at us from walls, and glaring at us from unsuspicious-looking boardings. Imagine the cry of horror if we started an "Atheist Bill-posting Association" to match the Christian one, and posted up warnings against superstition, attacks on the Bible, and so on! And yet our "infidelity" would be no more offensive to some than their superstition is to us; but as it would only be copying Christian bad manners to do so, I do not throw out my suggestion as one to be acted upon. It is said that the darkest hour comes before the dawn; surely then daybreak cannot be far off, when such papers as those now criticised flourish, and spread around them darkness that may be felt.

Communications.

THE RIGHT AND WRONG OF SUICIDE.

ITHACA, N. Y., March 19, 1876.

MY DEAR INDEX:—

It is dangerous to dispute with you, because, if one fails to prove you wrong, your case is sure to appear stronger by your defence. If, therefore, I cannot show that your recommendation of suicide in cases like General Belknap's is a mistake, you will satisfy all your readers that it is just the right thing,—a consummation, I think, devoutly to be deplored. However—

Suicide, except in the case of the insane and drunk, is seeking refuge from pain in death. Chinese coolies (not Japanese officials), disappointed lovers, ruined gamblers, imprudent girls, merchants about to fail, convicts, the incurably diseased, furnish our suicides. To these you propose to add dishonest office-holders,—for the reason, if I rightly understand you, that they may by killing themselves show that they cannot survive their honor, and may confess that they reverence the outraged conscience in the eyes of their fellow-men. On the contrary, to my mind there is every reason why one who has lost his honor—in whatever sense you employ that word—should take particular care of his life. The man or woman of a high degree of honor has already influenced society, has raised its tone, helped to bring the world up. One on the other hand who is discovered to have been without honor, who has lost the credit of having it, has checked the upward tendency, and helped to lower it. Is such an one in a position to settle his accounts with the world and leave? If either of the two, the latter would be more bound to stay and submit to every suffering he may have brought on himself. It might be very comfortable to escape from the indignation of society, and to avoid the cold shoulders of former friends, and the hardships of solitary efforts. A snap of a pistol might seem heavenly compared with years-long censure; but he is the last man in the world who should think of such a refuge.

By going he would indeed show that "he could not survive his honor," and in my opinion would prove, not only that he had not been honorable, but

that he was very weak also. He would show not merely that he had been faithless, but that he did not value the opportunity that life would give him of doing faithful work again; that he had played a game, and, having lost, was unwilling even to try to pay. Your position would imply that death was the penalty the offender should offer. I think that life would be the nobler one. In Belknap's case, after the first shock of national disgrace, my first thought was that he must be a man of a great deal of pluck not to shoot himself. It was such an easy thing for a soldier, that his putting away the thought argued a power which might yet, and not improbably, make itself felt for good.

You may think that he has forfeited the right to a further trial, and that, having once proved faithless, he has no claim even to a chance of recovering himself. However that may be, it does not touch the question of the propriety of his wishes in the matter. His life may or may not have been forfeited; but that he is willing to bear it until taken from him shows that he is not a coward, whatever else he may have been.

As to the propriety of introducing a little pagan heroism in the special form of *hara-kiri*, the Japanese may be consulted to advantage. It was merely a privilege of army officers condemned to death, and has, if I am not misinformed, been abolished. In order to come up, therefore, to the former pagan standard, we must first have our late Secretary of War tried, convicted, and condemned to death. Then will be the time for the heroism of compulsory suicide. In the meantime let your readers ask themselves if they have, each in his and her sphere, done all that was possible to prevent the crime which has made our dishonor so patent.

Yours very truly, W. C. R.

[Nothing was further from our intention, in the "Glimpse" (INDEX, March 9) referred to by Professor R., than to make a general "recommendation of suicide." That paragraph was half-earnest and half-satirical, though wholly indignant; and we frankly confess that what we said was not sufficiently guarded to prevent very natural misunderstanding. We did not, for instance, mean to recommend seriously the introduction of the practice of *hara-kiri*, or to advise every detected scoundrel to shoot himself; but we did and do mean that, if public opinion against betrayals of trust, above all of public trust, were so hot that every detected scoundrel would rather shoot himself than face its seven times heated furnace, the country would be vastly better off to-day. If a rascal concludes to live under such circumstances, it must be either because he is morally too callous and phlegmatic to feel the scorching in store for him, or else because he is sure of enough condonement from the public to make life less terrible than death. In the former case, suicide would give us a better opinion of the culprit; in the latter case, of the public. We "recommend suicide" to nobody; but life is less precious than many things that can be named, and, when it has been used systematically and for years to pollute the honor of one's country, to debauch its civil service, to plunder its exposed and unprotected soldiers, and to create disgust and loathing for republican institutions throughout the world, we cannot help thinking that its value to the community is irretrievably lost. All the kind and considerate remonstrances of our friend, to whose gentle rebuke we listen with profoundest respect, fail to expunge the belief that, if Belknap had promptly tried the "snap of a pistol," he would not only have extorted a measure of respect it is impossible to yield him now, but (what is of more consequence to the world) would also have exposed the hideousness of public corruption in a way that would have accomplished more than a dozen impeachments in expelling it from the national life. An extract from a letter of Mr. Smalley, subjoined here, will show the irreparable and permanent wrong which such men as Belknap inflict on their country and on the cause of republican institutions everywhere.—ED.]

THE WASHINGTON SCANDALS.

LONDON, March 11.—I suppose I need scarcely say that London, spite of one agreeable incident, has not been a very agreeable place for an American this week. The special dispatches to the *Times* have given us—with a copiousness never before known—the details of the crimes, scandals, investigations, accusations, exposures, and I know not what else, which have made the past ten days hideous. You will remark that the mode of transmission has made them unusually conspicuous. The *Times* has done us the honor to print them at the head of its news columns in its biggest type. The disgrace of one existing Cabinet Minister in Washington has taken precedence of the appointment of a whole new—and probably honest—Cabinet in France. This morning we are treated to the shameful story of the brokerage in public offices which the President's brother has carried on. Nor has there been a day this week when some new American rascality has not been published to Europe in a similar way; that is, in the way to make it most glaring. I do not say so complainingly. These events are matters of news. They are by far the most interesting news of the day, even to Englishmen, and the *Times* is quite right to print

the most interesting news in the most prominent place.

It is inevitable, also, that this news should be commented on, and, on the whole, I don't think we have much cause to complain of the comments. I should like to see them reprinted in full in every paper in the United States. They would not be pleasant reading, but they would be profitable, and I never heard that medicine was less likely to cure the patient because he did not like the taste of it. Their effect over here is quite another matter. The cause of Republicanism in Europe has got a blow from which it will not recover all at once. The crimes at Washington are hardly less helpful to European Absolutism and Aristocracy than the crimes of the Commune were in 1871. From the crimes of the Commune men's minds—the minds of the most moderate—recoiled with horror. From the crimes at Washington men's minds recoil with disgust; and probably disgust is a not less powerful feeling than horror.

Europe is more than ever convinced that honest and cultivated people will have nothing to do with politics in America. We owe our critics some gratitude for the view they take. They do not say there are no honest and cultivated people in America. They do not doubt there are many such, but they set themselves to inquire how it happens that such people hold themselves aloof from the conduct of public affairs. It does not happen, they say, in monarchical countries; there, as a rule, the ablest and most honorable men are proud to devote themselves to the service of the State. It is only in a republic that the opposite rule holds, and the conclusion drawn from this fact is naturally unfavorable to a republican form of government. The conclusion is not, in fact, either logical or just. It is not true that a republic is the only nurse of vices. There has never been anything more profligate than the jobbing of public offices in France under Louis Philippe when Guizot was Prime Minister; nor than the jobbing in the public funds and speculations of all kinds by the ministers of Napoleon III. But those things happened day before yesterday; Belknap's thievery was yesterday; and everything that went before is suddenly forgotten. Again I say, we have no right to complain. The fact that corruption has left a stain on other Cabinets than those of President Grant is no reason why corruption in President Grant's Cabinet should not be censured. It is clearly for the general good that the lash should be laid on every rogue's back as it comes along.—*G. W. S., in N. Y. Tribune.*

PRIESTLY INTIMIDATION.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—Does it not strike you that a law such as that proposed by the Legislature of Rhode Island is simply a law to compel the Roman Catholic clergy to give the benefit of Church ordinances to those members of their communion who are guilty of no other offence than sending their children to the public schools? Are the ordinances of the Church a trust such as the State can insist upon having equitably exercised? If there was any Concordat between the Roman Catholic Church and the government of the State, there would be certain obligations to fulfil on either side, and possibly the civil government might be able to veto the action taken by the priests in this matter. But where the Church is wholly unrecognized by the State, how can the latter undertake to say to whom it shall administer its rites? Supposing the priests do not threaten at all, but simply confine themselves for the future—the thing being now thoroughly understood—to withholding the sacraments from these parents who send their children to the public schools, would it not be somewhat anomalous for the State to interfere and say: "These people have done nothing which ought to cause you to curtail their spiritual advantages, and we order you at once to restore them to all their privileges?" The State surely cannot decide a question of this kind. If it can, then there is no problem in theology or church-administration with which it might not try to cope.

It seems to me that everything depends upon the answer we give to this one question: "In granting or withholding the benefit of its ordinances, is the Church dealing with its own?" If it is, then it is tyranny for any power to step in and impose limitations on its action in regard to these ordinances. Supposing some wealthy man, whose custom is of the greatest importance to some struggling tradesman, says to the latter: "If you do so and so, I shall withdraw my custom from you;" would that be intimidation in the eye of the law? The Church says to its members: "You are at perfect liberty to withdraw yourselves from communion with us if you like; only, if you do so, you will be eternally lost. While you remain with us, however, you must obey ecclesiastical authority." I cannot see that there is a shadow of legal intimidation in this, any more than when a doctor tells his patient that, if he does not quit a certain neighborhood, he will surely contract a fatal disease. The Church may be an impostor, and the doctor may be a quack. Each gives its opinion for what it is worth; and only according to the individual conviction of the person addressed can either opinion have any practical result. You cannot possibly legislate away the belief that people have in their priests or in their doctors, and if the proposed Rhode Island law is ever entered on the Statute Book, I do not hesitate to predict that it will be little else than a dead letter.

Believe me, yours very truly,

WM. D. LESUEUR.

OTTAWA, March 20, 1876.

[If no threatnings or intimidations are made, of course no penalty could be imposed. So far we are

all agreed. But the question whether a Catholic parent shall or shall not send his child to the public school is not a question between the Church and "its own," but between the citizen and the State; and if the State has no right to protect its citizens from priestly interference with their civil rights, then it is powerless to protect its own existence from the ill-disguised treason of the Church. If we err not in this matter (which we confess to be a difficult one), the State has a right to say that any intimidation which is calculated to curtail individual liberty in the enjoyment of civil privileges is a crime against the person, and to punish it accordingly. This does not seem to us to be equivalent to commanding the Church to do this or that; it is only prohibiting it from "dealing with its own" in such a way as to violate the latter's personal rights. Why should not the Church be permitted to "deal with its own" by burning them, if heretical, at the stake? Simply because the free State will not and cannot concede that any man is the "Church's own"; it holds that property in man is abolished, whether the pretended "owner" is a Southern planter or a Catholic Church; and it holds that its own right to protect the citizen is paramount to any pretended right of the Church to oppress him. On no other ground can the State hinder the Church from reestablishing the Inquisition; and we do not see why the same principle does not require it to hinder the Church from preventing, by force or intimidation, the exercise of the Catholic's right to send his child to such a school as he freely prefers.—*ED.*

NEW YORK LETTER.

NEW YORK, March 23, 1876.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

There is nothing, I think, in this Centennial year, calculated to impress one more strikingly with the progress of our country during the century than what is presented to the eye in passing along Tenth Avenue, in this city, from Christopher Street to the Battery. For the whole distance, a couple of miles, or more, the bank of the Hudson is crowded with buildings, inscribed with large letters, denoting the places of departure of railroads and of steamers, not only to all parts of our own country, near and distant, north, south, east, and west, but also to the most remote countries of the globe. One has only to step on board, directly from the street, to find himself en route for almost any point of either hemisphere. The entrances are all thronged, with men and teams jostling against each other, and all intently at work like ants upon their hill.

But the best part of this evidence of progress comes from the impression that thus the whole world is brought into neighborhood, not only in the exchange of commodities, but in personal intercourse, in the knowledge of each other, and that, as a natural result, the best in the old civilizations and the new must be brought to the surface, and its worth mutually appreciated and adopted. And so it seems the means of bringing into brotherhood all the nations of the earth, of breaking down the prejudices of race and of religion, of exposing the superstitions of the Christian as well as of the so-called Pagan world, and of finally establishing a free, natural, and universal religion out of the best elements of all that have existed, and exempt from the narrowness and superstition of each. Is it not possible that our next Centennial may behold a result so magnificent for the race of man?

I lately met a young lady belonging to a family noted for its zeal and activity in carrying forward missionary and various other Christian enterprises. It has been a difficult thing to keep her in the Orthodox traces. She has had a great tendency to think for herself; and, although at the college in this State at which she was educated, she said it was the rule that, if possible, no one should graduate without being able to answer in the affirmative to the oft-repeated question, "Do you love Jesus?" she came away, still ungathered into the fold. But a new minister, she said, came to the church her family attended. The society was in a low state, and he wished to signalize his presence by building it up. As the best means of doing this, he concentrated his efforts upon the young people. She was again and again the subject of admonition and entreaty. The Church was one of the old Calvinistic type. She told the minister she could not join a Church where she was required to believe that people were elected to be saved or to be lost. Oh, he said, the Church did not believe in that doctrine, and she need not trouble herself about it. She finally consented to enroll herself among its members, and presented herself publicly to make her profession of faith. And what was her astonishment, she said, as the articles were read to her by her minister, to hear him enunciate, "You profess to believe that from all eternity God, in his good pleasure, elected some to everlasting life, and others to everlasting death!" But what could she do? There she stood before the congregation; she had not the courage to withdraw to her seat, or to speak out her denial. And so, she says, "I was got into the Church under false pretences."

A few weeks since, I attended worship at the magnificent synagogue of the Reformed Jews on Fifth Avenue. The service is, on their alternate Sabbaths, in German and in English. The subject of a suc-

cession of discourses, as it appeared, had been in answer to the question, "Why are we Jews?" The portion of the answer chiefly dwelt upon that day was, "Because of the freedom given us by our religion." This was a little surprising to me, as I had supposed they were strictly bound by their Hebrew Scriptures. I would like to have illustrations of the grounds and the operations of this freedom. The "frozen music" of the architecture, and the fluent music of the powerful choir, which moved steadily on in its grandeur, as it were "the sound of many waters," were enough of themselves to enwrap the attention, and to thrill the soul. And then the ruddy and brilliant illumination of the cabinet, wherein are kept the Books of the Law, and the crimson, ever-burning light of the temple, suspended high above the altar, were striking features of the gorgeous ornamentations. The congregation was large, and seemingly devout. The evidences of wealth were apparent, not only in the elegance of the edifice, but in the richness of dress of many of the women. And I have never noticed, in an assembly of its size, so many beautiful faces as were presented by the brilliant coloring and fine features of many of the young Jewesses. A. H.

WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

Standing beneath the dome of the Capitol at Washington, I looked upon those great pictures which are supposed to represent eras in our country's history, like the "Landing of Columbus," etc. Among them is the "Baptism of Pocahontas." Does that represent an era in our history? Upon no other supposition than that our nation is Christian. On that supposition it has vast significance, and is worthy of a place in the nation's dome. But if our nation is not Christian, as Washington and Congress have decisively declared by a solemn treaty, then such a picture in the dome of the Capitol is an impertinence; it has nothing at all to do with the development of the American idea. If it was a fine work of art, we might keep it for that reason; but being only a daub, the quicker it is rubbed out the better. The dome of the Capitol should be consecrated to the pure expression of our nation's life, and to put into it the representation of a mere ecclesiastical ceremony is a wrong. It gives a feeling of discord, and it seems to me that liberals should protest against it as much as they do against the Bible in the schools; for the impressions of art are as enduring as those of mere teaching, and here is a continual impression made upon every visitor to the Capitol that our nation is a "Christian" nation. I, for one, protest against it. The pictures in the Capitol should cultivate simply a national feeling, an American feeling. Let ecclesiasticism withdraw its officious symbols.

The whole Capitol, after all, is but a poor expression of our national life. It has too much the air of a grand hotel. It is gaudy, and is but a reflex of European art, and a mere photograph at that, and not a copy made by a living soul. But we want no copies, however grand, but the strong and simple product of our own soil, something massive and magnificent as our own hills, light, and airy, and brilliant as our skies, vast as our hopes. We have had our Washingtons, and Lincolns, and Websters; we now want some Angelos and Raphaels. But, alas! we see not even the dawn of one as yet.

A RADICAL LOOKER-ON IN WASHINGTON.

MASONRY.

This ancient institution has kept its purity, notwithstanding all the assaults, insults, and misrepresentations which have been made against it. Its secrets are similar to the secrets of Nature after we have ascertained them. We are not afraid, and do not think, as some people do, that they are bad, or the products of Beelzebub. Masonry is as broad as humanity. Special religions and politics have no place here; but some members will bring their private notions into it. On the 23d of March, A. L. 5876, we had a public installation and banquet in Belknap Chapter, Dover, N. H. The ceremonies are very impressive, and the charges given to the several officers are broad and excellent. Every man, Jew, Mohammedan, Christian, and Radical, can accept them. But in one of the charges the phrase "Christian charity" has been put in. With due respect for all good endeavors in any church, we must say this is a gross mistake, and anti-masonic. We hope that it may be taken out and carried to one or the other of the Christian churches where it belongs. We have here, like the Free Religious Association, no offensive Christian, Jewish, or Mohammedan charity; but every good Mason, just as well as every good man, ought to practice human charity,—that is, charity to all human beings. Just as "all men are created free and equal," so ought all men to be charitable to each other. Specifications or special claims imply or manifest partiality and assumption, which we find in the Church and among ecclesiastics; but when our mind is developed to common sense and common honesty, we must have common charity and common virtue. CARL H. HORSCH.

DOVER, N. H., March 26, 1876.

I GOT to chatting with a German acquaintance, and asked him what he was doing. He replied, "Shoost now nodings, but I haf made arranchments to go into pizness." "Glad to hear it. What are you going into?" "Vell, I goes into partnership mit a man." "Do you put in much capital?" "No, I doesn't put in no capital." "Don't want to risk it, eh?" "No, but I puts in de experience." "And he puts in the capital?" "Yes, dat is it. We goes into pizness for drie years; he puts in de gapital, I puts in de experience. At the end of drie years I will have de gapital and he will have de experience."

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Third Proposition. Property is impossible, because, with a

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Fourth Proposition. Property is impossible, because it is Homofield.

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Property is impossible, because it is the Mother of Tyranny.

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1876. NEW YORK. 1876.

Eighteen hundred and seventy-six is the Centennial year. It is also the year in which an Opposition House of Representatives, the first since the war, will be in power at Washington; and the year of the twenty-third election of a President of the United States.

All of these events are sure to be of great interest and importance, especially the two latter; and all of them, and everything connected with them, will be fully and freshly reported and expounded in *The Sun*.

The Opposition House of Representatives, taking up the line of inquiry opened years ago by *The Sun*, will sternly and diligently investigate the corruptions and misdeeds of GRANT's administration, and will, it is to be hoped, lay the foundation for a new and better period in our national history. Of all this *The Sun* will contain complete and accurate accounts, furnishing its readers with early and trustworthy information upon these absorbing topics.

The twenty-third Presidential election, with the preparations for it, will be memorable as deciding upon GRANT's aspirations for a third term of power and plunder, and still more as deciding who shall be the candidate of the party of Reform, and as electing that candidate. Concerning all these subjects, those who read *The Sun* will have the constant means of being thoroughly well informed.

The Weekly Sun, which has attained a circulation of over eighty thousand copies, already has its readers in every State and Territory, and we trust that the year 1876 will see their numbers doubled. It will continue to be a thorough newspaper. All the general news of the day will be found in it, condensed when unimportant, at full length when of moment; and always, we trust, treated in a clear, interesting, and instructive manner.

It is our aim to make the *Weekly Sun* the best family newspaper in the world, and we shall continue to give in its columns a large amount of miscellaneous reading, such as stories, tales, poems, scientific intelligence, and agricultural information, for which we are not able to make room in our daily edition. The agricultural department especially is one of its prominent features. The fashions are also regularly reported in its columns; and so are the markets of every kind.

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THE CENTENNIAL

CONGRESS OF LIBERALS!

AN APPEAL TO ALL

Who believe that the United States should be

Absolutely Secularized.

And who favor the movement to carry out the principle of

STATE SECULARIZATION,

As indicated in the "Demands of Liberalism."

605 WALNUT ST., PHILADELPHIA, }
March 1, 1876.

To the Liberal Leagues and the Liberal Public of the United States:—

The General Centennial Committee, appointed at a convention held in this city last September for the purpose of making all necessary arrangements for a General Centennial Congress of Liberals next summer, have decided to call said Congress to convene at Philadelphia, Saturday, July 1, 1876,—further particulars to be hereafter announced.

Each organized Liberal League will be entitled to send five delegates as special representatives—three in addition to its President and Secretary. But all individual Liberals who sympathize with the general objects and aims of the Liberal Leagues will be equally entitled and welcomed to seats and votes in the Congress.

REPORT PROMPTLY!

In order to lessen as much as possible the expense of the delegates, each League is requested to elect them as soon as possible, and to report their names to the undersigned through its Secretary. All Liberals, delegates, or individuals who desire and intend to participate in the Convention are requested also to forward personally and immediately their names and full post-office addresses to the undersigned, that he may be enabled to make the most favorable terms possible for their accommodation. If notified early, he hopes to secure for them a considerable reduction in railroad fares, and to provide boarding-places at perhaps half the usual rates of the season.

Donations Solicited!

The Centennial Committee on Finance having through their Chairman transferred their duties to the General Centennial Committee, the undersigned has been appointed to attend to the financial department, and hereby appeals to the Liberals of the country for voluntary contributions to the amount of One Thousand Dollars.

This amount will be needed to make the Congress a complete success, though the utmost possible will be done with whatever is contributed. The officers of the union of Liberal German societies propose to raise the same amount for their convention, and have already raised \$600 of it. The Young Men's Christian Association here have already spent this year nearly \$100,000 in preparation for the Centennial, in the interest of Orthodox superstition; it would be a pity if all the friends of "Liberty and Light" could not do a hundredth part as much for the cause of national development and free humanity! The money will all be wanted (and much more could be advantageously expended) in providing suitable halls and head-quarters, advertising the Congress liberally in advance in the chief dailies of the country, defraying the necessary expenses of desired and invited speakers, paying *verbatim* reporters, publishing a complete pamphlet report of the proceedings, etc., etc. What is done must be done speedily, since the arrangements should be completed, as far as practicable, by the first of May.

All sums donated will be duly acknowledged in THE INDEX, and a full report of all expenditures will be sent for publication in the same paper. Remittances should be sent to the undersigned, 605 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. Will not all friends of the movement respond heartily and at once?

DAMON Y. KILGORE,

Acting Treasurer.

I believe that Mr. Kilgore is a gentleman of unimpeachable personal integrity, and that all money remitted to him as above will be faithfully and economically devoted to the legitimate uses of the Congress.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT,

Chairman of the General Centennial Committee.

At the preliminary Convention held at Philadelphia on Sept. 17, 18, and 19, 1875, for the purpose of making arrangements for the Centennial Congress of Liberals, the following were appointed a

General Centennial Committee:

FRANCIS E. ABBOT,

DAMON Y. KILGORE,

ALEXANDER LOOS,

ISAAC RHEN,

BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD,

H. S. WILLIAMS,

with power to increase their number to fifteen. The completion and success of the arrangements must depend on the liberality of the friends of the movement, who are respectfully and earnestly solicited to contribute the necessary funds.

The Index.

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VOLUME 7.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, APRIL 13, 1876.

WHOLE No. 329.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fairs shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

Therefore, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be **THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF —**.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in —, and thereby to effect the total separation of Church and State in fact as well as in theory.

Also to send delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League, when organized, and to cooperate heartily with all the liberals of the country in furtherance of the above-named object.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE
FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

ion. No person shall ever in any State be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious practices shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

SAYS THE New York Graphic: "The Hippodrome Moody meetings have cost \$125,000, and the managers are \$60,000 in debt. And yet there is some suffering among the poor."

THOMASSEN, the "dynamite fiend," turns out to be really Alexander Keith, Jr., and was born at Halifax, Nova Scotia. This is the statement of the second official report made at Bremen, and makes the accusations of "American civilization" on his account look foolish enough.

A PUBLIC MEETING of the Boston Liberal League will be held at Parker Memorial Hall, in this city, on Friday evening, April 14, at half-past seven o'clock. Rev. Minot J. Savage will give an address on "State Secularization." Important matters will be brought before the League. All persons interested are cordially invited to attend.

N. P. WILLIS, according to Dr. Edward Beecher, having joined the church in a revival, wanted to get out after the excitement was cooled. Dr. Beecher told him he would have to do something bad, and get excommunicated. So Mr. Willis went to the theatre! Sure enough, he got his release in consideration of such unpardonable wickedness.

POPE PIUS IX. granted a special dispensation to allow the marriage of Miss Edith Story (daughter of the well-known sculptor) to the Commendatore Peruzzi, a member of the King's household. She is a Protestant, and could not in Catholic estimation be legally married to a Catholic without the Pope's permit; and this is the first time the present Pope has ever granted it.

It is quite evident that Mrs. Besant is rapidly making friends among INDEX readers by her very interesting "English Sketches." Many have expressed to us their great satisfaction in these weekly letters. Her present letter is full of instruction for American Liberals, pointing out as it does the protective power of a national organization in cases where the individual rights of freethinkers are invaded. It should be remembered that one chief object of the Centennial Congress of Liberals is to pave the way for such an organization in this country.

BISHOP FERRETTE addressed the following inquiry to us on the first of April: "Do you not think that, in present circumstances, it would be well to drop the fifth 'Demand of Liberalism'—so far as it objects to the appointment of days of public humiliation and prayer, at any rate"? If the date of his note can safely be disregarded, we would answer that it would be "well" to omit the Demand referred to, provided the practice it specifies does not, in any degree, connect the State with the Church; and the consideration of this point we would respectfully refer back to the Bishop.

MR. OLIVER JOHNSON has just taken charge of the Orange, N. J., Journal. He avows himself a "Republican Reformer," and declares that to seek reform through the Democratic party would be like jumping into a morass to avoid the mud of the highway. *Per contra*, a deacon in Cleveland who is one of the uncounted army of independent voters, being twitted by a party man with being on the fence, retorted: "Yes, I am on the fence, and there I propose to stay as long as it is so confoundedly muddy

on both sides." Everybody seems to have a profound consciousness of "mud" in politics; why is there no resolute movement to macadamize the road with a good civil service system?

THE PHILADELPHIA *Christian Statesman* is exulting over the adoption and proclamation of its own Christian Amendment ideas by Rev. A. P. Putnam, D. D., a prominent Unitarian clergyman of Brooklyn, N. Y. In a recent "Centennial sermon," he is quoted as saying: "Such was the priceless legacy which the builders of our American republic received from the colonists. Not that obnoxious idea of 'Church and State,' which is only too often made use of in our day to prejudice unthinking men against a reasonable and legitimate recognition and influence of religion in our civil government and public affairs, but that better idea of a free and unsectarian commonwealth which, while it respects the right of private judgment, and tolerates and protects all denominations and communions in the exercise and enjoyment of their faith and worship, yet acknowledges its allegiance to and dependence upon the God of nations, and seeks to make the general truths and principles of Christianity the law of its life." The *Statesman*, after further quotations of the same drift, says: "The principles and demands of secularists are next met with deserved ridicule and indignation. The 'Demands of Liberalism' are quoted in full, and their logical outcome clearly shown." We have not seen this sermon of Rev. Dr. Putnam, and should be glad to republish his argument against the "Demands of Liberalism," if we could obtain a copy.

IN AN editorial article which attempts (with greater labor than success) to be sarcastic, the Brooklyn *Catholic Review* criticises our late lecture on the school question, but can discover no argument against it except the intimation that "the State is as directly and even more imperatively called on to assist in providing bread and butter [for children] as in furnishing spelling-books." It is such cheap sophistries as this that alone fill the arsenal of Catholic logic on this question. The State *does* provide "bread and butter," in its almshouses and orphan asylums, for such children as are thrown upon its care; but the parents who have made themselves responsible for the child's existence have thereby made themselves responsible for continuing it until the child is able to provide for his own necessities, and the State is under no obligation to assume this responsibility until the parents are dead or helpless. The "bread and butter" thus furnished by the parents is an *immediate daily want* of the child during his minority, and the parents' duty to furnish it ends with his minority; beyond that period, the child is bound to provide for himself by his own labor. But the education to which the child is as much entitled as he is to "bread and butter" is *not* an immediate daily want, but rather a provident provision for future wants sure to be felt alike by himself, by his parents, and by society. Who gets the benefit of the "bread and butter"? The child and the parents alone, from day to day; and, the child being helpless, the parents must furnish it. But who is to get the benefit of the education? The child, the parents to some degree, and the State to a still greater degree; and, the child being helpless, the parents and the State should divide the expense. The child's need of "bread and butter," being an immediate want, constitutes a claim on the parents alone; but his need of education, which is simply provision for future wants after the parental responsibility has ceased, constitutes a joint claim on the parents and the State, and the State's just and wise response is the public school system. One would think all this sufficiently obvious even to an ordinary comprehension; but the comprehension of the *Catholic Review* is so very extraordinary that it is perhaps well enough to state it in plain English.

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[For THE INDEX.]

Woman and Politics.

AN ESSAY READ BEFORE THE CHESTNUT STREET CLUB, BOSTON, MARCH 27, 1876.

BY REV. E. S. ELDER.

The woman's movement is of such magnitude, and is advocated by so many intelligent men and women, that its claims can no longer be ignored by those who heretofore have been indifferent. If the arguments in its behalf are valid, if a wrong is done to women by withholding the ballot, it is the imperative duty of every lover of justice to exert his influence in behalf of the rights of woman. On the other hand, if the woman's movement in its most prominent features is the product of unnatural and temporary conditions, partial and ill-considered conclusions, if it is one of the most conspicuous manifestations of an unhealthy tendency, if its success threatens more harm than it promises good, it is the no less imperative duty of every one interested in the social and moral welfare of the individual and the State to oppose the movement. In short, be the character of the woman's movement what it may, it should no longer be ignored by the vast majority of intelligent men and women.

The advocates of the woman's movement have been so much in earnest, so persuasively eloquent, and in the absence of all dignified opposition have made their case so clear, that many have been convinced, or I should say converted, by the earnestness of others' convictions without having given any independent thought to the subject. Many there are who in a mild way take it for granted that, if Mrs. Lucy Stone, Mrs. Livermore, or Mrs. Howe wish to vote, they ought to be allowed to. They do not stop to inquire if there are any objections to all that is implied in the extension of suffrage to women.

Nearly all that is said concerning the woman's movement is in its favor. Those who are opposed or indifferent to the movement, those who are not yet fully convinced of the validity of its claims and the conclusiveness of the arguments in its behalf, have but little, if anything, to say upon the subject. Hence it happens that the real objections to the extension of the franchise to woman, the objections to her participation with man in public and political life and duties, as seen by those who are in a condition to feel their force, are seldom, if ever, stated. It is true that objections are alluded to on the woman's suffrage platform, but not by those who feel their force, nor in a manner to make others recognize and appreciate their importance. And by many, particularly the advocates of the woman's movement, it is taken for granted that there are no real objections whose considerations can for a moment stand in the way of the recognition and acknowledgment of woman's right to vote, and the expediency and necessity of allowing her to vote and to share with man the honor and responsibilities of political life. In brief, only one side of this subject has been presented to

the public with any degree of rigor and vigor. It has occurred to me that the other side should be set forth. It is not expected that the faith of a single advocate of woman's suffrage will be shaken in the least. On the contrary, the convictions of the woman suffragist will in all probability be strengthened and deepened by all that is said in opposition to the movement. Our idols are never so dear to us as when some rude iconoclast tells us that they are idols and not gods. It is confidently hoped that those who have not given the subject any attention, and who are inclined to allow the claims of the suffragists without any question as to their validity, will, at least, be made to perceive that there are two sides to the question, both of which need to be considered before they commit themselves to either.

It will be the purpose of this essay—

First. To examine the reasons urged in behalf of the extension of the franchise to woman, and of her participation with man in the functions of government.

Second. To state a few of the principal objections to the proposed change, and all it includes and stands for.

It is freely admitted in the outset that, if it can be shown that woman needs the ballot to secure and preserve her natural rights—namely, the right to personal security, the right to personal liberty, the right to private property, and the right to remedies for wrongs done to her,—if this can be shown, woman may properly demand the ballot as a matter of right. I should lay it down as a principle of law that whatever is essential to the enjoyment of a natural right may itself be demanded as a secondary right. If the withholding the ballot from woman precludes her from the most complete enjoyment of any one of her natural rights, she is defrauded, she is wronged. But before this secondary right can be demanded as a right, it must be shown to be essential to the enjoyment of the natural right.

It is admitted that, if it can be shown that the welfare of the State would be advanced by woman's participation in political life, that participation may be urged on grounds of expediency.

Even if a majority of the intelligent women of a State feel and believe that they suffer from their inability to vote, and otherwise participate with man in public life, or if they believe that woman's vote would secure any good to women or to the State that will not or cannot be secured by man, this fact would constitute a violent presumption in favor of such participation.

Indeed, if it could be shown that men are indifferent to the interests of women, or from any reason incompetent or unwilling to promote those interests as well as woman herself, then most certainly woman should be encouraged in her efforts to share in those privileges by which alone her highest welfare can be secured.

The advocates of woman's suffrage claim and endeavor to show that woman is entitled to the franchise as a matter of natural right, and also as a matter of what I have termed secondary right; that is, as the means essential to the enjoyment of the universally-admitted natural rights.

It is asserted that the laws in their relation to women are unjust and cruel; that just laws will not be enacted until women vote; that wages of men and women respectively are unequal, and that woman's vote is necessary to the establishment of justice.

The woman suffragists insist that the assessment of taxes upon the property of women who cannot vote is tyranny.

Again, woman suffragists claim that the welfare of the State would be promoted by woman's participation in the functions of government.

Natural right, unjust laws, unequal wages, taxation without representation, political expediency,—these are the claims put forth in behalf of woman's suffrage.

Let us examine these claims. If they are valid, there can be no question but woman is entitled to political equality with man. An examination of the criticisms by woman suffragists of one law will serve to illustrate the character of their objections to nearly all laws from whose operation they believe women to suffer.

The woman suffragists criticize those provisions of law by which a widow is entitled to only a life interest in one-third of the husband's unencumbered real estate. The one case always cited on the suffrage platform to illustrate the injustice of man-made laws is this: a man dies leaving a widow and real estate, or other property accumulated by the joint and perhaps equal labors of the husband and wife. The brothers of the husband—on the woman's suffrage platform it is always brothers or other male heirs—take the two-thirds of the estate, leaving the widow nothing but the income of the other third. To give force to the argument, it is usually asked, if this widow had a vote or voice in the making of the laws, would she not desire to change this one by whose provisions she has been wronged? All who judge of the law by its operations in one case very naturally desire to change it, and are easily convinced that, if women helped to make the laws, this law that works so unjustly would be repealed.

Before we assume that this law is unjust, and before we attribute its assumed injustice to the fact that it was enacted by man, and before we decide that woman's participation in the making of the laws will do away with the assumed injustice of this one, let us determine the reasons for the law.

The laws regulating the settlement of estates and the inheritance of property do not and cannot regard the interests of any one class exclusively; neither can a law be judged by its operation in any one case.

The laws which determine the disposal of estates have in view many separate and oftentimes conflicting interests. There are the rights of the creditors of

the estate; there are the rights of the children; and in the absence of children there are the interests of other relatives who are quite as liable to be women as men; there are also the rights of the widow. Now it is no easy matter to devise a uniform rule of law that shall work absolute justice to all in every case.

Let us take the case as stated on the suffrage platform, and make such changes as will show the operation of the law in many cases. Suppose the estate is insolvent—that is, suppose that the husband owed ten dollars for every dollar of assets,—will the creditors say that it is just for the widow to take one-third of that property that actually belongs to the creditors? Yet this law allows her the third, even though it is the property of the creditors.

Suppose the property is inherited by the husband, or accumulated by the joint labors of the husband and a former wife whose children are the only children of the husband. The widow may have been the wife of a year or month, yet the law gives her the one-third during life.

Is it true to say that this law is unjust to woman? No doubt a case can be found in which the uniform rule does not promote absolute justice as regards the widow; but the one benefited by the injustice is as likely to be a woman as a man. It is not, as is always represented on the woman's suffrage platform, a question between man and woman. It is a question between the widow on the one hand, and creditors and heirs on the other. The law must be considered in its relations to all classes if we would determine its character. This same law, whose operation in one case is so often cited as an illustration of man's injustice to woman, and of the meanness of man-made laws, is seen, when its entire scope and purport are fairly considered, to be generous in its provisions for woman. It endows every woman at the moment of her marriage with a life-interest in one-third of her husband's estate. But if this law of inheritance, or any other law, operates unjustly as regards woman, man is as ready to repeal the injustice as woman herself can be, and for the obvious reason that the interests of men and women are identical. Injustice to one is equal injustice to the other. It is by arraying the interests of the one sex in antagonism with the interests of the other that a false issue is raised.

The history of legislation during the last twenty-five years demonstrates the fact that legislators are able and willing to enact laws as just as any suggested by women themselves. This one law of inheritance has been dwelt upon for the purpose of showing the character of the claim for woman's suffrage based upon the assumed injustice of the laws toward woman. An examination of this law reveals the fact that there is not the most remote probability that woman's vote would change it, or that woman's interest would be promoted by any important change in its provisions.

A second argument in behalf of woman's suffrage and woman's participation in the making of the laws is based upon the inequality of the wages of men and women respectively. It is claimed that great injustice is done to women by this inequality of wages.

It is confidently asserted that with the ballot in her hand woman would be able to make the wages of woman equal to those of men. Here are two assumptions that deserve notice: first, it is assumed that wages can be determined by legislation. Secondly, it is assumed that all, or at least a majority of, men would favor an increase of woman's wages. Have these assumptions any basis in fact? Is this inequality of wages to be attributed to the character of legislation? Can the Legislature legitimately determine the rate of interest, or of wages, save in the absence of agreement between the contracting parties? As regards this assumption, it is sufficient to say that it is becoming the generally-established principle that it is not a function of the State to determine the rates of interest and wages. Citizens are left at liberty to obtain as much labor for their money, and as much money for their labor as they can. The inequality between the wages of men and those of women is to be attributed to the fact that there is a greater demand for the labor of men than for that of women. The army and navy are filled with men; commerce is carried on exclusively by men. More than four-fifths of men are engaged in work that women have no desire to do, work that women are not fitted to do. Men build cities, construct railroads. Fishing, lumbering, farming, and the mechanical pursuits require the muscular power of men. In short, the heavy work of the world is, and must be, carried on by men, by that sex that has the ability of uninterrupted labor. Again, there is a continual exodus of young men from the East. They leave a great inequality in the sexes. In the State of Massachusetts there are 63,000 females in excess of males.

Another fact to be taken into consideration in this connection is the great change that has taken place during the last thirty years in woman's relation to manual labor. No longer than thirty years ago the cotton and woollen mills, and many other manufactories, were filled by the farmers' daughters of New England. Thirty years ago a young woman could leave her comfortable home in the country and engage in any labor—in housekeeping, in the manufactories—without losing caste. Honest labor was honorable. The divorce between manual labor and intelligence had not then taken place.

Within the last thirty years a revolution has taken place. The mills are filled with French Canadians, the kitchens are infested with imported stupidity.

A large portion of labor formerly performed by intelligent American girls is now poorly done by a very ignorant class, mostly foreign. What is the result? An army of intelligent American girls have nothing to do.

Many have found employment in teaching, in stores, in printing-offices, and in many places to

which women were strangers thirty years ago. It is safe to say that for every one who has found employment there are half-a-dozen needing it. Some of the better educated are pressing forward toward other and higher callings,—literature, art, science. Philanthropies promise opportunity; for every one who succeeds scores are struggling for success. This intelligent, oftentimes refined, class of women, dependent upon the work of their hands for subsistence, constitutes the suffering class. Their lives are silent tragedies.

Beneath them are the ignorant, the coarse, the brutal, the vicious. Above them is the upper millstone, the intelligent, cultured, refined, virtuous, the well-to-do, and the wealthy, whose indifference to the silent suffering so near to them is as pitiless, as heartless, as God's stars in the heavens.

It is obvious that no one is responsible for this condition of things. In the presence of this army of intelligent American women, each individual of which is competing with every other, it is not difficult to perceive why women receive less wages than men, even for the performance of the same labor. If a merchant is obliged to pay a man \$1,200 a year, and half-a-dozen women are anxious to obtain the situation for half that sum, what can be done to prevent the merchant from preferring the man, or employing one of the six women at the lower rate? Other things being equal, the merchant will prefer to have the man to keep his books or sell his goods. Merchants and others who employ men to do what women can do, have more confidence in the ability of men for uninterrupted labor than they have in women. The marriage of the man in no way interferes with his labor. The marriage of the woman does.

But be the causes what they may, those who carry on business prefer men to women in those cases where both can do the work.

Here are two causes operating against women: the inequality of the sexes, and the still greater inequality between the competitors for that kind of work that each sex can do nearly as well as the other; the marked preference of employers for men. In short, here is the inexorable and inevitable law of supply and demand. Now the advocates of woman's suffrage are not the only people who are unwilling to recognize the uniform and inexorable law. Very many wise people have flattered themselves, in all ages of the world, that they could in some way control the inevitable. Most of us have outgrown all hope of changing the law of gravitation; but there are other laws no less uniform that many sensible and sentimental people expect to abrogate with the magic wand. Strange as it may seem, there are those to-day who fondly hope to determine the relations of labor, and the product of labor, that is, capital, by a vote.

The fact is that the uniform laws of gravitation, of supply and demand, are far more beneficent, far more philanthropic, than any of the proposed amendments.

An examination of the second assumption, regarding woman's wages, will make manifest one of the characteristic fallacies of the woman's movement. It is confidently assumed that all, or a majority of, women would favor an increase of woman's wages. It is obvious that all women who receive a salary are interested in its increase; but in the consideration of this subject all the women of the State are not to be identified with those who work for wages. There are women who pay wages. Nearly all women indirectly contribute to the payment of wages to women. It is assumed that the question of wages is a question between men on the one hand, and women on the other. It is also assumed that woman is more friendly to woman than man is. What are the facts? Do women pay larger salaries to their employees than men pay for the same service? Do those women who work for wages prefer women for employers? Are all of the women of a town in favor of paying the lady teachers the same salaries that are paid to the gentlemen?

Instead of this matter of wages being a question between men and women respectively, it is a question between producers and consumers, between the vast majority both of men and women who are interested in cheap production on the one hand, and the producing minorities on the other, who favor high prices for their labor.

Let this be stated in a concrete form. The woman who teaches school is in favor of high salaries for teachers. She is equally desirous of buying her books, her wearing apparel, at the lowest price. She is indirectly interested in small salaries for the woman who helps to make the paper, for her who sets the type, for the woman who binds the book, for the saleswoman, for the lady bookkeeper in the store in which she buys her books,—in brief, she is benefited by low wages for every one beside herself. Many women's wages or salaries enter into the cost of nearly everything which she consumes. On the suffrage platform, and in the suffrage literature, it is always the cruel, selfish men who alone are benefited by the cheap labor of women. In view of the foregoing considerations, is there any reason for believing that woman could, if she would, increase woman's wages with a vote, or by legislation? Is there any reason for believing that woman would, if she could, increase the wages of women? Is there the remotest probability that woman's vote, or woman's participation in the making of laws, will solve the problems involved in the relation of labor to capital? Is the claim in favor of woman's suffrage based upon the inequality of wages a valid one? The third ground upon which the claim in behalf of woman's suffrage is urged, with much appearance of reason and justice, is the fact that property owned by women is taxed; though it is usually insisted that women are taxed but not represented, and that taxation without

representation is tyranny. I am free to admit that our present method of taxation, or any other that has been devised, does not work absolute justice to all persons. It is assumed by woman suffragists that it is woman alone who suffers from our present system of taxation. It is unnecessary to state that persons are not taxed with the exception of the poll-tax. Taxes are assessed upon property with no reference to the owner. The owner may be a man, a woman, a child, a non-resident, a corporation. That amount of property contributes so much toward the support of schools, roads, and the payment of other expenses. The property, be it much or little, owned by man or woman, is not represented. If it be urged that the woman whose property is assessed for \$100 or \$1,000 ought for that reason to be allowed to vote, that injustice is done by denying her the privilege, it may with equal propriety be maintained that a corporation that pays one-half the tax of the town, as in many instances they do, ought to be allowed more than one vote. What are the objections to what appear to be the demands of justice? Simply this: the proposed change is opposed to the fundamental principle of republican government; namely, persons, not property, constitute the basis of representation; and property, not persons, is the basis of taxation. There are nearly 34,000 women whose property is taxed in Massachusetts. It is doubtful if 2,000 of these feel themselves aggrieved by the operation of the law. Is their need of the ballot so urgent as to justify so momentous a change in the fundamental principle of our government?

The moment that pecuniary considerations or qualifications confer the privilege of suffrage, our democracy becomes an oligarchy, or at best a moneyed aristocracy. In no easier way can the advocates of woman suffrage defeat their cause than by putting a vote into the hands of the 34,000 women who are taxpayers in this State. It is not the wealthy who will favor the proposed indiscriminate extension of suffrage.

The ballot is claimed for woman on grounds of expediency, of public need. It is the conviction of the advocates of the woman's movement that woman's vote and woman's influence in politics would be highly beneficial.

There can be no question but American politics are notoriously and disgracefully corrupt. Chief among America's contributions to the Centennial will be the official corruption of the one hundredth year of American Independence. A low phase of personal ambition constitutes the *animus* of the average politician. What may be termed the fourth estate of the realm—namely, the lobby,—exerts a controlling influence over that portion of national legislation that has reference to finance and moneyed corporations. The better class of citizens, the more intelligent, moral, and refined, are unwilling to compete with the opposite class for public office.

A low type and quality of men are most prominent, most successful, and most influential in political affairs. The advocates of the woman's movement insist that woman's participation in politics would change all this.

It is assumed that all the women in the State or nation, considered as a unit, are morally superior to all men, considered as a unit.

It is perfectly natural that the many intelligent and highly-cultivated advocates of the woman's movement should believe that, were they allowed to vote, and in other ways to participate in the business of government, they could as legislators enact wise laws, as jurors they could find a righteous verdict, as judges they could render a just decision. There is, can be, no question but the women who advocate woman's suffrage are more moral, more intelligent, more capable of performing the various functions of government than the mob of men who fill the ballot-boxes with votes. If the question of woman's suffrage had reference only to those exceptionally intelligent and public-spirited women, it is highly probable that politics would be improved by woman's participation. The question, as each woman suffragist states it to herself, is this: Can I not vote and legislate more wisely than the ignorant men who vote and make laws? But the actual question is this: Is there any reason for believing that the 370,000 women who would become voters in Massachusetts would in any respect excel the 351,000 men voters? Unless women as women are superior to men, more capable, more moral, less susceptible to temptation than men, the State or politics has nothing to hope for from this increase in the number of voters. On the contrary, does not the one great danger that threatens most harm to the American experiment of self-government lie in the direction of excessive democracy,—an inevitable result of the reaction from the despotism of monarchies and aristocracies? While the most intellectual and highly-cultivated men find their equals among women, it is well to bear in mind, at least in connection with this subject, that the most ignorant, unscrupulous, immoral, and dehumanized of men, and classes of men, have their equals among these women. For every man whose influence or vote threatens the corruption of politics, whose ignorance or indifference allows and favors the opportunity for the politician to subordinate the interests of the country to his personal aggrandizement, one or more women can be found whose indifference, ignorance, or dishonesty will threaten equal, if not greater, harm. The most seductive and dangerous persons in the national lobby are women. Is it highly probable that woman's presence and influence will improve the character of political life? The suffragists are ready to cite particular cases where the influence of women has been elevating and purifying; but in the cases usually cited it is a superior class of women who exert this influence. All classes, the ignorant, the selfish, the immoral as well as the superior, are not to be identified with the intelligent and public-spirited

minority; nor is the influence which the latter exert to be attributed to all women. It is maintained by not a few of the advocates of woman's suffrage that woman has a natural right to vote, and consequently if her demand for the ballot is not conceded she is wronged. There is not time to enter into a comprehensive discussion of this subject of natural rights. It may be remarked in passing, that upon no subject of equal importance is there greater misconception than upon this. The actual state of the case can only be hinted at in this paper.

The individual, the person, has a natural right to exist, a right to everything essential to existence. The natural rights as enumerated by jurists are, 1. The right to personal security; 2. The right to personal liberty; 3. The right to private property; 4. The right to remedies for wrongs,—that is, protection by the State or government.

These are personal rights. They pertain to all persons, regardless of age or sex. The object of government is to secure each person the full enjoyment of these natural rights. The State owes protection to every individual. It derives its authority from the consent, express or implied, of the governed, or a majority of them.

Now it is found that a literal democracy is impossible; that is, every man, and woman, and child cannot participate in the business of government. All that is possible is a representative democracy. For instance, the interests of all persons less than twenty-one years of age are represented and secured by those above that age. The young do not suffer because they do not participate in making the laws by which they are governed. After a government is created it has something to do,—it has duties to perform. It derives its power not primarily from the consent of the governed, but from the wish of the vast majority to be protected in the enjoyment of their natural rights.

An illustration will make this distinction obvious: the State of Massachusetts does not derive its authority to govern the criminals of the State from their consent, either express or implied; on the contrary, it derives its authority from that class of people who are interested in the security of natural rights. Government is eminently moral in its nature and purpose; but, what is more to the purpose in this connection, the State or the Government has a right to determine how and by what means it will perform its function and duty of protection as regards the individual, or to state the same principle in a concrete form. If in a community of one hundred seventy-five agree upon the means and methods by which the community shall be governed—that is, the means and methods by which the natural right of every individual shall be secured and protected,—it will be perfectly competent for them to do so. No individual can have a cause of complaint so long as his rights are secured to him. But suppose the individual insists (and in a community of one hundred persons there will be one who will insist) that he has a right to participate in this business of government. The all-sufficient answer (sufficient for every one but him) would be this: we seventy-five, or sixty, as the case may be, find that we can better secure the ends of government without your participation than with it; and suppose, further, that the sixty can better perform the functions of government than the sixty-one, what becomes of the natural right of that one, or ten, to participate in the government? It is found that even the ideal government, by the people, for the people, and of the people, must be representative. Each man, woman, and child can claim its protection as a matter of right; but every man, woman, and child cannot participate in that government. It is for it to determine who shall do so. Inasmuch as absolute democracy is impossible, the practical question is, To whom shall the privilege of participating in the government be restricted? Were it possible, participation should be restricted to the intelligent and moral, to those interested in the objects of government; for the ignorant and immoral can neither govern themselves nor aid in governing others. Practically the two classes cannot be separated. Something, however, can be done by way of approximate separation. It is assumed that children can render no service, and as their interests are assumed to be identical with those of their parents, it is believed that they will suffer no harm by being excluded. It is for the State to determine at what age they shall be allowed a voice in public affairs. While there may be those of eighteen, nineteen, or twenty years of age who might vote and legislate intelligently, it has been determined that no one shall vote until he is twenty-one. Were it deemed expedient, it would be competent for the State to withhold the privilege until the young man is twenty-five or thirty. The natural right of the young man, or young woman, of twenty is just as valid as the natural right of the man of twenty-one. The latter does not vote because it is his natural right, but because it has been deemed expedient by those upon whom has devolved the responsibility of securing and preserving the natural rights of every individual in the State.

If these natural rights are not secured to the young man of twenty, or the young woman, if the State finds itself unable to protect them without their participation, then such participation may be demanded as a matter of right, and it will be the duty of the State to extend the privilege to them. For the government is bound to do whatever is essential to the protection of the rights of the individual.

[CONCLUDED NEXT WEEK.]

I MUST choose to receive the truth, no matter how it bears upon myself,—must follow it, no matter where it leads, from what party it severs me, or to what party it allies.—*Dr. Channing.*

KNOWLEDGE AND SCIENCE CONTRASTED.

A FIFTH LETTER FROM HENRY JAMES.

MY DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

It is even more trite than true to say that consciousness always implies a subject of it. But, anyhow, we neither of us ever dreamed of disputing so elementary a proposition. The implication of self, or the egoistic principle, in consciousness, was never for a moment put in question between us. What alone we controverted was whether the subjective element in consciousness—the conscious or phenomenal *ego*—was to be regarded as absolute or as contingent; as a reality or an illusion. This was our sole point of divergence. There was no particle of debate as to the phenomenal existence of selfhood, but only as to its substantial being. We both alike admitted the fact of selfhood, but disputed its nature or quality, you holding it to be real and objective, I phenomenal and subjective. No doubt was hinted on either side as to its subjective truth, its truth to consciousness; but I denied its objective truth, its truth to reason. I am very much afraid, therefore, that the memory of your readers will be greatly put about, if they pay too diligent heed to what you say in the last INDEX. For, unless they keep a sharp lookout, they will be led to believe that I have been assailing the phenomenal existence of selfhood, its existence as a fact of consciousness, when in truth I have never done anything of the sort, but only questioned, or rather denied, its real existence, its existence as a fact of being.

You say you understand by self "nothing but the permanent element of consciousness as such, the constant and persistent I which we cannot get rid of without ceasing to be conscious at all." But you did understand by it something very much more, when your former papers were written. For then you made it clear that you understood by selfhood a something without which we should not only cease to be conscious, as you now say, but cease also to be or exist. It was not mere loss of consciousness which you then felt to be involved in my view of the illusoriness of selfhood, but loss of absolute life or being. "When Mr. James arraigns the very principle of selfhood," and reduces all individuality to mere 'hallucination,' we cannot avoid concluding that such passages teach the gospel of annihilation." These are your own words in your second paper; and surely annihilation in your vocabulary means something more than "the cessation of consciousness," unless your vocabulary differs from that of all other men. It must mean the destruction of being or existence. My memory, you see, is the more faithful one of the two.

You call selfhood "the permanent element in all consciousness." Of course when you say "all consciousness," you do not mean to say "all self-consciousness"; for this would be saying nothing, and would at once reduce our discussion to idiotic dimensions. Is, then, self, or the subjective element in consciousness, its permanent element as you allege? If so, I confess to having been wretchedly instructed, for I have been led ever since the dawn of my intellectual life to take the opposite view; to suppose that the subjective element (the *me*) is a purely phenomenal or waste element in consciousness, and the *not-me* or objective element its real, nutritive, and permanent one. Take any fact of knowledge you please: say the tree in front of my window. To reflective thought, or viewed analytically, the experience involves two elements, a subject and an object, a *me* and a *not-me*. I, as knowing, stand in a subjective relation to the tree; the tree, as known, stands in an objective relation to me.

But now mind: this analytic or reflective judgment of mine has only a logical validity; is true only to thought. Life or consciousness utterly annuls it. It is a feat of legerdemain transcending human power that I should be to myself at one and the same moment both knowing subject and known object. In the living experience in question, accordingly, I, as knowing, am wholly absorbed or swallowed up in the tree, as known. In short, the objective element in experience is the only true and permanent element, so that in knowing anything livingly or objectively I am so far from knowing myself at the same time, that I actually and utterly for the nonce unknow and forget myself. The moment I recall or perceive myself in connection with any experience, the experience drops lifeless. The knowledge once bestridden by the nightmare of self instantly ceases to be living, and becomes merely remembered, reflective, scientific knowledge,—becomes science, learning, erudition, any handsome thing you please, only not living knowledge. One has only to thrust one's own reflected or remembered self into that living water of knowledge in order instantly to paralyze its life, and convert it into the putrid material of science.

The subject in knowledge, or whatever other living experience, is passive, the object alone active. That is to say, I do not know the tree by virtue of any abstract faculty of knowledge I possess, for I possess no such faculty, but solely by virtue of a living power in the tree itself to wed its stable beauty to my unstable senses. All living knowledge—all living experience of what sort soever—is a marriage operated in the sphere of sense between creative substance and created form; and the moment you begin reflectively to observe the experience, or dissect it into the elements of your science, this living marriage dies out in divorce. If I did not first livingly or sensibly know the tree, all the learning in the world derived from the *hortus siccus* of men's scientific intelligence would never give me the faintest idea of it. Science or learning is not the least living knowledge, but only at best a sign or fruit of it; just as money is not the least living wealth, but only a sign or fruit of wealth. Knowledge is a rigidly universal possession of the

mind, and no specific man is either more or less endowed with it than another; just as wealth is a universal possession of man, and no specific person can claim any more or less of it than another. Science or learning, on the contrary, is a strictly individual possession, just as money is; and the great mass of mankind accordingly is, and will always remain, practically indifferent to either acquisition, simply because neither is capable of ministering to or satisfying men's common or universal needs. Knowledge, in short, is essentially living or spiritual, being an indissoluble marriage perpetually operating between the inward and outward world,—between a realm of infinite and eternal being shut up to the mind, and a realm of finite existence open to sense. And wealth in its turn is just as essentially spiritual or living, being an indissoluble Divine marriage perpetually operating between the spheres of men's divided—or individual and universal—interests, and resulting in the gradual evolution of a social sentiment in humanity, which shall fuse all men with each, and each man with all, in a way to constitute their natural destiny, and so avouch God's consummate spiritual glory in man.

Science or learning is merely a lifeless symbol of this living, spiritual, and universal knowledge, reflected in some particular intelligence; just as money is the lifeless symbol of this living, spiritual, and universal wealth of mankind, reflected in some particular greed. Of course, men of ample personal endowments, men who abound in science or learning, and men who abound in money, will always for their rarity enjoy a great conventional repute. But our living or spiritual manhood is not the least compromised by our lack of either commodity, and is quite as little promoted by the one as the other. In fact, the man of science or learning is on the whole even more liable to turn out depraved, in a humanitarian sense, than the man of money. For the fame of learning or science is far more subtly distinguishing, and consequently far more enervating to one's manhood, than the fame of mere dollars and cents. At all events, woe be to the world when it has grown so stupid as to mistake the gaudy perishable fruit in either case for the living root; when the transient sign is everywhere mistaken for the spiritual substance!

But my sermon has outgrown my text. I only wanted to show that the *me*, or subjective element in consciousness, being its passive element, is vivified by its active and objective element, the *not-me*; and hence relatively to that is unreal, phenomenal, formal, while that alone, in its turn, is relatively real, essential, substantial. You have and can have, accordingly, no valid or intelligent apprehension of consciousness, until you habituate yourself to look upon its subjective element as wholly unreal or phenomenal, and its objective element as alone real or absolute; until you consent to look upon the *me* as rightfully servile in fact, and the *not-me* as rightfully dominant. And then you will see at a glance that it furnishes no sort of reply to my doctrine of the unreality of selfhood, to say that selfhood has at least a "phenomenal reality." A "phenomenal reality" is just no reality at all, being a mere contradiction in terms, invented by a muddled metaphysic to hide the poverty of its materials. Your or my image in a mirror may properly be designated as an unreal or phenomenal existence, because it is without substance in itself, or exists only to the eye of a looker-on. But it would be absurd to call your or my body unreal or phenomenal (as bewildered metaphysicians, however, do not hesitate to do); because your and my bodies are not a servile image or reflection of anything on earth or in heaven, but an ultimate form, or most living product, of the universal heavens and earth themselves, and instinct therefore with all their reality.

By the way: does it not strike you as just a little rough on me to charge me with broaching an "ontological theory of the selfhood," simply because I had employed that adjective to characterize your infirmities of thought? To my imagination, it is very much as if a prisoner at the bar should try to persuade the court that the constable who arrested him was the probable delinquent in the premises, because the constable alone had been heard to designate his offence.

But all these things are of small account save to show how vital our philosophic difference is. Our true difference is a difference about God, and your last paper makes this difference leap at the eyes. It strikes me that you are in flagrant logical contradiction with yourself, in holding to theism at all. I say frankly: Your only logical position seems to me one of atheism. I don't the least pretend to question your logical liberty to be atheistic. I only question your logical liberty to be inconsistent with yourself. Speculatively, moreover, there is no great difference between the two creeds, inasmuch as, while the atheist denies God altogether, the theist acknowledges for the most part only an idle, inert, and ornamental deity. That is, they may both alike be said to deny a living God. But the practical difference between the two creeds is enormous, inasmuch as it is infinitely better to be in error than to be absolutely destitute of intelligence. The intellect and heart may be fed as truly, though of course not so profitably, upon a diet of error as upon one of truth. But there can be no nourishment either to heart or understanding where neither truth nor falsity is confessed, and mere blank negation reigns.

But though theism has this undeniable practical advantage over its adversary, it seems a very fruitless doctrine in itself. What you in particular can want with it, believing as you do in the sheer reality of all our personal instincts, I am at a total loss to imagine. The mass of theists justify their doctrine on the ground of certain police necessities which require to be supplemented by divine interference in the final

winding up. But your peculiar doctrine admits no such justification. You maintain "the eternity and self-existence of the universe"; or of matter, as is better said, for every one knows what you mean by matter, but universe is a very vague term; and you imprison your deity in this huge mollusk of "a self-existent and eternal universe" as its mere "internal unity and organic life," just as helplessly as any crab is imprisoned in its shell. More so, indeed, for the crab is really a miracle of activity compared with your imprisoned deity, inasmuch as he stands in no subjective but in a purely objective relation to his shell, and can straddle about by means of it at his pleasure. But the mere "internal unity and organic life of a self-existent and eternal universe" must be fatally subject to that universe; must be in fact the most utterly paralytic form of subjectivity conceivable to human thought. Besides, your readers must be extremely puzzled by the problem you here set before them; namely, to explain logically how one "self-existent and eternal" can be subject to another "self-existent and eternal"; and that again object to the former. This problem baffles all human science, and you immediately provoke another, moreover, which baffles all human philosophy; namely, to explain why a self-existent and eternal universe should not be its own "internal unity and organic life," but require to be supplemented in that respect by another "self-existent and eternal" substance called God. In short, and to reduce the problem to its plainest terms: explain how any one thing can be the "internal unity and organic life" of any other thing. If I, like you, were a believer in a "self-existent and eternal universe," it would actually paley my power of thought to believe that its "internal unity and organic life" were supplied by anything foreign to itself; for in that case I should have to believe either in two reciprocally limited universes, one inward, the other outward, or else in two reciprocally limited deities, one fluid, the other solid. And either of these conceptions would prove such a logical nightmare to me, as absolutely to stifle thought in the fumes of indigestion. If your intellectual processes could really survive such a debauch, you would be more than man: you would be a logical monster.

But the truth is, your digestion is not strained in the least. For it is easy to see that the material element in your thought is alone active, the spiritual element silent. That is to say, your "universe" is practically everything, your "God" practically nothing but the name of an unknown function. In short, you are logically a materialist of the most unflinching pattern; for while the ordinary adherent of that faith is content to affirm the "eternity" of matter, you stride a myriad leagues ahead of him to endow it with "self-existence" also. And eternal self-existence is precisely what all theists ascribe to God. Why don't you then frankly obey the logic of your position, and drop "God" as a superfluity and embarrassment to your cosmological thought, as a needless and inveterate obstruction to your free "scientific" breathing? "Infinite love," you say, "without an infinite selfhood, is a hollow and meaningless abstraction." How can it seem otherwise to you, when selfhood in your view is necessary to give backbone even to the "universe"?

By the way, as selfhood is in use by all reflective people to express the individualizing principle in existence, or what distinguishes particular from universal, is it not, to say the least, somewhat crude in you to make your "universe" self-existent? A round square would seem an easier conception in the premises. But this by the way, I repeat. What I want to ask apropos of the above quotation, is: Has it ever occurred to you to think how much worse than "a hollow and meaningless abstraction" an "infinite self" must find it, to be shut up to the interior of a "self-existent and eternal universe," and so debarred all knowledge of, or commerce with, spiritual existence, the only existence capable of appreciating or even recognizing his infinitude? It would put me in a very uncomfortable state, even if I thought my cook—who may be figuratively styled the "internal unity and organic life" of my particular universe—could not occasionally depose her servile relation to me, and ascend for herself to the free upper air of love, and friendship, and matrimony. And my cook is only a finite self at best, inconveniently so, sometimes, on her artistic side, while my sympathy with her, nevertheless, is so acute, that I could go into the kitchen myself at times to baste my joint, if there were no other way of giving her the freedom of the fields. How pungently should I suffer, then, if I were in your logical shoes, and bethought myself ever and anon of the sole object of my worship—that poor "infinite selfhood"—shut up without remission day or night to the kitchen of the "universe," and supplying the larder of a disgusting raft of planetary bodies, not one of which has sense or discernment to care whether it is fed or unfed, nor to know indeed whether it exists or doesn't exist! I think I should die.

But my suffering and death would be hasty even then. For, after all, this "universe" you talk of as "self-existent," is not really existent even save to thought. Specific things to any extent have sensible existence; but sense has no perception of universals, which exist only to thought or science. Thus what you call "the universe" is no thing at all, is not the least a sensible reality, but only and at most a mental generalization, whereby, in our ignorance of spiritual creation, we have been wont to bestow a provisional unity, a hypothetical being, upon the varied contents of our senses; and then convert that supposititious being or unity itself into an indurated ontologic or material existence. Your "universe" in fact, considered as a reality, is the fundamental superstition of scientific thought, and yet a superstition of such adorable providential uses to our ultimate intellectual expansion, that one cannot quarrel with it absolutely.

So much for the universe considered as "existent" merely. But your "self-existent" universe is not even the ghost of a real conception of the mind; that is, it is a superstition not of scientific, but of purely sensuous thought, being as contrary to science, as it is stifling and odious to philosophy.

Be logical, then, and renounce theism. For then, I hope, materialism will seem to you so "hollow and meaningless" a faith, that you will renounce it also, and so become both logical and philosophical at last, in acknowledging for the first time a living or true, because revealed, God; not any incredible and monstrous God-universe, but God-man, the divinity enshrined in human nature alone, and radiating thence its infinite goodness, truth, and power, in all the peaceful and productive activities of our social and aesthetic consciousness.

Yours truly,
HENRY JAMES.
CAMBRIDGE, March 20.

OUR INDIAN POLICY.

Right Rev. H. B. Whipple, Episcopal Bishop of Minnesota, writes a letter to the New York Times which exhibits our Indian policy in its true light, and is particularly interesting in view of the prospective war in the Black Hills region. Bishop Whipple knows whereof he affirms, having been a resident of Minnesota for over twenty years, and studied the Indian question with his own eyes. We present a summary of the most important portions of the letter.

In 1853 the Sioux Indians of Minnesota sold the government 800,000 acres of their reservation. The reason given by them for this sale was that they needed more money to help on the work of civilization. By the terms of the treaty none of the proceeds were to be paid for Indian debts unless such debts had been recognized in open council and their payment duly authorized. No council was ever held, and at the expiration of four years the Sioux had not received a cent in cash, and only \$15,000 in worthless goods. All the money coming to them from the sale of 800,000 acres of land was seized by claim agents, except \$868 left to their credit in Washington. In June, 1862, they met to receive their annuity. The traders told them it had been stolen,—an impudent lie, of course. They waited two months, hungry and wrathful. They said some of their children had starved to death for lack of food which the annuity funds would have bought. Then they rose and perpetrated the awful massacre which the people of Minnesota are not likely soon to forget. It turned out that the money which, had it arrived at the proper time, would have prevented the massacre had been grabbed by claim agents. Near the Sioux lived the Winnebagoes, who have always been friendly to the whites. They would not join in the war. They even killed some of the messengers sent by the Sioux, and gave all possible aid to the settlers. But the Winnebagoes had a reservation which the white man coveted. They were removed by force from soil pledged to them in solemn treaties, and compelled to locate at Crow Creek, on the Missouri River. More than a thousand of them died of disease and starvation that year. During the terrible winter some of the Indian women made their way from the Missouri to Faribault, where Bishop Whipple lived, and their only food on the journey was frozen roots dug out of the prairie.

The Chippewas of Minnesota have always been our friends. Long years of frauds and lies and cruel wrongs on the part of the government have made them one of the most wretched races on the face of the earth.

In 1868, a commission composed of Gens. Sherman, Harney, Terry, Auger, and others, was sent out to make a new treaty. The Sioux chiefs met the commissioners at Medicine Creek lodge. Their previous painful experience had naturally rendered them distrustful, and they recounted the deceptions and outrages suffered in the past. After long discussion they said "they believed the men who wore our uniform had straight tongues." Another treaty was made. The chiefs insisted on one point as a preliminary,—that they should have a territory which could never be invaded by the whites. This was pledged to them. The territory which includes the Black Hills was set apart and guaranteed to them by the representatives of the government. It is their property by every divine and human law. But gold was discovered, and the whites began to pour into the reservation. The Indians, seeing there was no other alternative, offered to sell. The government would give only \$400,000, less than one-fourth of our annual expenditure for the tribes to be included in the proposed transfer. So the bargain failed, and now the Black Hills swarm with miners who are to be protected at the cost of a war.

In conclusion Bishop Whipple says:—

"I have written plainly, because I do feel deeply. I have never met an officer of the United States army who did not express the belief that the cause of all our Indian wars was our violation of our treaties, and I have never found one who could tell of an instance where the Indian was the first to violate the treaty. . . . We permit white men to commit crimes against them. We allow them to murder each other, with no effort to punish the criminal. Christian men do win some of them to embrace the religion of Christ. The Christian Indian is pitifully helpless. A savage, drunken Indian may destroy his crops or murder his wife,—he has no redress. If he was a wild man he would kill his enemy. We have taught him that this is wrong. The government stands by unconcerned. It gives him no rights of property; it gives him no protection. A half-blood on the White Earth reserve in Minnesota attempted violence to a communicant of our church,

and murdered his victim. The Indians arrested him. He was sent to Fort Ripley. After a few months he was discharged, because there was no law to punish the crime. . . . North of us there is another nation of our own race. Since the American Revolution they have expended no money on the Indian wars. They have lost no lives by Indian massacre. The Indians are loyal to the crown. It is not because these Indians are of another race. It is not because there is less demand for the Indian's land. It is not because their policy is more generous. We expend ten dollars for their one. It is because with us the Indian is used by corrupt men as a key to unlock the public treasury. In Canada they are the wards of a Christian nation. They select good men as agents. They give the Indians personal rights of property. They make them amenable to law,—crime does not go unpunished."

Coming from such an unimpeachable source, these facts and arguments carry great weight, and are entitled to the careful consideration of every candid mind.—*St. Louis Republican.*

CRIMES AGAINST WOMEN.—"Man is the only being of the animal creation that abuses the female of his race."—*Darwin.*

These words ought to be put in letters of gold over the door of every rum-shop in the country, and if they were scattered among the tenements and lower haunts of all great cities they would do more good than many of the pious tracts.

The Philadelphia Ledger has also borne its testimony for women—or rather refused to bear it against women—for many years past. No advertisement setting forth the fact that "my wife has left," etc., ever appears in that paper, and the reason of it is this: at one time its large circulation brought all such notices to its columns, and in reference to one of these a very neat, industrious-looking woman one day called upon Mr. George W. Childs, and explained the injury such a public announcement did her in her efforts to support her three children and herself. She showed that the only provision made for the family for years had been by herself, and it was her money, stolen out of a cup in the closet, and earned by washing, which had paid for that advertisement. On inquiry it was found that the man had come reeling drunk into the office to put it in, and the hard circumstances made Mr. Childs determine to inquire into cases that presented themselves, and find out the average status of men who advertise their wives. He tested a considerable number, and found in every instance that persons who advertised their wives as having left their "bed and board" were men who had neither of their own providing, and were generally sots. He concluded that aiding and abetting such men was not proper business for the Ledger to be engaged in, and from that day to this it has never published an advertisement or notice of that kind.—*Springfield Republican.*

PROF. TYNDALL has sent to the London Times some remarkable extracts from a letter of the Bishop of Montpellier addressed to the Deans and Professors of the Faculties thereof. In these extracts the absolute right of the Church to teach mankind is proclaimed. "She holds herself to be the depositary of the truth—not a fragmentary truth, incomplete, a mixture of certainty and hesitation, but the total truth, complete, from a religious point of view." On the ground of her infallibility he declares that "even in the natural order of things, scientific or philosophical, moral or political, she will not admit that a system can be adopted and sustained by Christians, if it contradict definite dogmas." After naming the spiritual penalties affixed to a denial of doctrine, the Bishop proceeds to quote Pope Leo X.'s definition of truth at the Sixth Council of the Lateran, and draws therefrom this conclusion: "Without entering into the examination of this or that question of physiology, but solely by the certitude of our dogmas, we are able to pronounce judgment on any hypothesis which is an anti-Christian engine of war rather than a serious conquest over the secrets and mysteries of Nature." Commenting with his accustomed force upon these declarations, Prof. Tyndall says: "Liberty is a fine word, tyranny a hateful one, and both have been eloquently employed of late in reference to the dealings of the secular arm with the pretensions of the Vatican. But 'liberty' has two mutually exclusive meanings—the liberty of Rome to teach mankind, and the liberty of the human race. Neither reconciliation nor compromise is possible here. One liberty or the other must go down. This, in our day, is the 'conflict,' so impressively described by Draper, in which every thoughtful man must take a part."—*N. Y. Tribune, Jan. 5.*

"THOU SHALT NOT STEAL" seems to be the troublesome part of the decalogue for a large portion of our people; and the offences against this commandment seem to be acquiring that semi-tolerant reception which, in a more marked way, attends unchastity in the Latin nations. This is a tendency, only a tendency to be resisted, resistance to which is one of the important duties of the American pulpit. The Indian is robbed; the cities are robbed; the national government is robbed. There is a startling statement ascribed to official authority that it would cost \$75,000 to prepare a list of official defalcations and shortages within the last seven years. There is something staggering in the statement. We have altogether too many well-behaved thieves, thieves in honest clothes, and under Christian professions. Our thought is that the public education needs to be attended to. Morals should be given prominence in the education of the young, prominence in the instruction given by the pulpit and the press. We must also learn how to condemn effectively the dishonest man, how to taboo him with the relentless

severity which we visit upon offenders against chastity. Upon the churches must fall the greater share of the task of resisting this tendency, and preventing its passing on into confirmed habit.—*Methodist.*

A LONDON critic laughs at the way in which announcement is made of the birth of a prince or princess, and suggests that if it is to become a general custom, it will be proper to announce: "On the 5th inst., the wife of Rembrandt Ueber, Esq., of a painter." "Yesterday morning, at 3 A. M., the Rev. Mrs. Manyofem, of a curate." "On the 26th ult., the wife of Doric Peristyle, Esq., of an architect." "On Friday evening last, Mrs. Whyte Lynen, of a laundress." "On the 9th inst., the wife of Mr. John Bull, Jun., of a butcher." And finally, in the case of twins, "On Saturday last, the wife of Professor Loftino Acrobati, of two bouncing brothers."

Poetry.

THE CHURCH OF THE WORLD.

I stood one Sunday morning
Before a large church door;
The congregation gathered,
And carriages a score.
From one outstepped a lady
I oft had seen before.

Her hand was on a prayer-book,
And held a vialgrette;
The sign of man's redemption
Clear on the book was set;
Above the cross there glistened
A golden coronet.

For her the obsequious beadle
The inner door flung wide.
Lightly, as up a ball-room,
Her footsteps seemed to glide;
There might be good thoughts in her,
For all her evil pride.

But after her a woman
Peeped wistfully within,
On whose wan face was graven
Life's hardest discipline,
The trace of the sad trinity
Of weakness, pain, and sin.

The few free seats were crowded
Where she could rest and pray,
With her worn garb contrasted
Each side in fair array.
"God's house holds no poor sinners,"
She sighed, and walked away.

Old Heathendom's vast temples
Hold men of every state;
The steps of far Benares
Commingle small and great;
The dome of Saint Sophia
Confounds all human state;

The aisles of blessed Peter
Are open all the year:
Throughout wide Christian Europe
The Christian's right is clear
To use God's house in freedom,
Each man the other's peer,

Save only in that England
Where this disgrace I saw—
England, where no one crouches
In Tyranny's base awe—
England, where all are equal
Beneath the eye of Law.

Yet there, too, each cathedral
Contrasts its ample room;
No weary beggar resting
Within the holy gloom;
No earnest student musing
Beside the famous tomb.

Who shall remove this evil
That desecrates our age—
A scandal great as ever
Iconoclastic rage?
Who to this Christian people
Restore their heritage?
—*Lord Houghton, in Harper's Monthly.*

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The Index.

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REV. E. S. ELDER'S essay on "Woman and Politics" will be sure to be read with the interest which the subject and his courageous handling of it render inevitable. He frankly opposes woman suffrage, and gives his reasons for doing so. That there is a great deal of truth in his view of the matter we cannot deny; the immediate consequences of giving the ballot to all women, not merely to the cultivated, pure-minded, and intellectual minority that are demanding it, would certainly be mixed—perhaps with a preponderance of evil. But nothing under heaven can destroy the force of the argument for woman suffrage based on the rights of women as citizens and individuals; and Mr. Elder does not destroy it. As Col. Higginson urged at Mrs. Sargent's after the reading of the paper, either the principle of woman suffrage is right, or else the principle of universal suffrage and of all democratic republicanism is wrong. It is this steady, irresistible pressure of the democratic idea which renders absolutely certain the ultimate enfranchisement of woman; and no "reaction," such as has lately made itself observable, will do more than retard it. For one, we must listen to the demands of justice, and run all risks of consequences.

A "THOUSAND DOLLAR FUND."

Last Saturday a wealthy gentleman of Boston called at THE INDEX office on purpose to express his sympathy and interest in the "Centennial Congress of Liberals," and to make the unsolicited pledge of one hundred dollars towards defraying its expenses. He wishes to be one of ten persons to raise a thousand dollars for this object immediately, that the Committee may be able to make arrangements promptly and effectively on a large scale; yet he did not make this a condition of his own munificent offer. Now are there not nine others among THE INDEX constituency who are able and ready to carry out this wise and generous proposal? Enough has been raised to ensure a convention; but should there not be enough raised forthwith to give it such a character as shall make it one of the most conspicuous, important, and memorable features of the Centennial Year? The more money, the more influence and success. Two thousand dollars could be all expended economically and judiciously in advertising, holding, and reporting this convention, if that sum could be had; but one thousand will be enough to achieve a noble work for freedom and truth this summer. If it would in any way increase the disposition to give, we are willing to assume personal and undivided responsibility for the custody and use of \$1000 contributed in ten subscriptions of \$100 each, over and above the list of smaller subscriptions now growing so encouragingly in the previous column—a minute report of every penny expended to be rendered to the donors, and audited by a committee appointed by themselves. We only make this proposition to help on a movement which commands every faculty we possess. Time presses: shall the "Thousand Dollar Fund" be raised?

MICROCOSM AND MACROCOSM.

Mr. James begins his fifth letter by saying that "neither of us ever dreamed of disputing so elementary a proposition" as that "consciousness always implies a subject of it." Yet the "subject of consciousness" is the only self or "selfhood" of which we have, or indeed can have, the slightest conception; and if confusion and misunderstanding have sprung from the attempt of our friend to abolish the "selfhood," yet at the same time to retain the "subject of consciousness," we are not in the least responsible for such an unsatisfactory result. The very first thing to be done, we should say, would have been to draw a precise, clear, and intelligible distinction between these two conceptions, if they are not (as we believe) really indistinguishable. The "egoistic principle in consciousness," as the word *ego* or *I* implies, is neither more nor less than the selfhood—the only selfhood which was contemplated in the definition of religion out of which our amicable discussion has grown; and if Mr. James meant something else than this when he pronounced the definition a mistake, it was evidently incumbent on him to avert at the outset the inevitable ambiguity that would arise out of his purely technical and misleading use of a very common expression. Whatever he may have intended, we never intended to discuss the question whether the "conscious or phenomenal *ego*" is "absolute or contingent." That is a problem of pure metaphysics which has thus far proved to be insoluble; and we shall be pardoned for believing that Mr. James knows just as little as we do whether there is a noumenal *ego* underlying our phenomenal consciousness. No general theory of "creation," resting avowedly on a basis of pure "faith" which cannot be legitimated to the scientific intellect, throws the slightest light on this dark problem of ontology; for every such general theory is really the unrecognized work of the intellect itself, striving to make scientific what, by the hypothesis, is no subject of science at all.

It follows that our definition of religion as the "effort of Man to perfect himself," which Mr. James began by impugning on the ground that the "self" is a pure "illusion," and which contemplated nothing but the conscious self he now unqualifiedly accepts as a "fact," remains absolutely untouched by his criticisms. So far as we can see, his rejection of the selfhood turns out to be what we supposed it was at first, a mere rejection of selfishness, a mere protest against the misdirection and misuse of *self* in the common sense of the word. With this result we cheerfully abandon a discussion which fails to deal with a real, practical question as to the nature of religion.

The passage about "annihilation" which Mr. James quotes from one of our former papers as inconsistent with this view of the matter is, we con-

ceive, entirely in harmony with it. For the only "annihilation" we meant then, or mean now, is the annihilation of consciousness as a phenomenal fact. Of any other annihilation than this we can conceive nothing. If our consciousness ever totally ceases, the "persistent *I*" of consciousness totally disappears. Is there any other possible annihilation of the selfhood? What sort of a self could it be that should survive the total extinction of consciousness? The total extinction of consciousness is the only annihilation of which we can form the faintest conception; and what we said before, therefore, is entirely harmonious with what we say now. Even at the risk of "reducing our discussion to idiotic dimensions," we must humbly confess that we know nothing of "all consciousness" except as "all self-consciousness"; and we march into the category of idiots with the best resignation we can command.

The *me* and the *not-me* are terms dependent each upon the other; if the former indicates a purely illusory or "waste element in consciousness," the latter vanishes out of recognition altogether, and can lay claim to no veritable existence even in thought. It is in vain to seek to extirpate the subject, yet retain the object: these are relative terms merely, and the relation disappears the very instant that either term disappears. It is the eternal paradox of philosophy, we admit, that in all consciousness the subject and object should be identical and yet different; yet no profundity of human genius has ever got rid of it, and Mr. James need feel no mortification at a failure to conceive how the *I* can truly know itself. Yet in every cognition the *me* adds itself to the object as an inseparable adjunct of it; and to fancy that it can suppress itself wholly, or "be wholly absorbed or swallowed up in" the *not-me*, is to attempt to think when the very first condition of all thought is absolutely destroyed.

Hence Professor Ferrier, in his wonderfully acute *Institutes of Metaphysics*, lays this down as his first fundamental proposition: "Along with whatever any intelligence knows, it must, as the ground or condition of its knowledge, have some cognizance of itself." The theory (which Mr. James now substantially adopts) that "we are first cognizant of various sensible impressions, and are not conscious of ourselves until we reflect upon them afterwards," Professor Ferrier refutes, we think unanswerably, on the ground that a man cannot remember what never happened to him, and cannot therefore remember a connection between himself and past impressions which was not actual in that very past time. Consequently Mr. James' so-called "remembered, reflective, scientific knowledge" is a sheer impossibility, unless it be first conceded that what is remembered did actually happen—that the *me* was all along actually conscious of itself in connection with the *not-me*. The distinction he draws between this "scientific knowledge" and "living knowledge" thus falls to the ground; for all real knowledge is scientific knowledge, and implies the constant and conscious presence of the *I* in whatever deserves the name of knowledge at all. His contempt for science is a natural corollary of this aboriginal illusion that we can know other things without knowing our selves at the same indivisible instant.

But all this, however unavoidable as a reply, is arid metaphysical abstraction to the majority of readers. Mr. James is a firm believer in God on the assurance of intuition or faith, and apparently finds it incredible that another should believe in God just as sincerely and strongly on the assurance of the "scientific intellect." He cannot conceive what we should "want" with such a belief. Well—we do not believe because we "want" to, but because we must. The world has perhaps enough of those who believe because they "want" to; it possibly needs more who believe because the pure love of truth, apart from all wants or interests, necessitates the intellect to shape its beliefs in strictest accordance with its own fundamental laws. For Mr. James' overmastering faith we entertain nothing but the unfeigned respect which its self-evident sincerity demands; but we have every ground to expect an equal respect for our own reasoned convictions of equal sincerity. If we believe on the warrant of long and patient thought rather than on that of an inwardly surging sentiment (though this, too, may not be absent), and find intellectual as well as spiritual repose in the "eternity and self-existence of the universe, of which God is the internal unity and organic life," there is no occasion to suggest that our "universe" is only "matter." If we had meant matter, we should have said matter; or if we had meant atheism, we should have said atheism.

The universe, however, contains mind as well as

matter—in human beings, at the very least; and we cherish no conception of the universe which does not include mind as its prime, omnipresent, vivifying energy. Mr. James unconsciously betrays what scant justice he does to science, when he broaches the supposition that the "universe" can "imprison deity." Every prison has limits; but an infinite universe has none, and science can discover no finitude in the universe it studies. To our thinking, the universe is God manifest to the senses, and God is the universe manifest to the soul: the one thing we find most crass and coarse and utterly sandy, as food for thought, is the dualism implied in the assumed ontological separability of "Creator" and "matter." It is worse than "crabs" and "mollusks" and "police necessities." It is precisely to get rid of two that we believe in one; and really it puzzles us to see how Mr. James should so utterly invert our belief as to find it implying a couple of "self-existent and eternal" realities—one being "foreign" to the other, yet conditioning it. It would be easy to reciprocate the satirical pleasantries of Mr. James, and expose the counter-absurdities which strike us in the idea of his own "Creator"; but nothing would be gained by retort, and we pass them over.

Yet how strange that each of us should see "no God" in the "God" of the other! Mr. James thinks we are "logically a materialist," and ought to "drop God as a superfluity"; while we think he has already dropped God as a non-entity, by abolishing in him the "egoistic principle of consciousness"—the only intelligible condition of the "Infinite Love" into which he resolves him. The uncouth caricatures of our own thought we will leave uncorrected, and content ourselves with avoiding such rhetorical misrepresentations, however grotesque and amusing. We will not even imagine ourselves sympathetically "suffering" in his "logical shoes." Probably neither of us stands in any need of such sympathy: we certainly do not.

But when we are exhorted to "be logical, and renounce theism," we must respond that the "logic" which is to guide us to such "renunciation" must be of a less sanguinary nature than that which would institute a carnival of murder at the outset of the journey by requiring every man to put his "selfhood" incontinently to death—having already persuaded the "Creator" to a similar act of *felo de se*. There is scarcely sufficient motive for such reckless suicide and delirium.

The religion of spiritual self-perfection which we are thus summoned to "renounce" is no invention of our own, but has been struggling at the heart of every great life since history began, and of every great social movement for the elevation of mankind. Jesus preached it, when he cried: "Be ye therefore perfect even as your Father in heaven is perfect"; and if he had never preached in a lower strain than that, Christendom would not now be in the travail of revolution to get rid of Christianity. Buddha preached it, when he uttered such great sayings as these: "Let each man make himself as he teaches others to be; he who is well subdued may subdue others; one's own self is difficult to subdue." "By oneself the evil is done, by oneself one suffers; by oneself evil is left undone, by oneself one is purified. Purity and impurity belong to oneself; no one can purify another." Confucius preached it, when he said: "Is any one able for one day to apply his strength to virtue? I have not seen the case in which his strength would be insufficient. Should there possibly be any such case, I have not seen it." "Now the man of perfect virtue, wishing to be established himself, seeks also to establish others; wishing to be enlarged himself, he seeks also to enlarge others." "Is virtue a thing remote? I wish to be virtuous, and, lo! virtue is at hand." "Hold faithfulness and sincerity as first principles, and be moving continually to what is right; this is the way to exalt one's virtue." And Ralph Waldo Emerson, the living prophet of our own day who has delivered in all the freshness of modern beauty the burden of the eternal Divine message, preached it, when he declared: "Trust thyself—every heart vibrates to that iron string. . . . Nothing is at last sacred but the integrity of your own mind. Absolve you to yourself, and you shall have the suffrage of the world."

This is the religion of self-perfection, of which the theism we are now exhorted to renounce is the necessary product. It begins with the inner supreme command to perfect the selves we are, by ripening to fulness and using for the good of all the powers of which we wake from unconsciousness to find ourselves possessed. It traces this sublime ethical law of our spiritual being up to the universal

law of Evolution, of which it is but the immediate application to our own constant experience; and it thus discovers the absolute identity of the most sacred law of our own consciousness with the eternal law which has slowly shaped a moral and material universe out of nebulous shapelessness. This moral unity of the human self with the totality of Nature, alike in her physical and moral tendencies, has persuaded us of a far deeper identification of the soul with the universe than the infant science of our own day has hitherto fathomed; yet here alone, in the tireless strivings of science for profounder truth and not at all in the stolid self-complacencies of so-called "faith," do we look for the coming of new light. It matters little who fails to understand the resolute facing of the best minds of our generation towards modern science; it is a phenomenon which will continue and increase all the same, and out of it will come an intelligent comprehension of truths at which "faith" has been ineffectually guessing for thousands of years. Our theism is not a creed, but a steady and irresistible looking towards the unity of the universe, as discoverable only on a plane at least as lofty as the very loftiest heights of the human consciousness; and we are no more able to "renounce" it than Mr. James is able to renounce his own most absolute conviction. That we can sincerely respect his religion, while he is utterly unable to respect ours in the least, is a fact which, with reflective minds, will not weigh against ours in their regard. Thought endlessly strives to connect the "microcosm" of human consciousness with the "macrocosm" of universal being, in such a way as to vindicate their fundamental unity without destroying their actual diversity; and, believing the problem impossible except to scientific theism, we discern as little advantage to "logic" as to religion in any attempt to "renounce" it.

INCLUSIVENESS.

The London *Inquirer*, organ of the English Unitarians, reports a discussion held on the 7th, on the question whether the association should, through its publishing committee, make itself responsible for the opinions of Theodore Parker, by putting its imprint on any of his books,—the *Ten Sermons* and *Prayers* being particularly mentioned, and the *Discourse of Religion*. The discussion was in good temper, and resulted in the acceptance of the inclusive policy as being more in accordance with the principles of the Unitarian denomination. The debate turned on a proposal by Mr. Henry Rawson, who held that "the term Unitarian Christianity was wide enough to include all divergences, old school and new school, materialist, intuitionist, Priestley, Martineau, Channing, and Parker." He declared that "there was a time in his own mental history when it had become with him a grave and serious question whether he could hold connection with any of the existing Christian organizations." That he overcame his scruples was due to the influence of Theodore Parker. The *Inquirer* heartily congratulates the friends of liberal Christianity on the result of the discussion as a triumph of the great principle of breadth and comprehension over the narrow and exclusive policy, and declares the real question to be "whether our religious societies are to be exclusive or inclusive; whether they are to be tied down to a narrow dogmatic basis, or whether they are to give large hospitality to various tendencies of thought representing all sides of our free religious position."

An attempt was made in London, a few years ago, to form an association on the same basis as our Free Religious Association, in which the name "Christian" should be dropped, and the larger word substituted. The effort did not succeed, and "The Free Christian Union" which was inaugurated expired after one year of feeble existence. If the position taken by the association shall be honestly supported and earnestly maintained, the practical result aimed at before will be achieved. The Christianity will reach its final attenuation soon, if it has not already, and will ere long disappear altogether.

The same number of the *Inquirer* from which the account of the meeting is taken contains a letter from Wm. H. Channing eloquently defending Parker's title to be called "A Unitarian Christian," and giving reasons for doubting his often-alleged inclination to theism. There are certainly grounds for Mr. Channing's opinion; but they seem to me sentimental rather than rational. That Parker resisted exclusion from the Unitarian denomination every body knows; but every body knows that he did so in the interest of the liberal principle, not in the interest of the denomination. His eulogies of Christ are

familiar to all who have read his books; but they are such eulogies as spoil him in the regards of Christendom, by depriving him of his supremacy over human kind. Parker's affections were strong; his associations were tender and close; but his intellectual fidelity was supreme, and carried the day at last over all sentimentalities. Mr. Channing carries his own enthusiasm over to his friend, and persuades himself that the sturdy rationalist travelled the road that he found most attractive towards the historic church. I am, on the contrary, persuaded that Parker's faith was becoming more and more theistic; that the Christian peculiarity was falling away from his mind; and that, had he lived, he would have given his support to the Free Religious movement as best representing the believing tendency of the time. Parker's transcendentalism saved him to Christianity in the first place, by furnishing a ground on which he could maintain its cardinal religious ideas; but it was all the time reducing those ideas to natural beliefs of the race, and merging the particular faith in the universal. A denomination that includes materialists and intuitionists will soon include "infidels" and "atheists," and then where will the Christianity be? The conclusion that Christianity is an obstacle to human progress will follow hard on the conclusion that it is not the chief factor in human progress, and we may expect soon to see a detachment of the English Free Religionists taking the same stand which the editor of THE INDEX takes in the United States. The inclusive principle, by putting all faiths on an essential equality, makes itself the enemy of assumption on the part of any special one; and as such assumption is sure to be manifested by every one in turn, even by the most "liberal," the act of disarmament will be accompanied by measures that look like hostility towards the chief offender. The American Unitarian Association probably saved its corporate life by its exclusion of Parker. It escaped the fate of drowning in the sea of ideas. The British and Foreign Unitarian Association bravely takes that risk. The danger of total immersion is immanent; but if its bark sink, 'tis to another sea.

O. B. F.

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY B. C.

The failure of the Senate to confirm the nomination of Mr. Dana had been generally anticipated before the announcement of the fact. According to the *Tribune's* report, which is, however, partly conjectural, the vote against confirmation was 31 to 17, more than twenty members being absent or paired, or, at least, failing to vote. Notwithstanding the many explanations of this action of the Senate which newspaper correspondents and others have sent on from Washington, it is safe to affirm that the real reason has not been spoken aloud by any one of the fifty or more Senators who are responsible for Mr. Dana's rejection. The Democrats, who, in a body, voted against Mr. Dana, declare that they of course were not influenced by the personal opposition of Gen. Butler, and all the Republicans make the same declaration. Mr. Cameron, who led the opposition, asserts that the Lawrence controversy was satisfactorily explained, and was not, therefore, a cause of the Senate's action. We have remaining, therefore, as the cause of the rejection, only the very excellent letter of Mr. Dana to Mr. Boutwell, which grievously offended the members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations; and the other Senators, animated by something which is called "the courtesy of the Senate," refused to vote for a man who had offended their brother Senators. If this be true, it is evident that "the courtesy of the Senate," whatever it may be, bears a very suspicious analogy to the "honor" which is said to be found among thieves; and we are helped to an understanding of Mr. Cameron's declaration that "these — literary men are having altogether too much to do with this government anyhow." In other words, Mr. Dana does not belong to the same "set" with the average Senator, and cannot be received, therefore, as a desirable political "pal."

In view of this action of the Senate, is it not about time to ask that a change be made in the manner of holding its executive sessions, and that the debates and votes of these sessions hereafter be as public as are the ordinary legislative proceedings of that body? To the people of this country the character of the motives by which Senators are influenced when performing one of the most important functions for which they are elected is a matter of deep concern. When, for instance, a man is nominated for Minister to England, and is universally admitted to be fully qualified, as regards character, intelligence, education, and social culture, for that position, we have a right to know that the Senator who votes against him is governed by something better than personal prejudice, or a misnamed "courtesy." Had the executive sessions of the Senate been open, Mr. Dana would undoubtedly have been confirmed, for very few Senators would have dared to disregard—without giving some better reason than any thus far furnished—the public opinion concerning him which has been so unanimously expressed, both in this

country and in England, since first he was nominated by the President.

Babcock is determined apparently to become the personification of all that is bad in Washington politics. Although he escaped conviction at St. Louis, and, for a day or two, there was even some danger that admiring friends might raise a monument to his virtues (Chandler admits that he sent him a check for \$1,000), it is now evident, if the testimony of numerous witnesses before some of the investigating committees be confirmed, that Belknap's sins may acquire a lighter shade in comparison with some of his. Bell's testimony has already been confirmed, as regards the essential point, by Bradley, who admits that he directed him to "procure" (steal) the evidence against Babcock in the office of District-Attorney Dyer, at St. Louis; and the testimony of Luckey and Babcock shows that these two worthies were not ignorant of the nature of Bell's expedition. And now, Whitley, late Chief of the Secret Service of the Treasury, testifies that he was employed by Babcock to "put up the job" in the notorious Safe-Burglary case. Whitley's testimony is confirmed by that of Nettleship, his assistant (recently converted by Moody and Sankey), and by other witnesses, who, as we write, are undergoing examination. It seems possible, even, that Babcock may have manufactured the order which, purporting to come from the President, put a stop to the Safe-Burglary suits. Altogether we should imagine that Babcock, by this time, might be willing to regret his escape at St. Louis, and to look upon a Missouri jail as an acceptable haven of refuge.

The testimony of Mr. Trenor W. Park before the Emma Mine Committee is in striking contrast with that of the many bad men who have been before the same committee, and who have done so much to shake our faith in the innate nobility of the human race. Mr. Park states that he gave \$50,000, in shares of valuable stock, to Gen. Schenck because of his affection for that noble man, and that if any worldly motive entered into the transaction, it was simply the patriotic desire that some American whom he could trust might protect him while a wanderer in the strange land of England. Mr. Park affirms, moreover, that he is in the habit of handing over his superfluous shares of stock to personal friends, in the hope that they may be able thereby to make a little something at his expense. Such pure generosity as that of Mr. Park and such childlike simplicity as that of Gen. Schenck must certainly disqualify their possessors from associating with the imperfect beings who mostly make up this sinful world. We advise them both therefore to retire to some secluded spot, and there, in the calm enjoyment of draw-poker, to await serenely the coming of that millennial day when the innocent and confiding sheep shall be separated from the evil-minded and unbelieving goats.

Gen. Custer, when testifying last week before the Committee on War Expenditures, was requested to state the reason of the silence of army officers concerning the abuses on the frontier with which they have been so long familiar. His reply was that they were unable to make any complaint because of an order issued in March, 1873, which directed, first, that no officer should recommend action by members of Congress with regard to military affairs; second, that all petitions to Congress, by officers, relative to military subjects, should be forwarded through the General of the Army and the Secretary of War for approval and transmission; and third, that an officer visiting Washington, during a session of Congress, should register his name immediately, and report to the Adjutant-General the purpose of his visit, the proposed length of his stay, and the authority under which he was absent from his station. This order, of course, as Gen. Custer stated, "closed the mouths of all army officers with regard to abuses on the frontier," as they knew that complaints thus forwarded would be pigeon-holed, and "the officers would probably be pigeon-holed too." One cannot be blamed for accepting Custer's assertion that "the object of the order was to cover up the doings of the Secretary of War." An order has already been issued, it may be stated in this connection, removing the army headquarters back to Washington, and, hereafter, all orders relating to the discipline of the army will be communicated through Gen. Sherman, the misunderstanding which formerly existed between the Secretary of War and the General of the Army having been removed, apparently, by the advent of Judge Taft.

During the session of the House of Representatives held for debate only, last Saturday, Mr. Burleigh, of Maine, advocated the payment of "war premiums," as they are termed, by the Alabama Claims Commission. His speech was in harmony with the report of the House Committee on the same subject,—a report so manifestly wrong that, in view of its presentation, the Nation makes the very decided declaration "that it appears, taking this bill and the former act together, that the result of judicial discussion of private rights in a Committee of the House of Representatives is more likely on the whole, after due consideration, to be in favor of simple robbery than anything else." It may be well to recall the fact that the Geneva Tribunal expressly ruled out the claims of all "war premium" claimants, and also the claims of all who had suffered from the depredations of all privateers other than the *Alabama*, the *Florida*, and the *Shenandoah*. Under these rulings, England committed to the United States, in trust, the sum of \$15,500,000, to hand over to those whose claims were allowed by the Geneva Arbitrators. To use this money, or any portion of it, therefore, for any other

purpose than that for which it was originally given would be as dishonest as were any of the actions for which Jackson has just been sent to jail, and the United States has no more right to use it for the purpose advocated by Mr. Burleigh than Jackson had to use the money of the widows and orphans for whom he was acting as guardian. If the report of the House Committee should become a law, the country would be guilty of an act of dishonesty so flagrant that the deeds of Belknap and Babcock would seem like children's foibles by contrast.

The people of California continue to be very much excited upon the subject of Chinese immigration, the recent decision of the Supreme Court furnishing the nucleus for the concentration of a great deal of previously-existing dissatisfaction. Indignation meetings have been held in San Francisco, the Chinese inhabitants, fearful of outrage, have been confined to their own quarter of the city, and the six companies which have charge of Chinese immigration have sent word to their agents in China to discontinue all shipments at present. And yet we demand the privilege of entering China, and of trading with her, and require her to protect our missionaries; and our treaty with China concedes to her citizens in this country the privileges granted to the citizens of the most favored nation. If we do not desire the Chinese to come to this country, let us, in some proper manner, get rid of our treaty obligations, and absolve China from the necessity of protecting our merchants and missionaries on the other side of the Pacific.

A few movements are to be recorded in the Beecher affair. Mr. Bowen has been wrangling with the Plymouth Church Committee with regard to the introduction of evidence before that Committee. The Congregational ministers of New York and Brooklyn have appointed a committee to cooperate with the committee proposed by the Advisory Council to investigate "bottom facts," and Drs. Storrs, Budington, and others have accordingly withdrawn from this body of Congregational ministers, believing that such investigation would be superficial and unsatisfactory, and that the proceedings of the Advisory Council were contrary to Congregational usage, and should not be recognized. Mr. Moulton has failed in his endeavor to have the suit of Mr. Beecher against him for perjury reopened, the judge holding that the *nolle prosequi* entered by the District-Attorney is a sufficient satisfaction of all claims for damages. The decision, however, may be reversed, and, on general grounds, we have no doubt that it should be; for as the decision now stands any man may do another grave injury by procuring his indictment for perjury or murder, or, indeed, any other crime, and subsequently screen himself from any action for damages by dodging behind a *nolle prosequi*.

The Senate amended the Bankrupt Act, notwithstanding a foolish attempt of Morton to have it repealed; concurred with the House bill to pay the judgments rendered by the Court of Alabama Claims; corrected an error in the Revised Statutes; and received the Articles of Impeachment from the House, subsequently appointing April 17 for the beginning of the trial of Belknap. The House adopted the Articles of Impeachment as reported by the Judiciary Committee, and appointed Messrs. Knott, Lord, Lynde, McMahon, Jenks, Lapham, and Hoar as managers of the impeachment case before the Senate; adopted a resolution requesting the President to enter into negotiations with China for such a modification of our present treaty as to make it a commercial treaty only; amended the pension law, making the time of service in the war 1812 ten days instead of sixty; passed a bill to regulate the winding up of national banks; concurred with the Senate bill fixing the President's salary at \$25,000; and exempted masters of vessels engaged in trade between the United States and British North America, the West India Islands or Mexico, and masters of vessels of less than seventy-five tons trading between a port on the Atlantic and one on the Pacific, or vice versa, from shipping their crews or procuring their shipping articles to be signed before a shipping commission. A ridiculous bill intended to regulate the rate of interest on "national money" (greenbacks), making it six per cent. throughout the country, received no less than seventy-five votes in the House. Belknap's lawyers in the impeachment trial, will be Jeremiah Black, Montgomery Blair, and Matt Carpenter.

ENGLISH SKETCHES.

BY MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

LONDON, March 10, 1876.

The burial question is a "burning" one just now in England; I don't mean a pun, involving cremation, but simply that the public mind is excited on the point. Mr. Moyan's resolution, brought forward in the House of Commons, and opposed there by the whole strength of the government, on the ground that it was a proposal tending towards the disestablishment of the Church, was (spite of vehement speeches from the Home Secretary and from the Prime Minister) defeated in a full House by a majority of only 31. And, as though to emphasize the plea for freedom of interment, scandal after scandal crops up in country villages, and beside the open grave partisans wrangle, and priests insult both the living and the dead. The little boy of a Methodist working-man has just died, and the clergyman of the parish refused to bury the child on the ground that he had not baptized it; but he gave permission to the parents to inter the child in the church-yard without his ministrations. The grave was dug, and the Wesleyan minister held a service in his own chapel for the mourners, and the funeral procession then started for the church-yard, the Wesleyan minister

arranging to furnish the service outside the "sacred precincts," while the body was being placed in the grave. When they all arrived at the church-yard gate, the clergyman of the parish also arrived there, and read the commencement of the Church of England burial service. Then began an unseemly squabble between the rival clerics, the Church priest persisting in his right to bury, while the Wesleyan said half the service was already over, and he was going to finish it. While this went on, the mourners were weeping and sobbing around, till the poor mother, almost fainting with grief and pain at the disturbance, begged that the vicar might have his way and the child be buried in peace. On the same day, in another village, the corpse of the church-warden's wife, who had committed suicide when in a state of temporary insanity, was brought to the church-yard, and the clergyman read a verse from a psalm; the body was lowered into the grave, and he pronounced the benediction, thus denying to the mourners what was to them the comfort of the service.

These are the incidents which are stirring up against the Church the intensely bitter feeling which will soon find vent in a general cry for disestablishment. Already petitions are flowing into Parliament to this effect, and the growing sacerdotalism of the clergy lends strength to the movement. No more fatal blow could be struck at the Church than that which she deals herself by the refusal to allow burials within her graveyards except with her own services. Churchmen say that no other religious body is asked to grant such a liberty, and the very plea destroys their own standing-ground; for, if the Church give to the nation no more than the sects give, why should the Church alone have the enormous benefits of Establishment, and be largely dowered with national wealth? These burial scandals bring home to the bosom of the most apathetic villager the injury inflicted on him by the privileged caste; and, at the same time, the blow coming at the moment when his heart is sore with the loss of some beloved one, he feels a keener indignation from the harshness that insults him in the dead body of the departed. Thus is the flame of hatred fanned day after day, and the Church becomes more and more fully undermined, until some spark, struck in the conflict, shall fall on the prepared train, and the explosion shall shatter the hoary structure into ruins.

Another phase of this question is just now much interesting us of the Secular party: What control has the Burial Board of a cemetery over the inscriptions engraven on the tombstones? A Mr. William Hilton inscribed on the tomb erected to the memory of his father, who lived and died an atheist, a couplet he found among the dead man's papers:—

"Let gods attend on things which gods must know,
Man's only care relates to things below."
Necro Dece.

The tombstone was in the Nonconformist portion of the cemetery, and no objection was raised until a Roman Catholic priest and a Church of England clergyman, both of whom have their own portions elsewhere, complained of the inscription as atheistic, and by making a considerable fuss they moved the Burial Board to order its erasure. The Board commanded Mr. Hilton to remove the inscription, and Mr. Hilton refused; at last the Board summoned Mr. Hilton to appear before them, and show cause, etc., etc. Hereupon, Mr. Hilton, being a stubborn Lancashire man, bethought him to ask advice of Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, as President of the National Secular Society; and Mr. Bradlaugh, with the approval of the Executive, drew up a case for counsel, and declared that the Society would fight the Burial Board, if a scrap of standing-ground could be got for the fighting. The solicitors of the Society then communicated with the Board, and obtained an adjournment of the case for one month, so as to allow time to obtain counsel's opinion. Mr. Hilton also wrote a note to the Board, offering some alterations in a rather sardonic spirit; one, that he would cover the tomb with waterproof sheeting, whereupon should be inscribed: "This sheet only to be raised by persons who are willing to read an inscription underneath, which the Bolton Corporation object that the general public should read." He adds: "I am willing to have engraven on the tombstone a Scriptural quotation from Ecclesiastes, iii., 19-22, as follows: 'For that which befalleth the sons of men befalleth beasts; even one thing befalleth them; as the one dieth, so dieth the other; yea, they have all one breath, so that man hath no preeminence above a beast, for all is vanity. All go unto one place: all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again. Who knoweth the spirit of man that goeth upward, and the spirit of the beast that goeth downward to the earth? Wherefore I perceive that there is nothing better than that a man should rejoice in his own works; for that is his portion: for who shall bring him to see what shall be after him?'"

It is scarcely likely, we should imagine, that the Bolton Burial Board will approve of this addition to the couplet, although it is hard to see how they could enforce an objection to a quotation from the Christian Bible, the inspired word of God. It will be interesting to see whether they will insist on the erasure of the inscription now that the National Secular Society have taken up the case. The great worth of our organization comes out in a case like this, as last year in an oath case where we fought and won; for the whole strength of the party thus can be brought to bear in defence of a single member, and thus we guard our weakest by the united power of all. No English freethinker need fear being left to fight his battles alone, so long as the National exists, with its present chief at its head. It is argued that an inscription implying atheism is offensive to many, and that is perfectly true; but no liberty could exist if the prejudice of some is thus to control the actions of others. We might, with equal justice, plead that

the superstitious inscriptions on Christian tombstones are offensive to us, while the Protestant might complain of the Roman Catholic "pray for the soul." No one has a right to be offended with his neighbors' opinions in this fashion, and the offence taken only shows that the complainant has not learnt the alphabet of liberty. Just as a man has a right to express his opinion living, so has he a right to let his gravestone speak for him dead, and only the narrow spirit that would silence the lips which disagree with the thoughts of the majority would interfere with the graven words that tell the creed of the life that is gone.

Communications.

JUSTICE TO THE INDIAN!

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Bishop Whipple's letter to the *New York Times* is a plain, honest, unprejudiced, and vivid summing up of the *treachery* of our infamous Indian policy toward the "wards of the nation."

Contrasting Canadian management of the natives of North America with the methods put in practise by the government of the United States (and placing justice, humanity, and philanthropy entirely out of the question), it appears that, as a mere question of economy, we expend four times the amount annually that would suffice for the subsistence of all the Indians within the limits of the American Union; not to speak of the losses on the border caused by Indian depredations upon settlers.

Having been a personal witness of the innumerable outrages perpetrated upon these oftentimes unfending children of Nature, the writer cannot refrain from expressing the hope that some portion of the Christian charity formerly manifested in the behalf of the five millions of Africans in the United States might be transferred to this apparently fated race, whose chief offence is their incapacity to submit to insult and injury, outrage and extermination, without proving their manhood by striking vain blows and making hopeless efforts for the freedom and independence which are as necessary to their existence as the very air they breathe.

Our friendly Indians are frequently treated so much more harshly than are the worst bands of hostile Indians, that the government might almost be said to place a premium upon settled antagonism to the United States. Only three years ago a scattered remnant of the once powerful tribe of the Winnebagoes was, by order of the general government, acting upon the request of Gov. C. C. Washburn of Wisconsin, removed by force from the vicinity of their life-labor, although the worst charge that could be made against them was that they were *supposed* to cause fires in the timber-lands. They were actually taken out of their wagons, in some instances torn away from homes built by themselves, or earned by the proceeds of their own labor, where they were living as quietly, peaceably, and as industriously as many of their white neighbors, and carried off to a "reservation" on the prairies west of the Mississippi River, where the character of the country was utterly unfitted to their habits, and whence they have since wearily trudged "home" again to renew their harmless avocation of hop-picking, etc., in the vicinity of Baraboo, Wisconsin. These men were no more feared by their envious white neighbors than are the Chinese shoemakers in Western Massachusetts the cause of terror to the maids and matrons of the city of Springfield. Their crime was their birth; being Indians, they had no rights which "white men" were bound to respect!

It is a mistake to suppose there is no remedy for the present condition of affairs. It only needs that Indians should be admitted to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of citizenship, as are the late slaves of the South, to put an end at once and forever to the disgraceful scenes upon our Western frontier. There is no reason whatever that any distinctions should be made either in favor of, or in opposition to, Indians as Indians. General Grant had a full-blooded Indian on his staff during the war. There are Choctaws and Cherokees in the Indian Territory whose culture and capacity is not to be despised by the smartest whites. There are authors, editors, poets, and novelists, college graduates, and European tourists to be found in the Indian Territory. Indeed it is ridiculous that in Virginia "the first families" should be proud of their descent from Pocahontas, while in Minnesota recently-imported Irishmen should be permitted to outrage and murder the wives and daughters of Indian chiefs equal in nature and capacity to Powhatan. Once let the Indians be made responsible for their conduct as citizens, and the same laws applied for their protection as well as their punishment, that hedge about the (assumed) divinity of white men, and they may safely be left to stand or fall upon their merits as human beings. Then, if they perish, as now seems so probable, the terrible responsibility at present resting upon the white race will have been—too tardily, it is true—extenuated and lightened. Anyone who has, like the writer, gazed upon the extensive ruins of the Catholic Missions upon our Pacific slope, erected almost entirely by the labors of the Indians, under the direction of the Jesuits; who has witnessed the transformation of the *Pah-Utes* and *Shoshones* from unbreeched savages into well-clothed tillers of the soil, on the ranches of Nevada; or the laborers employed in breaking the quartz into pieces small enough to be placed under the "stamps" of a silver-mill (as in Belmont, Nevada, and various other places), cannot be persuaded that Indians are not willing to work at any avocation. The writer has had pointed out to him an Indian who had worked

steadily for seven years shovelling the "tailings" out of the sluice-ways of a California flume. What are the Péons of Mexico but the descendants of a race of American Indians? The Pimas and Maricopas of Southern Arizona, the Navajoes of Western Texas, and many other tribes, have proved conclusively their susceptibility to civilization. But it is much to be feared that the reaction from the sentimentalism which has idealized the African in the past generation will prevent the most rudimentary justice being extended to the American Indians until it is indeed too late!

ALBERT WARREN KELSEY,
of Saint Louis.

23d March, 1876.

THE "CRACK OF THE WHIP."

WORCESTER, Mass., March 30, 1876.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—I take pen to thank you from a full heart, and in behalf of true liberty, for your scathing article in THE INDEX, just at hand, on "The Spirit of 1876." Those are indeed "half-battle words," and if after this the liberals of this nation do not arise as one man and assert, *yes, demand*, the rights which the spirit of our great charter gives to every man, woman, and child covered by the flag, then will they deserve the title of serfs and cowards!

Why, the liberals of America are not half awake! Would to God every one of them could feel that inward, burning determination to do ALL that a single soul can do to hurl back this despicable, Pharisaic arrogance, which was felt by the writer when he beheld that article in the *Tribune*. The *Tribune*, "founded by Horace Greeley"! Horace Greeley, a man in no sense a sectarian, who conducted the *Tribune* preeminently for the people. Does this not warrant us liberals in withdrawing our support from that great journal? I agree with you in the belief that liberals will never be respected until we shall stand a solid, massed army, with purpose fixed, and convictions toned up to the pitch of any sacrifices. Where is that "eternal vigilance" which long ere this should have called the Minute Men of religious liberty to turn back the advance of this dangerous power? Alas! Right here in this "heart of the Commonwealth" ministers dare to insult freethought and common intelligence by declaring this nation to be "Bible-founded"! And the most popular journal dares to print this entirely baseless assertion, and dares to deny an humble man the right to point out the falsehood of a weak though mischievous sermon! Say not there is little danger. We may suffer "Peace" to be cried until, politically, we are bound hand and foot. Then liberals will awake to see there has been plotting in secret conclave to the end that liberty of opinion may be crushed out by force of arms, if need be!

I was in Rochester in the winter of 1874, and heard a popular Orthodox divine declare that he would feel justified in continuing the Bible in schools, "even if it should lead to war." His lecture was entitled "The Perils of Literature." I wrote to the *Express* the next day to the effect that I for one thought it a quite formidable and wholly unnecessary "peril of literature" to attempt to keep the Bible in schools at the expense of human blood! And the editor of the *Express*, God bless him! printed my letter, and indorsed its sentiment.

As secretary of a freethought association, I feel justified in trying to give your words a wider circulation in the form of a tract, quoting the *Tribune's* truly "feeble and ignorant" attack, that all may see how completely the greatest American journal has succumbed to the huge power of ecclesiasticism, that rules solely by prestige, not by any intrinsic virtue or influence for human progress.

I am sincerely thy friend,

A. BRIGGS DAVIS.

"MELICAN RELIGION."

422 O'FARRELL STREET, }
SAN FRANCISCO, March 17, 1876. }

MR. ABBOT:

Dear Sir,—Our Chinese boy "Jim Sing," after attending a few sessions of Dr. Stone's Sabbath-school class, draws a comparison:—

"I like Melican religion—one God—ten cents—cheap—heap good. Chinaman's religion—many Gods—ten cents apiece—no good."

The following was told me by a resident of Cohasset at the time of occurrence. When the Minot's Ledge iron light-house was destroyed in a terrible gale, burying its keeper in the wreck, the government, to keep its warning light in position, placed a light-ship firmly moored to the rock; but the constant motion after a time chafed the chain. When a gale sprang up, the ship broke from her moorings, and drifted rapidly to the shore. A smart Yankee skipper had charge with a Portuguese crew. The latter, letting their fears get the better of them, fell upon their knees and commenced repeating their *Ave Marias*. The captain, feeling the responsibility, and unable to get the men to perform their duty, exclaimed to them in his rage: "D— your *Ave Marias*; they won't save the ship."

Yours with respect, L. T. TUFTS.

THE value of church-property is enhanced by the enterprise and thrift of the owners of other property, certainly as plainly as churches enhance the value of other property, and if a rule of taxation were established on this principle it is a question whether church-property, which being unproductive and deriving its increase of value from the productive use of other property, should not pay the heaviest taxation instead of the least.—*Detroit Post*.

Sanctuary of Superstition.

NO GROUND BUT ONE.—Trust in the finished work of Christ alone; expect to be saved *only* on the ground of what Christ has suffered in your stead. This is the way in which God saves. In this way he will save you. But he will save in no other.—"Soldier and Substitute": American Tract Society.

CHRIST.—When conscience tells thee thy sins are both many and great, answer thou, "Christ's blood cleanseth from all sin"; when reminded of your ignorance, say, "Christ is my wisdom"; when your ground and title to the kingdom are demanded, say, "Christ is my righteousness"; when your meanness to enter within its sacred walls is challenged, say, "Christ is my sanctification"; when sin and the law, when death and Satan claim thee as their captive, reply to them all, "Christ is my redemption." The law saith, Pay thy debt; the gospel saith, Christ hath paid it. The law saith, Make amends for thy sins; the gospel saith, Christ hath done it for thee.—"Christ, our All-in-All": American Tract Society.

SIN THE CAUSE OF SICKNESS.—My dear Mr. Ball: I was delighted to receive your letter, and to have your assurance that you are well again. My convictions are the same as yours,—that sickness rightly improved is among the greatest blessings our Heavenly Father vouchsafes to us. It results from sin, and stimulates duty. I gratefully thank God for sickness. My views as to the proposed Cincinnati Convention which you ask for are not very clear. My opinion is that they ought to indicate their preferences, at least perhaps to nominate. They should act so as to insure Democratic cooperation. You ask whether I would, under circumstances, accept a nomination. I answer that I should not decline, but I do not seek it. If my nomination is thought by those entitled to judge the best means of uniting the friends of reform and amnesty, whether Republicans or Democrats, I shall have no right to decline it; if not, I do not want it.

Faithfully your friend, S. P. CHASE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 8, 1872.

"THE WHITE HAIRS OF JESUS."—Tradition and an ancient document tell us that the hair of Christ, when he was upon earth, was chestnut color to the ears, and then flowed down in golden curls upon the neck. . . . As Jesus died at thirty-three years of age, we are apt to think of him as a young man; but he is living now. That makes him more than an octogenarian, more than a centenarian,—ay, eighteen hundred and seventy-two years of age. But the Bible tells us that he was present at the creation of the world; that makes him six thousand years old. . . . He is an aged Christ. His hairs are white like wool, white like snow. . . . There is nothing that so soon changes the color of the hair as trouble. . . . Well, surely, Jesus my Lord had enough to whiten his hair. He had dwelt in the palaces of eternity. . . . But this King the disciples find one morning on the beach, frying his own fish and toasting his own bread for breakfast; his feet shod with ordinary sandals,—a sole of leather fastened with thongs; his head bared under the hot Judean sun, seated on the well-curb thirsty; his coat gambled for by the roughs who wanted it; the police after him for blasphemy; pursued as though he were a tiger; his dying drink vinegar sucked out of a sponge. Everything seemed leaving him, even the light of day running away, and leaving him in the hands of the night,—the black nurse that bent over him; forsaken by everything but fiends, executioners, and the darkness—oh! methinks that was the night his hair turned white. . . . "Behold where they have laid him!" Ah, methinks the golden curls have gone from his cheeks, and the auburn has faded from his brow, and his "hair is white as the wool, as white as snow." Sorrow and anguish have turned it.—*Rev. T. DeWitt Talmage*.

REGULATIONS FOR LENT.—1. The first day of Lent, Ash-Wednesday, falls on the 26th of February.

2. All the days of Lent are days of fasting, except the Sundays.

3. All persons who have completed their twenty-first year, unless legitimately dispensed, are obliged to keep the fast. Custom allows a cup of coffee, tea, or chocolate, with a small piece of bread, to be taken in the morning. In the evening, a collation not exceeding the fourth part of an ordinary meal, is allowed.

4. By dispensation, the use of flesh meat is allowed at the principal meal on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, except the Saturday in Ember week, and the Thursday and Saturday in Holy week.

5. The use of fish and flesh meat is not allowed at the same meal during Lent.

6. All under twenty-one years of age, those who are engaged in hard work, the sick and convalescent, and persons who cannot fast without serious injury to health, are exempted from the fast. Persons excused from fasting, on account of tender age, hard labor, and sickness, are not restricted to the use of flesh meat at only one meal, on the days on which it is allowed. Those who entertain any reasonable doubt about their obligation to fast or abstain, ought to apply to their pastors for advice or dispensation.

7. The time for fulfilling the Paschal duty is extended, in this diocese, from the first Sunday of Lent to Trinity Sunday.

The Sacramental Oils will be blessed on Holy Thursday, in St. Mary's Church, Wabash Avenue, at 10 o'clock, and distributed to the reverend clergy by the Chancellor.

By order of the Right Reverend Bishop.
P. J. MURPHY, D.D.,
Chancellor and Secretary.

Advertisements.

THE PATRONAGE

of the liberal advertising public is respectfully solicited for THE INDEX. The attempt will be honestly made to keep the advertising pages of THE INDEX in entire harmony with its general character and principles, and thus to furnish to the public an advertising medium which shall be not only profitable to its patrons, but also worthy of their most generous support. To this end, all improper or "blind" advertisements, all quack advertisements, and all advertisements believed to be fraudulent or unjust to any one, will be excluded from these columns. No cuts will be admitted.

THE INDEX must not be held responsible for any statement made by advertisers, who will in all cases accept the responsibility for their own statements.

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MRS. E. D. CHENEY, Jamaica Plain, Mass.
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Almost every number contains a discourse or leading article, which alone is worth the price of one year's subscription.

Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America—that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country,—is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large." And later still: "I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest."

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Religions of China, by Wm. H. Channing. 25 cents.

Reason and Revelation, by William J. Potter. 10 cents.

Taxation of Church Property, by Jas. Parton. 5 cents, singly; package of ten, 30 cents; of one hundred, \$1.50.

These publications are for sale at the office of the Free Religious Association, No. 1 Tremont Place, Boston. The Annual Reports for 1868 and 1871 cannot be supplied, and the supply of others previous to that of 1872 is quite limited. Orders by mail may be addressed either "Free Religious Association, No. 1 Tremont Place, Boston," or to the Secretary, New Bedford, Mass.

WM. J. POTTER Sec. F. R. A.

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EDITOR:

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT.

EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS:

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Fifth Proposition. Property is impossible, because, if it exists, Society devours itself.

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Sixth Proposition. Property is impossible, because it is the Mother of Tyranny.

Seventh Proposition. Property is impossible, because in consuming its Receipts, it loses them; in hoarding them, it nullifies them; and in using them as Capital, it turns them against Production.

Eighth Proposition. Property is impossible, because its Power of Accumulation is infinite, and is exercised only over Finite Quantities.

Ninth Proposition. Property is impossible, because it is powerless against Property.

Tenth Proposition. Property is impossible, because it is the Negation of Equality.

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1876. NEW YORK. 1876.

Eighteen hundred and seventy-six is the

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better period in our national history. Of all

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curate accounts, furnishing its readers with

early and trustworthy information upon

these absorbing topics.

The twenty-third Presidential election,

with the preparations for it, will be memo-

orable as deciding upon GRANT's aspirations

for a third term of power and plunder, and

still more as deciding who shall be the can-

didate of the party of Reform, and as elect-

ing that candidate. Concerning all these

subjects, those who read *The Sun* will have

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VOLUME 7.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, APRIL 20, 1876.

WHOLE No. 330.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fairs shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

Therefore, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

- ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be **THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF** —.
- ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in —, and thereby to effect the total separation of Church and State in fact as well as in theory.
- Also to send delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League, wherein organized, and to cooperate heartily with all the liberals of the country in furtherance of the above-named object.
- ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.
- ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.
- ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.
- ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League.
- ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

tion. No person shall ever in any State be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious practices shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS throughout the country are reported to be in a state of great activity.

THE THREE ARCHBISHOPS of Cephalonia, Patras, and Messene, and a former minister of ecclesiastical affairs, have just been sentenced at Athens for receiving bribes.

MR. FROTHINGHAM'S new work on *The History of Transcendentalism in New England* is to be published immediately by G. P. Putnam's Sons, of New York, and will be eagerly sought by the intelligent part of the public. It cannot fail to be a standard work on this very important and very interesting subject.

THE BOSTON *Herald* is the fairest and most courageous paper in this city on religious matters; although the *Post* is close on its heels in this respect. The Sunday *Herald* of April 9 republished the "Demands of Liberalism" in full; and the *Post* and *Transcript* of April 15 published in full the resolutions adopted by the Liberal League on the preceding evening.

IT WILL be best for all who intend to subscribe towards Mr. Morse's bust of Thomas Paine to remit the money immediately to Mrs. Kilgore. The time is short, and it should be remembered that Mr. Morse cannot take the risk of putting the bust into marble until the full amount is subscribed. The \$1200 required includes the cost of a marble pedestal and all expense of delivery at Independence Hall.

THE POLISH CATHOLIC "martyr," Cardinal Ledochowski, has been accused in the House of Deputies by Count Eulenburg, the Prussian Home Minister, of having violated his written pledges to the government that he would not encourage civil disturbance in Posen. The *Tribune's* correspondent in London characterizes this conduct as "fraud," "lying," and "treachery." But, being all for the good of the Church, it will be doubtless applauded by the Vatican.

A REV. MR. HAMILTON (Methodist) preached lately in Boston that "there were some honest sceptics who sought the truth, but these were in the minority; most disbelievers were not mere sceptics, —they were rejecters. They rejected Christ, the Bible and Christianity without knowing anything about them, or without trying to know." On the contrary, they "reject" because they know too much on these subjects to "accept"; and among other things, they know that Rev. Mr. Hamilton belongs to a class of Christians who make no scruple of peddling out pious libels to their congregations.

THE NEW YORK *Tablet* (Catholic) says with astonishing hardihood: "It would be absurd to accuse the Catholic Church in this country of having ever attempted to control any political party, or to dictate any policy as a condition for the votes of Catholics." The *Tablet* forgets the Gaghan law in Ohio, and seems never to have heard of Father Henning, of St. Louis, who recently declared: "It is the duty of every Catholic to vote for a Catholic candidate, —for one who is not opposed to the Catholic religion, who is not an enemy to the Church; and it is the duty of every faithful Catholic to vote against those

candidates who are enemies of our Church and our holy faith."

THE MEETING of the Boston Liberal League was held last Friday evening according to announcement, and a full report of the proceedings will be found in this paper. The many and able addresses of Rev. M. J. Savage and Mr. Horace Seaver were exceedingly well received; officers for the ensuing year were elected; delegates to the Centennial Congress of Liberals were appointed, and a collection on its behalf was taken up which, not yet being completed, will be reported in due time; resolutions were adopted in favor of equal rights in religion and natural morality in politics; and altogether the meeting was a very good one. We regret, however, that in the hurry of adjournment, no vote was passed acknowledging the kindness of the Parker Fraternity, which generously afforded their fine Hall for the occasion without compensation; and we venture to repair this accidental omission as well as we can, by tendering the thanks of the Liberal League to the Fraternity for their courtesy and friendly hospitality.

THE LADIES of Toledo, Ohio, have just begun the publication of a new monthly journal of eight pages in advocacy of the woman movement. Its name is the *Ballot Box*, and its editor is Mrs. S. R. L. Williams, who has proved her marked ability and enthusiasm in this cause by many years of effective work. She is the President of the Toledo Woman Suffrage Association, of which Mrs. J. P. Angier is the Recording Secretary, and Mrs. M. J. Barker, the Treasurer; and the new journal is the official organ of this association. All these ladies were members of the Independent Society with which we were connected from 1869 to 1873, and we can bear sincere testimony to the devotion and elevation of spirit with which they and their friends have long toiled to vindicate the rights of woman. They have our heartiest sympathy in their present undertaking, which we commend to the support of all friends of justice everywhere. The price is \$1.00 a year; address the *Ballot Box*, 79 St. Clair Street, Toledo, Ohio.

NORA PERRY, in a recent letter to the *Chicago Tribune*, writes: "All readers of Radical Club doings and literature will recall with interest anything concerning the editor of the *Radical*, —the magazine which went out of existence a year or two ago, but which when living had such interest for all liberal thinkers. Yesterday morning I went on an exploring expedition into the old Province Building on Bromfield Street. Up three flights I found under the finest skylight in Boston the quondam editor of the *Radical*, Mr. Sidney Morse, who is devoting himself to his first love, sculpture, with a vigor both in application and execution which argues well for results. Of course, knowing his radical thoughts, it was in the natural order of things to see Theodore Parker's firm face under the chisel. But who was that with the grand head bent downward slightly? Whose face was this, so calm, so intrepid, so majestic? I thought all these questions before I asked them of the artist, as we pour over the superscription of a letter before we seek the answer to the enigma within. And then to the question this answer, —the head was that of Tom Paine! Mr. Morse made the cast himself from an old picture of Paine, and from this modelled his clay. Whatever the different views of the visitor, and his ways of thinking, he must concede to Mr. Morse a conception of character and a grasp of the ideal in his treatment and skill which are unusual. There was a striking originality, too, in this conception of characters, —an originality both fearless and controlled. I don't know when I have seen a head so full of power, a face so living in its expression, or one that would repay a long perusal or daily study more than this. Even Theodore Parker's sweet integrity and frankness looked tame after regarding this Jovian type."

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[FOR THE INDEX.]

Woman and Politics.

AN ESSAY READ BEFORE THE CHESTNUT STREET CLUB, BOSTON, MARCH 27, 1876.

BY REV. E. S. ELDER.

[CONCLUDED FROM LAST WEEK.]

In the determination of the question, To whom shall the privilege of suffrage be extended? there are two dangers to be avoided. On the one hand there is the danger that the privilege will be restricted to too few, and on the other the danger that it will be extended to too many. In any indiscriminate extension of the suffrage there is the danger that the intelligence, enlightenment, and moral consciousness of a community will be in the minority. It is these qualities or virtues that determine the governing power of a community.

But beyond this it is also found that the smaller the representing body is, provided that all interests and classes are represented, the better it is. For instance, it will in all probability be found that a school-board of thirty in the city of Boston will be far more efficient than one of one hundred and twenty.

It has been assumed that the interests of women are identical with those of men, and consequently that the interests and rights of all individuals would be as truly represented by all men as by all men and all women together. The correctness of this assumption has been made manifest by the unquestioned ability, and I would add disposition, of the government to protect woman equally with man in the enjoyment of her natural rights. The women of New England, for instance, have scarcely dreamed that their interests were not protected, that their rights were not secured. They have not yet become conscious of suffering, from the fact that the laws are made by their fathers, brothers, husbands, and sons. Indeed, were it not for the superhuman efforts of a dozen advocates of the so-called woman's movement, there would be throughout New England a blissful unconsciousness of the meanness of man-made laws, and the cruelty of woman's political disabilities. Even the persuasive eloquence, the ability and self-sacrificing persistency of the advocates of suffrage have not yet succeeded by twenty years of effort in making the women of America, of New England, or of Massachusetts even, conscious of their suffering, or confident that by a vote they can improve their condition. If masculine government does not protect women in their rights, would they not know it? We may be assured that when the women of New England are denied their rights, when their interests necessitate their active participation in the business of government, they will know it for themselves. It will not require argument to make them conscious of their sufferings, nor persuasion to induce them to secure their rights.

Let it not be assumed that because woman has no natural right to vote, that therefore she ought not to

vote. All that is insisted upon in this connection is that the claim in behalf of the ballot, based upon woman's natural right to vote, is not a valid one. The demand for woman's suffrage must be based upon considerations of expediency.

So much for the arguments in behalf of woman's suffrage, and what it stands for. They are not without their force; to many minds, in the absence of positive objections, they are conclusive. An examination of the grounds upon which the claim for woman's suffrage rests, reveals the fact that the fundamental assumption of the movement is the duality and antagonism of the interests of man and woman respectively. Woman's interests are separated from those of men, and the interests of men are considered as separate from those of women.

It is this assumption that vitiates the literature of the movement. While these interests may be arrayed against each other on the woman's suffrage platform, how do they stand related in life? What is the actual relation of the interests of the 370,000 women in this State to the interests of the 350,000 men? Is the relation that of antagonism, or that of identity? This is the real issue. If the interests of men and women are respectively antagonistic, woman must have the means of securing and preserving her own rights and interests.

Let this point be illustrated: young men and young women of seventeen, eighteen, nineteen, and twenty have no voice in the making of laws by which they are governed. Their property is taxed, indeed it is bought, and sold, and otherwise disposed of, without their consent.

A young man of twenty may be never so intelligent, never so capable, yet he cannot vote. Now do all these people less than twenty-one need the ballot for the protection of their interests? Certainly not, and for the reason that their interests are identical with the interests of those who are twenty-one and upwards. The latter are as much interested in the welfare of the young as they themselves can be; and yet by representing their interests as separate, as antagonistic, as much might be said in behalf of the political rights of children as has been said in behalf of the political rights of women.

There is a second assumption implied in the claims in behalf of the extension of the privilege of voting to women that deserves notice. It is assumed that a vote has a power in itself; that a vote is an instrument of reform; that with a vote a woman can exert a moral influence; with a vote temperance can be promoted; with a vote the law of supply and demand can be abrogated,—in brief, the ills of life can be cured with a vote. The Messiah of America is a ballot-box full of votes. This faith in the ballot would be quite harmless were it not associated with a corresponding want of faith in the actual means and methods by which any of the desired objects can alone be obtained. What are the facts? Suppose that the reverend and honorable President of the Woman's Suffrage Association casts his vote into one scale, his vote may be said to be the expression of moral and intellectual culture, public spirit, political wisdom. Will not the vote of such a man have great weight, and exert a helpful influence? Will not the votes of a few such men insure the establishment of justice, and promote the common weal?

Alas! fifty cents put where they will do the most good will neutralize the confidently-anticipated effects of his vote and those of half-a-dozen others. The humiliating truth must be told. The vote of the most ignorant, selfish, and vicious man weighs just as much as that of Dr. Clarke. His vote may represent an infinite power for good; the vote bought for a glass of very poor whiskey may represent an unlimited power for evil. The sum of the two votes is absolutely nothing.

The votes of Mrs. Howe, Livermore, and Stone will weigh as much as, and no more than, the votes of Mrs. Patrick O'Rourke and her two daughters. And what is worse, and more to the purpose, the moral, refining, and otherwise helpful influence of the former noble women will be exactly neutralized by the three of opposite character. The time is at hand when the ballot-box will be seen to be an idol, possibly a devil,—certainly not a God in whom we can trust.

The partisan character of the arguments in behalf of the woman's movement is worthy of a moment's notice.

The woman suffragist remembers the one widow whom the law harms, but fails to perceive the generosity of that same in the vast majority of cases. It is seen that the property of a woman is taxed, and that she is not allowed to vote; it is forgotten that the property of the corporation, the minor, the non-resident is taxed under the same circumstances. It is seen that each woman is interested in increasing the salaries of those who are engaged in the same labor with herself; it has never occurred to any woman suffragist that each woman is interested in small salaries for women engaged in all other kinds of labor. It is complained of that a woman receives less than a man for the same work; it is not acknowledged that a score of women stand waiting for the work of the one. It is remembered that there were laws that did injustice to women; it is forgotten that legislators have been repealing these laws for twenty-five years. It is urged that the influence of the able and noble women who advocate woman's suffrage would be helpful in political affairs; it is forgotten that 32,000 ignorant Catholic women under the control of the enemies of public schools will be a dangerous element in the politics of Suffolk County.

Having considered the character of the principal arguments in behalf of the woman's suffrage movement, I now proceed to state the objections. While the arguments in favor are based very largely upon isolated facts often exceptional and peculiar, upon conditions that are local and temporary, upon assump-

tions that have no basis in fact,—on the other hand the objections are of a general nature; they do not have exclusive reference to one class of women, or to the operation of laws in one case, or to the earnest wishes of a very few. The grounds of the objections are as broad as the proposed change. The objections are based upon the actual relation of man to woman, the actual relation of their interests, and the relation of both to the great work of life.

The first objection to so important and far-reaching change as is advocated by women suffragists is this: there is no need of it. This is a very dogmatic and summary objection, one that begs the whole question. Nevertheless, until it is shown that the change is needed, nothing more need be said in opposition to it. The privilege of participating in the business of government has been limited to men of twenty-one years, and upwards. Now if a few good people were to urge the extension of the franchise to young men of twenty, the one all-sufficient objection would be, there is no need of it. Nothing is to be gained by the extension.

The existence of the evils which it is proposed to remove is freely admitted, but I demur to the sufficiency, and even the tendency, of the proposed change to accomplish what is claimed for it.

The first positive objection to the extension of the franchise to woman is this: the vast majority of women wish not to vote; of course those who do wish to vote have no sympathy with this objection. The large majority of women in this State, for instance, do not feel that they are injured by the fact that the functions of government are limited to one sex. It is to be borne in mind in this connection that the number of intelligent women who actually wish to vote is not to be estimated by the number of names found in the petitions. It is a very common occurrence for a woman to sign the petition, and at the same time remark that she would not vote if she could, but that she is willing that others should vote if they wish to. Again, others are heard to remark that they always sign all the petitions, though they have no desire to vote. But it may very properly be asked if one thousand, or even one hundred, women wish to vote, if these very few feel aggrieved by their inability to vote, why should they not be allowed to? If others do not wish to vote, they need not. But is it true that women need not vote if they do not wish to? Are they free from all obligation? Does not the right to vote and participate in politics involve the duty of such participation? Is it not true that when the ballot is put into the hands of the ignorant, and unmoral, and immoral, it becomes the imperative duty of every intelligent woman, who is interested in the social and moral well-being of the community, to cast her vote and exert her influence in order to neutralize the vote and influence of the ignorant and politically vicious? If the ballot is given to the women of the North End or Five Points, the ladies of Beacon Street and Fifth Avenue will have something more than an empty right; they will have a duty whose neglect will allow iniquity to triumph.

It must be kept in mind that the extension of suffrage has reference to all women, bad and good, ignorant and educated, free lovers and Shakers, the most vicious and the virtuous. Very fortunately, particularly in our cities, the ignorant, and unmoral, and vicious women cannot vote. When they vote—and every one will vote as soon as they can,—a heavy and needless responsibility will devolve upon the better class of women. One class will roll the stone up the hill; the other will roll it down. Now my point is that this vast majority of intelligent women who do not wish to assume the burdens and responsibilities pertaining to government have rights and preferences that are to be respected. If one woman wishes to go to the post-office for her mail there is no objection to her doing so. But if her going to the office daily makes it the duty of all other women to do the same, most assuredly they have a right to prefer not to go; and the fact that they are willing that the postman or some other man should bring their letters, is a valid objection to a movement in behalf of woman's going for the mail. When an intelligent majority of the women of the State wish to participate in political life this objection will cease. Until then let the silence of women upon the subject of woman's suffrage be respected, and let every woman refrain from signing the petitions in favor of suffrage unless she herself actually wishes to vote.

It is not a little remarkable that after the woman suffragists have labored ably and persistently to convince the women of Massachusetts that they ought to vote, that they are suffering from their political disabilities, that the welfare of the State depends upon their participation in politics,—it is not a little remarkable after so much has been said and done that they still remain unconscious both of their duties and their sufferings. It would seem that if they are wronged, enslaved, they ought to know it for themselves; but if they are still insensible of their sufferings and wrongs after the persistent iterations and appeals of the advocates of woman's suffrage, it is difficult to foresee what will bring them to their senses.

The second objection to woman's participation in the business of politics has been already alluded to in what was said of the condition of American politics. I confess that I have great fears from the proposed doubling of the number of voters. I fear the political power of the organized minorities of the ignorant under the control of politicians. I believe that I am not an alarmist. I have great faith in the natural tendencies, and what I will name the tendencies of the leading race of the world to-day. But when I call to mind the fact that the experiment of self-government has never yet succeeded for any length of time; and when I remember that our first one hundred years of success (if the last four can be

called successful) is in a great measure to be attributed to the exceptionally intelligent and moral character of those who laid the foundations of our national prosperity, and to the intelligence and moral purpose of the people at large, and to the peculiar conditions of life in a sparsely-settled country; and when I call to mind our present condition and tendencies, the rapid increase of wealth, the sudden and accidental accumulation of great fortunes, the consolidation of wealth in corporations, which, though they have no vote, can control majorities, the tendency toward centralization, which, joined with immigration, fills our rapidly-growing cities with an ignorant and venal majority; when I call to mind the means and methods by which an unscrupulous class of men succeed in obtaining and holding the highest offices, and how with the opportunity thus afforded they steal a fortune and then steal away; when I bear in mind that the vote of the most ignorant and unprincipled is of as much value as the vote of the intelligent and moral, and that the political influence of the best can be completely neutralized by that of the worst; and, further, when I perceive that the ignorant and immoral class is increasing, both by birth and immigration, with a startling rapidity,—when I contemplate all these facts and tendencies, I ask myself with profound solicitude, What can be done to avert the threatened danger?

I trust, I confidently believe, that there is an intelligent and moral power within the nation that will preserve our national integrity, and insure the success of our magnificent experiment of self-government. But as a means to accomplish this, I do not rely upon, and do not believe in, an indiscriminate extension of the privilege of voting.

It is an excess of democracy that to-day endangers the stability of our institutions. Intelligence and morality are the essentials of self-government. An increase of voters without an increase of these virtues is dangerous. If the voters of Massachusetts could be duplicated, the demagogue would have an advantage over the statesman; the most ignorant and selfish are the best organized and the most active. Suppose, to illustrate this point, that a representative to Congress has the same opportunity to fill the cotton-mills of Lowell and Lawrence with voters that he has to fill the navy-yards just before election, would not his election be assured? Inflation in suffrage will be found to be far more dangerous than inflation in finance.

Let us inquire how Suffolk County will be affected by the extension of the franchise to women. There are in this county 178,000 males, of whom 73,700 are voters, more than forty per cent. of whom are foreigners. There are more than 180,000 females, 80,000 of whom would be voters,—more than 32,000 of these are foreigners, largely Irish Catholic. Now what class of people is it that is sure to vote early and often? Is it not those who can turn an honest penny by selling their vote? Is anything to be hoped for from these 80,000 voters, forty per cent. of whom can always be counted on as the active followers of the worst demagogues? On the contrary, is there not danger to be apprehended from this extension of the privilege of counting one in the determination of questions that affect the well-being of the State? Suppose the question to be decided at the polls has reference to the division of school money as advocated by the Catholics, every Irish servant-girl, every Catholic, would vote in favor of the division. Are there not causes in operation that tend to unite the superstitious, the ignorant, the unprincipled, and personally ambitious? Have not some of our larger cities already been disgraced by this combination? Is the increase of the mob of voters the remedy for existing and prospective evils? It is my conviction that we have nothing to hope and much to fear from political inflation. The objections thus far have had exclusive reference to the extension of the privilege of suffrage. But the woman's movement includes something more than empty voting. It is, logically and irresistibly, compelled to demand full and complete participation of woman with man in all the departments and functions of government, legislative, judicial, and executive. If the claims put forth in behalf of the elective franchise for woman are valid, they are equally valid as regards participation in all the business of government. If women need the ballot to protect themselves from man's indifference, incompetency, or selfishness, they need laws and judicial decisions for the same reason. If politics is improved by her presence and influence, that same refining power is needed in all official positions (from what a disgrace an honest Secretary of War would have saved us). If the claims in behalf of woman's suffrage are valid, nothing less than woman's presence in, and influence through, all branches of government will protect her rights and interests.

And now what is the objection to woman's equal participation with man in the functions of government?

To appreciate the force of the real objection to the woman's movement in so far as it relates to politics and government, let us for a moment glance at the work of life, and the relation of man and woman respectively to that work.

Food is to be produced from the soil and prepared for the table; material for clothing is to be obtained and made into garments; houses are to be built and kept in order; the ocean is to be dotted with sails; wars are to be carried on; laws are to be made and executed; institutions, such as churches, schools, asylums, are to be founded and sustained; the sick are to be taken care of; children are to be born, tended, reared, educated—in short, hard work of body and brain is to be done. Each individual represents a certain amount of vital energy. What is employed in one direction cannot be expended in any other. He who mows the forests down will not write the books; he who discovers and invents can-

not plough the fields; and he who ploughs will not paint the great pictures (though if he should happen to paint a picture of a yoke of oxen and a span of horses drawing a plough, he would not represent the team and driver as wearily stumbling over the ploughed ground, and the plough turning a furrow to the left, as was done in a picture recently on exhibition in Boston). The man of largest and most active brain will not exhibit most muscular power. Everywhere in the doing of the world's work there is—and to have it well done there must be—a division of labor.

And what is the ultimate outcome of what I have named the world's work? Is it literature, art, philosophy, science, institutions, philanthropies, politics, laws? These are but the means to an end. That end—the highest outcome, the fruition so far as we have any knowledge—is *man and woman*, the superior, the perfect man.

Indeed, what is the world's work as carried on by millions of busy hands and teeming brains but the creative process by which humanity is being created, evolved,—what is always most needed in the world? Is it not the physically, mentally, and morally superior men and women? That only is progress which leads towards this. The world improves; society advances only as one generation is better born and better educated than the preceding generation. Only as the coming generation is the offspring of physical, mental, and moral healthfulness will the future be in any way superior to the present. The greatest good that one generation transmits to another flows along the current of birth. Of all the rich legacy inherited by the last fifty years from the years preceding, the most precious, the most needed, were the noble men and women,—the Sumners, Parkers, Emersons, and John Browns; the Florence Nightingales, and Charlotte Cushman, and George Eliots. So much for the world's work and its result. What is the relation of man and woman to this work? Has one any greater or deeper interest in it than the other? Are the interests of men and women separate or separable? To whatever extent the interests of men and the interests of women may be arrayed against each other by the advocates of the woman's movement, those interests are one and inseparable. Man and woman are so constituted that the happiness of the one is dependent upon that of the other. Who are these men? Are they not sons, brothers, husbands, fathers of women? And who are these women? Are they strangers,—Amazons? Are they not the daughters, the sisters, the wives, and the mothers of men?

Instead of there being any antagonism between the interests of the one sex and those of the other, I will go so far as to insist that men are more kind and more just toward women than women are toward each other. A jury of men will render a verdict more favorable to a woman than would be rendered by a jury of women. And, on the other hand, women are more generous, more self-sacrificing, in behalf of men than they are towards each other. Is there not a period in most healthy lives when each loses self in the worship of the other? Nothing less than an insane and chronic individualism could array the interests of the sexes in antagonism to each other.

And now what is the relation of the two sexes to what I have called the work of life, the creative process as carried on by human beings? Though they have the same interests, do they perform the same functions? On the contrary, we find that woman is heavily burdened with the pains, labors, and responsibilities incident to wifehood and motherhood. This holy, creative, and world-renewing function of motherhood has been entailed upon women not by the meanness of masculine legislation, but by the wisdom of God. The women of each generation are in a high sense the creators both of the women and the men of the generation succeeding. Upon the women of to-day, not by virtue of the ballot-box, but by virtue of this natural function, will depend the physical, mental, and moral character of the next generation. Every child well born, mentally and morally educated, is a most precious and efficient contribution to the progress of the world. Nature's method of reform is always by a process of regeneration or new births. Our impatient reformers will one day learn that the culture of the young, and not the conviction of the old, is the speediest and only sure method of reform. The function of motherhood, confined to one sex, is of so great importance that upon its performance by the most intelligent and morally healthy women depends the welfare of society. Progress is possible only as the most superior women are among the mothers of the land. Only as the highest types of character are transmitted to the next generation will there be any advancement. Our republican institutions will be preserved; our national prosperity will be secured; conditions of human life will be improved during the first quarter of the next century, not by the votes, but by the children of intelligent women.

It has been attempted to show that the interests of men and women are one and inseparable; and, secondly, that one all important function of life, one that is life-creating and life-exhausting, is confined to one sex. It is my conviction that this oneness of interest allows, and this duality of function necessitates a division of labor. The burdens pertaining to woman as woman incapacitate her for participation in very much of the political, professional, and otherwise out-of-door work of life. At least woman cannot bear the burdens entailed upon her, and at the same time successfully compete with man, who is absolutely free from all limitations incident to parentage.

To state the question differently, can woman, not some exceptionally endowed woman, but one of the ten thousand or fifty thousand women, enter into successful competition with man in the out-of-door business of life, and at the same time rear healthy

children, and do for them all that a mother ought to do for their comfort and welfare,—can she do her duty as regards the cultivation of their minds and the formation of their characters? And while she is doing all this, can she fill the home with that nameless beauty and sanctity whose memory is a perpetual benediction in after-life? It is woman that makes the home. It is the home and all it stands for that is the most efficient instrumentality in the reformation and regeneration of society. It is the mental, moral, social, and religious culture of the young that determines whether or not there is to be improvement and progress during any quarter of a century. Upon the intelligence and moral consciousness of the majority of mothers depends the safety of the republic. It is the home that connects the future with the past. It is through the home that all the virtues flow on to the future. It is through the home that we lay hold on an immortality that transcends our self-regarding hope. A great day will have dawned upon us when we shall have learned that humanity is led forward by the intelligence and virtue that are put into private life rather than by those virtues that are put into words or votes.

Now I object to the woman's movement on the ground that it tends to withdraw the thoughts, affections, and purposes of not a few intelligent women from that work which only woman can do toward that work that man, to say the least, can do as well as she; from what may be termed the natural duties of woman toward artificial and empty rights; from the silent sanctities of home toward a noisy publicity.

I object to the movement on the ground that it tends to exaggerate the importance of the ballot and participation in public life, both as an instrument and agency of reform, and as a means by which the influence of intelligent and public-spirited women may be brought to bear upon the political and social life of a community. Indeed, it is assumed that the ballot is a means of exerting a moral influence. It is forgotten that all that a vote would add to the moral influence of the most efficient advocates of woman's suffrage would be neutralized by the vote of the most ignorant voter. It is the tendency of the woman's movement by its overrating the value of the ballot to exaggerate the importance of those artificial, patent-medicine methods of reform, and to depreciate the natural means by which alone the improvement of society is possible. It is not objected that the act of voting will consume much time. An intelligent woman can step out in the morning on her way to the club, or store, and cast her vote for such a man as R. H. Dana, Jr., or for hard money, or for secular schools; and in the afternoon her servant-girl can run out and slip one or two votes into the box for such a man as Benjamin Butler, or for paper money, or a division of the school funds. Not two hours' time in a year need be lost. My most fundamental objection to the woman's suffrage movement is, that it is a phase of that unquestioning faith in, and superstitious worship of, the ballot that may properly be named secular revivalism.

The so-called religious revivalist promises salvation to all, regardless of their morals, if they will come to Jesus. Now the secular revivalist, who represents precisely the method of the former, importunes all, regardless of their intelligence, their motives, and their morals, to come to the ballot-box. The salvation of the country is to be secured by counting the number of adults. Now this ignoring of all considerations of intelligence and morals is one of the "rocks ahead." But this is not all. The religious revivalist who relies on the atoning merits has no faith in morality and natural religion, either as a means or an end. I believe that it is the tendency of those whose faith is in the ballot as an instrument of reform, as the means by which moral and otherwise helpful influence can be exerted, to undervalue, in many cases to ignore, the natural and only means whereby any permanent improvement in human conditions can be secured. How many intelligent and noble women there are who, because they are closely confined to their homes and household cares, and have no opportunity to take part in more public and conspicuous activities, feel that they are doing absolutely nothing in behalf of philanthropy, or temperance, or charity, or any reform. And yet it is these who are contributing most to the actual advancement of mankind. It is true that they do not stand in the public eye; they do not fill the public ear with their voice, nor the public mouth with their praises.

In this connection it is well to remember that intelligence, moral insight, moral feeling, and loyalty to high ideals, in one word, character, will make itself felt. Every woman who manifests these virtues exerts a refining and elevating influence, an influence that cannot be neutralized by the ignorant and selfish, except at the polls. The noble women who advocate the extension of suffrage, indeed, all women who are interested in the movement, are a power for good; but when it comes to voting, the zealous followers of Moody and Sankey, or the female communicants of a single Roman Catholic diocese, will vote against them, and outvote them three to one. One cotton-mill would outvote an entire woman's suffrage convention, even if the latter were united. Never was there a time when the influence of intelligent, refined, and moral women was more needed than today; but that influence cannot be exerted through the ballot-box. In the mental, moral, and religious culture of the young there is a work adequate to the employment of the highest faculties, an opportunity to exert a moral and refining influence. The young constitute the plastic material which may be moulded into the desired form, and made to receive an indelible impression. This work which can only be done by the intelligent and conscientious, is to-day neglected by the intelligent and conscientious. Much of our

reformatory activity is iconoclastic rather than creative. It has just been remarked that it is the tendency of those who have faith in the ballot, as the means of exerting a moral influence, to undervalue the natural means by which any permanent good can be secured. Yet it is this army of unconscious reformers who regenerate and reform society.

There lived in my neighborhood during the first quarter of this century an intelligent and conscientious woman, who may be said to have devoted her life to the rearing of a family of eleven children. Now it is my conviction that that one woman did more in behalf of human well-being in her quiet, natural, yet earnest and conscientious, living, than would be done by the votes of every woman in the town for one hundred years. Her eleventh child was Theodore Parker. She put her conscience, her native common-sense, her seriousness, her religion, her very soul not into words or votes, but into life.

"She builded better than she knew." When shall we learn that intelligence, refinement, moral and religious consciousness, like beauty, are organic, inherited, transmitted, but not elected by our votes, or conferred into being by our words, or imparted to society by the legal enactments?

[Specially reported for THE INDEX.]

THE BOSTON LIBERAL LEAGUE.

THIRD ANNUAL MEETING AT PARKER MEMORIAL HALL ON FRIDAY, APRIL 14--ADDRESSES BY REV. M. J. SAVAGE, F. E. ABBOT, AND HORACE SEAYER--RESOLUTIONS--ELECTION OF OFFICERS, ETC., ETC.

The third annual meeting of the Boston Liberal League occurred on Friday evening last, at the Parker Memorial Hall. The audience was very respectable in point of numbers, and the interest manifested in the addresses and the work of the League was unabated.

The President, Mr. F. E. Abbot, called the meeting to order just before eight o'clock, and Mr. R. H. Ranney, in the absence of the Secretary, read the records of the previous meeting. The election of officers for the ensuing year was the first business in order.

Mr. Ranney moved that the chair, in accordance with the usual custom, appoint a nominating committee of three, and Mr. Horace Seaver, Mr. George H. Foster, and Mrs. S. B. Otis were appointed.

DELEGATES TO THE CENTENNIAL CONGRESS.

Mr. Henry S. Williams next addressed the chair, stating that, as there was to be a convention of Liberals at Philadelphia during the Centennial celebration to which all the Liberal Leagues throughout the country were invited to send delegates, he therefore moved that the meeting now proceed to nominate three delegates to serve in that capacity, besides the President and Secretary.

The meeting elected Messrs. George H. Foster, H. S. Williams, and Dr. H. B. Storer.

Mr. Williams moved that the delegation just appointed have power to furnish substitutes in case any of the number could not attend in person. The motion prevailed.

THE RESOLUTIONS.

The President then said: "If there is no other business before the meeting at present, I will read a series of seven resolutions which I have drafted, and, in order to bring the matter fairly before the League, I will make the request that somebody shall move their adoption as a mere matter of form, of course not implying thereby that they are approved. After the reading of the resolutions, we will listen to some remarks by the Rev. Minot J. Savage, who has very kindly come here to address us on 'State Secularization.' At the close of his remarks, I will say a few words myself, and the resolutions will then be submitted to the League for debate and action. There are some points upon which we may not all agree; if so, let them be brought out and discussed with the utmost frankness." He then read the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That this great republic was founded by patriots and statesmen one hundred years ago for the good of the whole people, and not for the good of parties, sects, or churches.

Resolved, That all special legislation in the interest of parties, sects, or churches is hostile to the good of the whole people.

Resolved, That all laws exempting church property from taxation, requiring or permitting religious worship or instruction in the public schools, interfering with the free enjoyment of Sunday as the people's rest day, or establishing in any other manner a practical connection of Church and State, constitute just so much special legislation in the interest of the churches, a grave violation of the fundamental principles of this government, a reprehensible abuse of the power of the majority, and a manifest wrong and injustice to very many individual citizens.

Resolved, That the Boston Liberal League affirms the great principle of State Secularization, as the only guarantee of equal rights in religion, and the only foundation of natural morality in politics; and that this principle is infringed by any special legislation, however indirect or disguised, in the interest of sects or churches.

Resolved, That *Equal Rights in Religion* can only be established by the absolute and complete separation of Church and State, which is impossible without the repeal of many existing laws in favor of the churches; that we protest against all such special legislation, in whole and in part, and call upon all justice-loving citizens to unite in demanding its immediate repeal.

Resolved, That *Natural Morality in Politics* can only be established by the adoption of such a reformed civil service system as shall make character and capacity, not partisanship or purchase, the prime qualification for the tenure of all public offices; that character and capacity do not depend in the least on sects or churches, and are only put at an unfair and mischievous disadvantage by the contrary assumption cunningly insinuated by all special legislation on behalf of the churches; and that we therefore call upon all good citizens to unite in demanding the complete secularization of the government, to the end that the cause of public morality may prosper, and rogues be no longer helped to office by professing their love to Jesus. (Applause.)

Resolved, That in the political campaign of this Centen-

nal year we shall look with most favor on those candidates who are most conspicuous for practical fidelity to equal rights in religion and natural morality in politics; and that we will vote for no candidate who proves himself to be opposed to either. (Applause.)

Mr. Williams moved the adoption of the resolutions; whereupon the President introduced Mr. Savage as follows:—

"Ladies and gentlemen, in accordance with the plan just sketched, I have the great pleasure of introducing to you one of our most able and fearless ministers; a man whose word is always ready to be uttered in behalf of every true and progressive measure; a man whom I heard plead recently at the State House on behalf of the rights of conscience on the school question, and whose name you are all familiar with as the author of a very striking series of sermons on 'Evolution,' published in the *Commonwealth*, and other liberal sermons. I now introduce to you Rev. Minot J. Savage, of Boston." (Applause.)

Before Mr. Savage began his address, Mrs. Otis, on behalf of the Nominating Committee, asked leave to present the following list of officers for the League for the ensuing year:—

President, Francis E. Abbot; Vice-Presidents, Horace Seaver, Mrs. J. W. Smith; Corresponding Secretary, George A. Bacon; Recording Secretary, Miss J. P. Titcomb; Treasurer, H. P. Hyde; Executive Committee, Messrs. Storer, Williams, Dole, Ranney, Miss Buchanan, and Mrs. Sarah B. Otis. The report was subsequently adopted. Mr. Savage then arose, and made the following address:—

MR. SAVAGE'S ADDRESS.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN OF THE LEAGUE: I believe it is popular tradition that it is quite a common thing for ministers to write their sermons first, and then find a text. I have not written any sermon or address whatever for to-night, but otherwise the case referred to is parallel to the condition in which I find myself. I was asked to speak on "State Secularization," and, since coming here, the resolutions were put in my hands to read, giving the platform on which we were to stand and the text to which we were expected to speak. I find, however, that the resolutions in the main so perfectly accord with my own ideas and feelings that the text of my sermon and myself, I trust, will not be found very far apart, so that you will recognize something of the kinship and relation between them, and see that they are near enough, at least, to be introduced to each other.

Instead of taking the question up in the abstract, and speaking of the whole subject of State Secularization, or the principles which underlie it, it occurred to me that the more practical way would be to take some two points of practical importance that are uppermost in the public mind at the present time, and address myself simply and entirely to them. I will say, before beginning, what I just said to your President,—that I feel somewhat embarrassed in talking to a select company like this, for the reason that what I have to say may seem superfluous, as you are all indoctrinated in the same views, and I shall not have the honor of converting anybody, or even getting up a controversy!

You are all aware, of course, of the fact that ages ago government and religion were one. They were not simply united; the idea of their possible separation had never entered into the human mind. It is common, in some of the romances and some of the older poets, to talk about the time when man lived free from the trammels of society and of the social order, free from the power of government, in some early golden age of the world when each man did what was right in his own eyes, and followed the simplicity of Nature; and there has been a great deal taught in the writings and conversations of many in regard to going back to the state of Nature. In the attempts to attain this ideal position supposed to be held by people in the early ages, I believe it is very clearly demonstrated by this time that all this is simply a dream of a condition of things that never in fact existed in the history of the world. There never has been a time when people were as free as to-day, when government was felt so little, when social restraint, the power of public opinion, lay upon people so lightly as it does to-day. Take, for example, the North American Indian tribe, and there is not a greater despotism in existence. The member of this tribe has been so utterly in the grasp of this despotism that his individuality has been nothing, and he is not able to live against the will of the tribe of which he was a part. So this ideal state of things in government, I say, is simply a dream. The progress of government has been toward freedom, toward larger individuality, toward broader latitude of thought and action on the part of the different members of government and society. It is undoubtedly true that the grand end and aim of government should be to make itself useless. Government should be outgrown, and just so far as it can be outgrown, mankind is attaining its true ideal.

The little child in the family is so entirely under the control of father and mother, that the child's will and judgment count for nothing; the parents have everything to do for the child in guiding and directing it. But the whole object of parental training and discipline is to reverse this order, so that the time will come when the child's will and judgment will be supreme, and the parents' shall be outgrown and count for nothing, because the child has itself grown up into the condition of self-government and freedom.

The true end and aim of government, therefore, is to train people so that they shall be able to dispense with government. Ministers live, if they are at their proper work, for the one grand object of making ministers useless. (Applause.) Physicians, if they are doing their work properly, are exerting themselves to bring about the time when they shall not

be needed; and so philanthropists and public workers generally, if they are doing their duty to themselves and humanity, are doing their best to help humanity to outgrow these necessities. This indicates the thought I wish to bring into your minds, as a fundamental principle on which I propose to stand in this discussion.

The ideal government is the government that governs least; that which lets people alone just so far as it is safe for all that they should be left alone. I would lay it down as a fundamental principle that government has a right to compel the doing of those things which are of public and universal necessity, providing these things cannot or will not be done in any other way, and government has no right whatever to do anything else.

Now, then, to take up one or two points which are now in the public mind connected with this question of State Secularization. What is the right and duty of government in the light of this principle, as connected with our public school system? Government has not only the right, but it is one of the prime duties of government, to foster and to compel universal education, for the simple reason that education in a republic is an absolute necessity to the republic's own safety and welfare. It would not make so much difference if we were living under a monarchy, where the will of one man, or (as in an oligarchy) where the will of the few, was the supreme power. Under such a government the great mass of the people are practically degraded, because the character of the government in such a case does not depend upon the condition of the populace. This is not the state of affairs in a republic. Here the servants of the people, or the officers of the people, if you choose to call them so, must simply represent the average intelligence and average character of the people. The stream cannot rise higher than its source. I fear, in these days when we are finding so much trouble with the affairs in Washington, that, while we are justly indignant at the betrayals of public trust, we do not consider that Washington is simply the grand reservoir, or lake, receiving tributaries from Oregon, Texas, Massachusetts, Florida, and representing the popular condition. You cannot expect to get a clear, pure lake that shall reflect back the stars of heaven, so long as mud taints the caucuses, and the impure moral associations of the people all over the land are pouring themselves bodily into it. There must be purity, there must be culture, education, and character on the part of the people. If we elect rascals and send them to Washington, we have no right to find fault with them simply because they display their rascality after they get there. (Applause.) It is related that a South African king was much astonished and frightened, when he saw the reflection of himself in a looking-glass, given him by a traveller. The heathen monarch was so enraged that he broke the glass to pieces. We had better take more pains to improve our condition, so that instead of getting enraged with the reflection of ourselves in Washington, it would be a little wiser to look to see to it that we improve, till we can cast a respectable shadow. (Applause.)

I say, then, it is an absolute necessity on the part of the republic that there should be universal education. It is a matter of self-defence, because the moral character and the moral culture and the intellectual condition of the people must be reflected in the persons that they themselves elect to serve them as officers. But, while the republic has a right, nay, should demand, that every child be sent to school, it has not a right to teach religion in that school, either directly or indirectly, whether one kind of religion or another. This is all the same whether the religion is true or false, whether it comes from above or below, whether it is directly revealed from God or invented by human genius; for the simple reason that it has no necessary relation to the right and the welfare and the prosperity of the State as such.

We have opened wide our doors, and invited the representatives of every nation and religion under heaven to come, and share with us our inheritance; and we talk about this being the refuge for all nations and peoples, for the oppressed of every land. We have invited them here to enjoy liberty. So long as the population was homogeneous, all descendants of the Puritan fathers, the school question did not come up, and never would have arisen but for the new condition which we are now in. We have representatives of almost every religion and of no religion now among us. These people are citizens by invitation, and are to stand on the platform of equal rights as citizens. This being the case, if we directly or indirectly compel them to learn the doctrines and practice the rites of our religion, then we are taking from them the very fundamental principle of equal civil rights on which we have founded our government; we are violating the first principles of the nation as it was established by the fathers; and we know that, if carried far enough, it may lead to religious persecution. As I said, it does not make any difference whether our religion is true or not; of course we all think our own is true. If you accord to any person or nation the right to compel others to believe as they do simply because they think they are right, why then you have accorded the right to this whole human race to engage in an everlasting warfare, to kindle the fires of religious persecution everywhere. You admit a principle which is destructive of the very first ideas of equality and of right in the matter of religion.

It is, then, nothing less than religious persecution for us to compel any one to read our Bible or listen to our prayers in the public schools. Religion is something which the State has no right to teach; it does not concern its functions as a State; and I for one, while I believe that the main part of the Bible teaches noble morals and stands for the truth of God, and while I have no sort of sympathy with

those who are most loudly protesting against the Bible in the schools, the Catholics, yet for the sake of the principle of the thing, the rights of simple humanity involved in it, should it ever come to that, I would stand side by side with the Catholics and fight for their rights. (Applause.)

It does seem strange to me that one hundred years after the Pilgrim Fathers came over here for the sake of religious freedom, we, their children, should turn around to deny the very principle which made them heroes, and gave them the grand place they occupy in history.

Mr. Savage continued, saying it would be as just in the Chinamen to compel us to read their Confucius in the public schools as it would be for us to impose Christianity and the Bible upon them. It is claimed that the Bible must be retained as a text-book of morals. I grant the State has a perfect right to teach morals, but religion has nothing to do with the just discharge of secular duties, and the Bible is not fit for a moral text-book. As to the relation of the Church to the State, it is not worth while for Americans to spend breath in talking about Church "establishment," because that is not a fact here. The principal topic in this line just now is church taxation, this indirect patronage of the Church on the part of the State. What is it that the Church shall accomplish for the State that entitles it to look to the State for patronage? This is the radical question. Does the Church do anything that the State would have to do, if the Church did not exist? The churches, it may be claimed, primarily do a very large charitable work. In answer to this, I would suggest that the churches are not united in this enterprise; they are divided and unknown to each other, and the city could be distriated and the work done far more completely by the people in the capacity of city or State than it is now done by isolated, unorganized churches.

Mr. Savage further argued that in all history morality had stood firm, and been the real support of the good which existed with all religious systems. Most of the theological gods would not be considered respectable members of modern society. There was but one great religious founder who united morals with religion, and that founder was Jesus. If you remember the central part of his religion, the principle on which, he says, "hang all the law and the prophets," is that man should love God with his whole heart and his neighbor as himself; and you will remember that, in his picture of the judgment, he represents men not as being judged by their professions, but simply by their morality. He concluded by declaring that the Church had been the great obstructionist of progress in all history, and was usually five hundred years behind the times. Science was doing a mighty work pouring light on the laws of God, revealing the power and life at the heart of things, and bringing us into accord and sympathy with the love that is the true religion. This must be the foundation on which the Church of the future must stand. (Loud applause.)

MR. ABBOT'S REMARKS.

Mr. Abbot said: If the Christianity we have heard depicted to-night were the only Christianity in the world—if it were always so devoted to the service of man, so instinct with the spirit of truth and pure morality, so self-restrained that it could keep its hands off its neighbor, not aspiring to unjust power,—I think that many of those who have been hard at work fighting the usurpations of Christianity would find themselves totally disarmed. (Applause.) For one I care little or nothing for the name that a man wears when I find fairness and goodness, justice and kindness, truth and freedom in him. I am perfectly willing to say he is my brother in the spirit, and he may wear what label he pleases.

This movement for State Secularization is a great deal more than an abstract, a visionary, a practically useless reform. The very few remarks I have to make to-night on the resolutions are on this one point. I believe that this attempt to divorce the State from the Church, this attempt to found a civil and political society on its own basis in natural morality, independent of all claims of revelation or supernaturalism, contains in itself all the promise and all the hope and all the glory of the future years. (Applause.) If the State could not exist without the Church, as the opposition argued, there is no refuge from the conclusion that we should all go in for the support of the Church by public taxation; we should not be content with a miserly, penurious exemption from taxation, but all agree to support the churches wholly out of the public funds, and pay ministers, and build houses of worship, and defray all expenses of public worship. This is the only logical alternative. Mr. Savage has well pointed out the natural tendency of things. The differentiation of religion and politics, which in the beginning, as he truly says, were completely one—this gradual disjunction of the political from the religious interests of mankind,—has been going on from the commencement of history; and our forefathers one hundred years ago made in this country, so far as I know, the first experiment of a purely secular government. They had what I must call the genuine inspiration of humanity, and were wise enough to found this government on the natural rights of man,—not the delegated rights of man, but the natural and inherent rights of man. Although they did not succeed in making the government absolutely secular, still the tendency has been toward that end, and we to-day inherit the great task which they took up,—the task of perfecting this just, free government of man, by man, for man's good. It is surely not an impractical enterprise to endeavor to make the government fulfill its own ideal. We protest against the alliance in any degree of Church and State. We are not answered,—no, we are not answered,—when we are told that the actual connections of the

two are merely trivial things; that five minutes' reading of the Scriptures in the public schools, the small restrictions laid on public freedom on Sunday, the small taxes squeezed out of the public by church-exemption, do not amount to anything. Those who cling so desperately to these little connections of Church and State are not fools. It is these multitudinous, invisible, scarcely recognized connections of Church and State that constitute the great practical bulwark of the Church against the undermining approaches of modern thought. They enable the Church to treat all forms of heterodox religion as practically outlawed, existing by mere sufferance, not by right. These are "tolerated,"—but they have no equal rights. The Christian religion has been so strongly entrenched in usage, precedent, statute, aye, in State constitutions too, because the Church is shrewd enough to prize its political ascendancy as the source of great practical power, and the guarantee of its influence over the minds of vast multitudes of men. Thus bolstered, it is able to make liberalism and heterodoxy unpopular. The people are made to feel that Christianity has the official sanction of the State; and in this country the opinion of the majority weighs so much that this feeling exerts immense power in retarding the free movements of individual minds. It makes men timid where they should have courage,—creates lethargy where there should be earnestness, deadness of soul and dumbness of mouth where there should be the enthusiasm of truth. (Applause.)

It is, therefore, because these little things constitute in the aggregate a great and an unjust advantage arrogated by Christianity, that Liberals, if they were wise, would say: "It is our right to be free from this disadvantage, and free we are resolved to be." There is practically no more formidable obstacle to the progress of liberal thought than the fact that Orthodoxy is able to claim the sanction of the State, and to wield the authority of the whole people by virtue of State laws. It claims to be the law of the land, and, as you know, Christianity has been ruled in several States to be part of the common law. Rev. A. P. Putnam, D. D., a Unitarian clergyman of Brooklyn, N. Y., has just published and preached a sermon of which the title reads—"Christianity the Law of the Land." Think of that! What a doctrine to be preached by a Unitarian, whose sect is the most liberal of all Christian sects! No liberal asks more than an equality with all other religionists: the utmost that any liberal ever asks is a fair field and no favor. (Applause.)

It is, then, this connection of Church and State which the Liberal League aims to rectify and abolish, as at once a great obstacle to truth and a great injustice to mankind. But it is not merely because this connection is an obstruction to the spread of liberal ideas, and imposes upon us all an unjust burden which we do not wish to bear, but also because it is an obstacle in the path of pure morality, that it ought to be opposed. It has been said that, if church property were taxed, the churches, the sole teachers of morality, would be destroyed, and society would suffer thereby. What a libel, friends, on human nature! Are we to concede for an instant that morality rests on any institution made by man? Or on human votes? It is too preposterous! Morality is rooted in the very nature of things, and all the power of all the nations of the earth can never uproot it. If all the churches be destroyed, morals will remain. Let nations, and States, and empires, and churches all die,—human nature with its love of justice will still survive. We have a right to believe in the moral nature of man, and to have this great load of wrong taken off of our necks and backs. I want to see the living truth emancipated from all artificial restraint, and allowed to win, as it must in the long run, where the race is open and free to all. However little heeded at present by the community at large, this movement for natural morality in politics and equal rights in religion is at the very heart of the progress of the nineteenth century, and will be at the heart of progress in all succeeding centuries; for it is the resolve of awakening man to work out a pure human society under natural conditions, and to get rid of the oppressive burdens, barriers, and obstacles created by the Church.

MR. SEEVER'S REMARKS.

Mr. Horace Seaver, editor of the *Investigator*, was next called upon, and spoke of the practical common sense which Mr. Savage had uttered. He alluded to the great advantage which the clergy had in the pulpit, and spoke of the good influence they might exert upon society. He reviewed Dr. Miner's argument that churches ought to be exempted from taxation because they were public educators, and held that such logic would end in the exemption of all printing-offices, and even the theatres, since no sermons preached were equal to the good influence of Shakespeare's plays.

Mr. Savage replied to Mr. Seaver's remarks, saying that the good influence of the press depended upon the man at the helm. He knew of the general progress being made in the churches among even orthodox clergymen toward liberalism.

The vote was then taken on the resolutions, and they were unanimously adopted.

Mr. Abbot now called attention to the Centennial Congress of Liberals which was to convene at Philadelphia, and had a collection taken up in aid of the gathering; after which the meeting dissolved.

A Mr. SMYTH, an English Calvinist of the Old School, has written a work upon *The Bible and Evolution*, in which the author points out that evolution is only Calvinism in science, and Calvinism is only the survival of the fittest in theology. He finds the evolution formulae the best possible expressions for theological doctrines. By the fall man "ceases to be

in equilibrium with his environment," and becomes "equilibrated" again by the atonement. He further adds: "With the Living God within us, as well as without us, surely, our equilibration will be complete." Mr. Smyth objects strongly to Universalism on evolution grounds, since that doctrine teaches "the survival of everybody—the fit and unfit alike." One feature of evolution terminology meets with his disapproval. Natural selection he thinks should be natural election.—*Independent*.

A LATE learned and eloquent bishop was very anxious to convert a Parsee, who was making some stay in London, and meeting him on an occasion favorable for private conversation, he opened an attack upon his peculiar tenets. "I cannot think," said he, "how any man of intelligence and education, whose mind has been enlarged by travel and association with men of different opinions, can worship a created object, such as the sun." "Oh, my lord bishop," returned the Parsee, who had not been fortunate in the weather since his arrival in this country, "you should see it; you have no idea what a glorious object it is."

IN ONE of his letters to Schiller, Goethe says: "Farewell. Kind greetings to all; and retain for me your so well-grounded friendship, and your so beautifully felt love, and be assured of the like from me."

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

LOVE.

Gentle as dew-fall in the night,
And strong as storms that sweep the land;
Love reigns, a monarch in her might,
And serves with humble, willing hand.

She is not mine, she is not thine;
Her home to find I know not how;
Yet all I've had that's most divine
She gave; and she is with me now.

Unbidden she is here, now there;
Her time's her own to plant, to gather;
Yet never she forgets her care,—
Her roses bloom in every weather.

I meet her in the morning hour
Watching the sun rise on the hill;
At noon within some shady bower,
At night beside the dreaming rill.

The spring-time blooms her grace disclose;
She lingers by the summer sea;
Autumn her ripe completeness shows;
Winter, how chaste and pure is she!

Physician wise for many ills,—
Sickness and pain, and souls' distress;
The rare herbs from a thousand hills
Less virtue have than her caress.

Her touch retunes the poet's lyre
That many a day in silence hung;
And Music lifts her numbers higher,
And warbles songs for long unsung.

Chaos recedes before her gaze;
All life, all things, make concord sweet:
Dearest, we've tried those heavenly ways
With hands joined, and love-sandaled feet.

We know how true a guide is Love
Who led us to these lofty plains
Where harmonies from spheres above
Commingle with earth's minor strains.

Lo, here are blooms of asphodel,
And fountains here that youth restore;
O Love, my Love, shall we not dwell
In this blest realm forevermore?

F. H. GUIWITS.

AVOCA, N. Y., 1876.

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The Index.

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CARRIE BURNHAM KILGORE, Ch. Com. Phil. L. L.
605 Walnut St., Philadelphia.

MR. KILGORE writes under date of April 13: "It is distinctly understood by both Mrs. Kilgore and myself that the bust made by S. H. Morse, which far excels any other design I have ever seen for perpetuating the features of Thomas Paine, is to be the one for which all money coming into Mrs. K.'s hands will be paid." This is in accordance with our own original understanding of the matter. It is rumored that there are other busts of Paine; but the movement to raise this fund, at least so far as THE INDEX was concerned, was inspired by hearty admiration for Mr. Morse's bust, which is in our opinion his artistic masterpiece.

THE "THOUSAND DOLLAR FUND": SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF \$100 EACH FOR THE CENTENNIAL CONGRESS OF LIBERALS.

April 15. A Friend in Boston (paid) \$100.00

FRANCIS E. ABBOT, in trust.

THE "CLERICAL POLICY" IN AMERICA.

M. Gambetta, who is now recognized almost universally as the leading Republican statesman of France, delivered at Lyons, on the twenty-eighth of February, a speech with reference to the political issues involved in the great electoral contest then pending. From this speech, as translated in the New York Tribune of April 8, we extract below a remarkable passage exposing the "clerical policy" which has proved such an unmitigated curse to France. The passage is a long one, but the prominence here given to it is justified by its applicability to this country:—

"Now, when one lays aside what I call the accessory ideas of the election and goes to the culminating point, when one seeks the ruling note of these elections, one sees that France, faithful to herself in the north as well as the south, at the centre as on her flanks,—that France has desired in proclaiming her energetic adhesion to the Republican government to combat and denounce the clerical policy within and without, at home and abroad. [Great applause.] If there is any one manifest and striking feature of this election about which no statesman, to whatever party he may belong, can hesitate an instant, it is this character of hostility and resistance of the French mind to the truly menacing encroachments which, for the five years past, the ecclesiastical spirit has been making upon the country. [Applause.] It has become apparent to our people, as well as to all Europe, that for five years, owing to our misfortunes, to our disasters, and perhaps also to our weaknesses, under the pretext of withheld monarchical rights, and of the restoration of this or that dynasty, the true leader of the reactionary coalition, the authority and guide of all those dangerous combinations against the liberty and future prosperity of the country, was clericalism. From the day the Assembly, which was born on the 8th of February, 1871, and of which we are not yet altogether disembarassed, though it approaches its end [smiles of approbation]—as soon, I say, as this Assembly commenced its work, if we reckon up the acts which have received the support of the greatest number of its members, the acts which reflect its true character and physiognomy,—what do we find? That the policy which never varied, which never was false to itself, which always pursued its purpose through all changes of ministry and all abortive governmental combinations, was the clerical policy. [Cries of 'Yes, yes!' Prolonged applause.] It is this policy, begun, you will recollect, by that celebrated petition of the bishops, which, taking account neither of the foreign nor the domestic situation of France, nor of her military and financial resources, proposed nothing less than kicking out-of-doors, as it were, one of the powers most formidable both on land and water,—a power which, through our aid, has been advanced from the third to the second rank, and which at the present moment plays an exceedingly important part in the politics of Europe. I speak of Italy, a power made to sympathize with France; of Italy, which in the past always found herself united by interest, by affection, and by aspiration with France; of Italy, which only asks to march beside France in developing the advanced ideas of politics and progress. This is the power with which they tried to embroil us, and with which, I think, we were intended always to live on friendly terms.

"And after this, what next did they do? They formed in the heart of France, as it were, a league, a sort of association borrowed from our ancient religious quarrels of the sixteenth century, and invited us to the creation of special associations, pilgrimages, missions, miracle manufactories, pilgrim migrations to the Vatican, of the creation of propagandist clubs, sometimes for workmen, sometimes for young men, sometimes for the pretended development of primary and secondary education. And what were they taught in these associations, in these congresses, in these clubs? Nothing more nor less than to bury forever the principles of '89. [Yes, that's it!] Prolonged applause.] That is not all. They did not stop here. They found in the Administration the utmost sympathy and favor for the inordinate development of religious corporations. They forgot or ignored our past legislation which required for the creation of these religious corporations certain formalities, certain guarantees. They disregarded the proscribed regulations, and never have we seen such an increase and multiplication of the children of the Lord as since 1870. [Laughter.] Nor did they find those formed within our own borders sufficient; they opened France to others from without, so that we were rapidly becoming the refuge of all the Jesuits of Christendom.

"At the same time that the Administration accorded this excessive protection to the religious orders, at the same time that it favored this formidable extension in a country of civil and democratic equality of the religious orders, by sanctioning their constitutions, their development, and their acquisitions, they at the same time pursued in the most pitiless manner the principles of civil liberty wherever they found them, whether in the Commune, in the school, in the judicial tribunals, and even in the army. Gentlemen, we cannot deliver ourselves to such experiments without attracting the attention not only of our country, but of Europe; and when this system was seen developing, progressing more and more in the

State and in the Administration; when it was seen to menace even the living sources of the régime founded by the French Revolution, and laying its wicked hand upon the Code; when it was heard to speak of subordinating civil marriage to the religious marriage, of violating the rights of succession, of establishing the personality of dioceses; when the design was disclosed of enveloping the country in a compact network which should not leave a single liberty to modern France; when it was discovered that nothing was left in the family, in the school, in the Administration, in the army, or in the Assembly, which this fell spirit was not trying to appropriate, then France arose. She was alarmed; she feared the return of the ancient régime of that theocratic spirit which covets everything, which takes everything, and for which no one is thought to have ever done his share. [Applause, and prolonged bravos.]

"Look at the formidable persistence in this spirit of invasion and of ecclesiastical usurpation. The reactionary parties were conquered, disorganized, and divided. The recognition of a form of government was imposed upon them; it seemed that their fragments could never more reunite to form a coalition against democratic ideas. What a mistake! Exactly the contrary happened. It was after the vote for the republican Constitution; it was after the establishment of legal order that the clerical spirit, which never rests, which never varies, which pursues its contests with boldness, and, when possible, with banners flying and in full sunlight, which pursues them subterraneously and in a clandestine fashion when the daylight is unfriendly to it,—the clerical spirit, I say, not recognizing its defeat, and before the disappearance of the Assembly, left to the future Assembly that sad law in regard to superior instruction, thus taking possession of the summit after having taken possession of the base through the primary schools, and wishing to hunt down science everywhere, and at the moment when for us science is our only guide, our only defence, our only light.

"I pass very rapidly over this point, because it is useless to insist upon it before an audience like this. But this group of prizes, of conquests, of usurpations, accomplished over the French lay society and over the French secular society had excited the apprehension of Europe to the highest degree. Yes, Europe had said that this domestic policy, this new growth of the Ultramontane spirit in France might one day become the point of departure of a foreign policy equally Ultramontane, of a foreign diplomacy tending to array our people against another, not for the defence of terrestrial interests, but to divide them into two camps, one adhering to the interests of the Vatican, and the other to the interests of modern liberty. It is on this account that on the day following the elections of the 20th of February, Europe welcomed the result, and that there came one unanimous cry from the foreign press of every opinion and country from the Ural to the Alps. 'France,' said Europe, 'has recovered the control of herself; henceforth she will lend her hand no more to priestly combinations, but resume her part, her glorious part, as the representative of modern truth and of contemporaneous progress.' From all quarters and without distinction of country you have heard this cry of hope arise, because Europe, after the too frequent occasions—alas! we have made foreign governments distrust us,—Europe has begun to comprehend the utility of France in the world; to be interested in her laborious and peaceful mission; to repair by the most energetic efforts her misfortunes. Europe is now interested in France. With its sympathies and esteem reappear also its apprehensions. 'France,' said Europe,—'will she be strong enough to sustain herself, opposed as she is by her functionaries, in the hands of those who call themselves the directing classes and who wish to compel her to march in the rear?' The day has come, gentlemen, and the judgment of Europe is not required to wait. Hence I am under the necessity to-day of thanking those foreign publicists who, disinterested, and representing neither our passions nor personal quarrels, but careful, nevertheless, of European order, and of the triumph of reason and of justice, have examined our country, have counted the steps of progress it has made in the last five years, and know how to do it justice in England, in Italy, in Russia, in Austria, in Switzerland, and elsewhere."

We do not doubt that many even of our own readers will wonder why we should consider such a passage as the above "applicable to this country." They may ask themselves: "What 'clerical policy' is there in the United States to constitute even a 'cloud no bigger than a man's hand'? Are not the Roman Catholics a small minority here, quite powerless to impose any policy on the government? Is not Ultramontanism something which, however mischievous in Europe, is utterly inappreciable as a political influence in America? Why should any one trouble himself about the futile plottings of priests in a country where Church and State have no recognized connection, and where it is mere alarmism to dwell on the possibility of actual peril to our institutions from such a source?"

Nevertheless, the experience of France, and indeed of all Europe, is fraught with lessons of the gravest significance to America. The "clerical spirit" is not confined to the Roman Church, and the "clerical policy" is not a phenomenon of European history alone. Others may not agree with us in considering the Catholic Church, which is growing much more rapidly than any other religious body and much more rapidly than the country at large both in numbers

and in wealth, as an exceedingly dangerous element in the complex problem of American destinies; but all close observers of clericalism will agree with us in regarding the "clerical spirit" as essentially the same in both Catholic and Protestant churches. The clerical party in the United States, composed of the clergy and of the laity who follow the clergy's lead, has a "clerical policy" very readily distinguishable as such in American politics,—a policy which substantially aims at the material aggrandizement of the churches, though at the expense of the religious liberty and general welfare of the community.

For instance:—

1. The clerical party as a whole, including both Catholics and Protestants, unites in demanding that churches shall be exempt from taxation,—in other words, that they shall be in part supported out of the public treasury. This oppressive filching and squandering of the people's money is perpetrated in defiance of justice, of equal rights in religion, and of the entire spirit and genius of American institutions. It is a crime, committed by the clerical party against the nation simply because this party is efficiently organized, and can command the servile obedience of politicians who want votes.

2. The same party insists on imposing the Sabbathical observance of Sunday on the whole people, as a species of State homage to the religion which it is the interest of the churches to maintain. The interest of the people requires many liberties on Sunday which are denied by the clerical party, such as the opening of public libraries, the running of cheap excursion trains, and so forth; and the denial originates in a determination to consult first and foremost the interest of the churches as mere institutions. Here is the latest illustration of this selfish contempt for the rights of the non-church-going public, as exhibited by the Legislature of New Jersey on April 5: "There was a long debate in the House over the amended bill to prohibit the running of Sunday excursion trains and the sale and purchase of excursion tickets, but not interfering with through or regular trains. The members warmed into a theological dispute, and quoted freely from the Bible. Mr. Rabe stretched a petition across the chamber containing 5000 names. It was against the bill. He contended that the bill was a direct strike at the poor and laboring class. It allows them to pay large fares, but prohibits cheap rates. The amendment was adopted 28 to 25."

3. The same party violates persistently and doggedly the rights of the people at large with respect to the public schools, insisting on its own usurped right to stamp a sectarian religious character on the school system, though thereby endangering its very existence. The only disagreement in the clerical party turns on *what* and *how much* religion they shall thus force into the schools paid for by the whole people; they all agree in trampling on the people's right to have what they pay for in return for their money—namely, education pure and simple, unmixed with sectarianism. The last instance of this particular oppression by the clerical party which has come under our notice was in Manchester, New Hampshire, on April 7. Instead of the rule of the School Board which ordains that "the morning exercises of all the schools shall commence with the reading of the Scriptures, followed by the Lord's Prayer," Mr. Little moved to substitute this: "The morning exercises shall commence with the music lesson, and no religious services shall be had in the schools." Notwithstanding his brave and able argument for this most righteous measure, Mr. Little saw his substitute immediately tabled by the clerical party.

And so on through the whole list of public wrongs and immoralities specified in the "Demands of Liberalism." The clerical party is strong and active,—never more so than to-day. It moulds legislation constantly in its own interest, in open disregard of the principle of *equal rights in religion*. The collective bearing of all these innumerable acts of usurpation and of the deliberate perversion of public authority to the service of sectarianism is to prove the existence of a settled "clerical policy" in this country, which operates as a perpetual and increasingly disturbing influence in American politics, and is gradually assuming the proportions of an evident conspiracy to harness the State to the triumphal chariot of the Church. That is what the Christian Amendment project means, and that is what all these things inevitably tend to bring about. Sooner or later that Amendment will come to be regarded as the one general measure indispensable to the success of the "clerical policy"; and all who are wedded to this policy will rally to its support,—the Protestants

because they will be satisfied with it, and the Catholics because they well know it is only the first step in the accomplishment of their own Ultramontane schemes.

It is altogether time for the liberals of the land to recognize the comprehensive character of this "clerical policy," and to see whether the country is irresistibly drifting in its careless disregard of it. The clerical party are no fools in so stoutly defending their present vantage-ground in usage, statute, constitution; they know well that the average American is very sensitive to the opinion of the "majority," that the cumulative effect on his mind of all these indirect State recognitions of Christianity is to impress him with the belief that Christianity is the religion of the "majority," and therefore to make him profess that religion as the only way to be on the popular side. It is folly unfathomable to despise the unfair advantage thus given to Orthodoxy in the "struggle for existence" with liberal ideas, or to underrate the importance of emancipating liberalism from this unjust burden of obloquy and political ostracism. Nothing so stands in the way of liberal thought as this usurped political and social supremacy of Orthodoxy. All that liberal thought asks, as the condition of proving itself to be the truth, is "a fair field and no favor"; and this it can never have, until the great principle of STATE SECULARIZATION is appreciated by liberals themselves at its real, immeasurable value. If they only realized the absolute necessities of their own cause, they would demand in thunder tones that the wicked discrimination against themselves involved in these political usurpations of Orthodoxy should cease forever and at once. These things constitute collectively, not only a great and grievous injustice, but also the most formidable practical obstacle to the spread of free religious principles among the people; and there can never be a general hospitality towards rational religion, until it is relieved of the practical political disabilities now cunningly imposed upon it by the "clerical policy." So long as they are perpetuated, nothing but protests, heart-burnings, indignations, commotions, contests of daily increasing vehemence, can possibly grow out of them. They are a great and infamous outrage on human rights, and prepare the way for a terribly bitter struggle, if they are not seasonably removed.

There are reasons of the utmost cogency for holding a great convention to make a public protest against the "clerical policy" now prevailing, and to emphasize the need of a secular and truly American policy in its stead. To render these two great services to the country—namely, TO GET THE CHURCH OUT OF POLITICS, AND TO PUT THE STATE ON A SECULAR OR TRULY REPUBLICAN BASIS—is the object of the Centennial Congress of Liberals. It is a public object of great and vital consequence. Surely, the liberals of the land will prove themselves equal to the occasion, and strengthen the feeble hands that have taken up a mighty cause too vast except for the combined energies of all!

THE SOUTHERN SOCIAL PROBLEM.

To a transient resident in South Carolina the social problem consequent upon the issue of the war is one of equal interest and perplexity. This State, perhaps, presents the problem under more complex conditions than are to be found in any other part of the South. Here are the proud old aristocratic families that were first in the doctrine and work of secession. Here the negroes have a large majority in the population; and hither have migrated from other parts of the country many negroes with political and social aspirations, because of the better chance for political and social success offered them here. Here, too, is a large class of Northern people who have become permanent residents since the war, and in whose hands, combined with the negroes, has been the actual political power of the State for the last ten years. These classes, not to mention the poor whites and other social strata common to all the South, and existing before the war, make the problem of social reconstruction in this State one of peculiar interest and difficulty. The political reconstruction seems easy compared with the social.

We have heard much this last year about the era of reconciliation. Perhaps our traveller from the North who has come to the South for a few months saw the reception of the Southern military companies in Boston at the Bunker Hill celebration last June, and read the papers everywhere applauding that remarkable evidence of the restoration of fraternal affection between the two sections. And perhaps he has since seen accounts of similar receptions of North-

ern delegations in Southern cities, where the Boston handshakings, and huggings, and gushing flow of brotherly sentiments have been repeated. And as he saw and read, it seemed as if the process of social reconciliation must be nearly complete. But, after living here in the South a short time, he is reluctantly compelled to admit that those ardent embraces and gushing speeches were little more than a pretty ceremony. Such spectacles, so far as fraternity is concerned, only prove how much easier the display of brotherly affection may sometimes be, if the brothers chance to live several hundred miles apart. Politically, such interchange of sentiment may have some effect, considering the whole country; but it throws little light on the Southern social problem. It does not even prove that these same men would live together in social amity, if they should become inhabitants of the same city.

Here, for instance, in the capital of South Carolina, is a large Northern element in the population, which socially is quite distinct from the old Southern element. There are many Northern families that have lived here for eight or ten years, or more, and that cannot justly be called "carpet-baggers," since they have come with a sincere desire and purpose to remain. Among them are many persons of culture, refinement, and character. Yet there is no social intercourse whatever between these new Northern families and the old Southern families. Each of the two circles has its special social activities, but they nowhere touch nor intermingle. The same condition of things exists in Charleston, where only a short time ago certain Northern delegations of transient visitors were officially received with the utmost fervor.

There are also not a few colored families here that are qualified by character and education for admission to good society. One might suppose that these would find some social recognition in the circle of Northern families, where their political friends are, and where there is real and active sympathy with the general elevation of the colored race. But the fact is that these colored families are not received into the Northern social circle more than into the Southern,—though it is admitted that only their color excludes them. The color-line is broken down in the Legislature and in the court-room, but it is strictly observed in the parlor. And it is claimed that there it must continue to be observed. But it remains to be seen whether the claim rests on more than a skin-deep prejudice.

Such facts as these indicate some of the difficulties of the Southern social problem. They are difficulties, it is safe to say, that cannot wholly be solved by legislation. Laws should establish, and government be strong enough to enforce, absolute political and civil equality—equality of races, equality of States, and sections, and parties,—firmly disregarding old conflicts and prejudices; but the way to an ideal social unity is a longer road, that must be gradually surveyed and built by the general forces that promote human civilization and progress. W. J. P.

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY B. C.

Very few persons can doubt, we suppose, that if the next President were to be chosen to-day by a show of hands on the part of all members of the Republican party—in the Northern States, at least—Mr. Bristow would receive a majority vote. There is good reason to believe also that a fair majority of Republicans would be glad to have him receive the nomination of the Cincinnati Convention, and that his nomination would be welcomed by a large body of independent voters who are destined to exert considerable influence upon future elections. There is everywhere manifest, to-day, a wholesome disgust for the system of political administration which has produced the corruptions which we are hourly called upon to read about, and an earnest desire either to reform the present system thoroughly or to do away with it altogether and to adopt some other in its place. The recent address of the Union League Club of New York; an analogous address issued by some prominent Massachusetts Republicans; the critical attitude assumed by many periodicals which have heretofore supported zealously the Republican party,—these are various manifestations of the growing desire for administrative reform, a desire of which Mr. Bristow is just now the most prominent and most popular representative.

Notwithstanding this very evident popular desire, however, it seems more and more likely that, in default of some extraordinary measures, the Cincinnati Convention will not give expression to it. As State after State selects its delegates to the Convention, it is seen at once that these delegates are, as a rule, products of the existing political machine; that they do not represent those who entertain the popular desire referred to, but the caucus-managers, lobbyists, office-holders, and their copartners; and that, if

these are left alone so that they may dare to follow out their own preferences, they will nominate for the Presidency some man like Conkling, or Morton, or Blaine,—some man, in fact, who is not a reformer and not a statesman, but who is only a more or less astute manager of party machinery, and under whose administration, therefore, even if a few special abuses are corrected, there will be no alteration in the vicious methods which generate the mischief. We are glad to know, therefore, that invitations have been sent out to a large number (possibly two or three hundred) of the most prominent advocates of reform in various parts of the country, requesting them to meet in New York on the 15th of May, "to consider what may be done to prevent the national election of the Centennial year from becoming a mere choice of evils." The invitations are issued in the belief "that no effort should be spared to secure to the popular desire for genuine reform a decisive influence in the impending national election," and they are signed by William Cullen Bryant, Theodore D. Woolsey, Alexander H. Bullock, Horace White, and Carl Schurz.

The various Investigating Committees have not been prolific recently in disclosures of exciting interest, although their work continues to be attended with all sorts of vague rumors, which, as might be expected, gather most thickly about the committees which are holding secret sessions. Babcock and a long list of his cherished associates—Harrington, Whitley, Nettleship, Miles the bank-robber, and others—have been indicted by the criminal court of the District of Columbia for conspiracy in the Safe-Burglary affair, and Babcock's bail-bond has been signed, most appropriately, by "Boss" Shepherd. The Committees are said to be in hot pursuit of Robeson, whom, however, they have not yet overtaken (the Cattell-Matthews "scent" has become cold apparently), and whom, it is to be hoped, they will not overtake before he has finished welcoming Dom Pedro and got safely back to Washington.

The unexpected death of Mr. A. T. Stewart and the publication of his will have furnished themes for a great deal of newspaper comment during the past week. A considerable portion of this comment has been more peculiar than profound, and has originated evidently from a desire to spin out a fine theory to account for Mr. Stewart's career. All such attempts are wasted, however, for the simple reason that no ingenious theory is needed. Mr. Stewart was undeniably a very successful man of business, and when this has been said very little more can be profitably added. He illustrated the same feature of our civilization which is illustrated also by Vanderbilt, Scott, Orton, and very many others—one man gathering into his hands the results of the labors of thousands, and impressing upon them all for a time his own peculiar stamp,—a feature of our civilization, we may add, which, despite communists and labor-reformers, appears to be necessary, and which is certainly increasing in prominence. During the later years of his life Mr. Stewart seems to have been burdened with the idea that he ought to do something for the good of the human race, and initiated accordingly a number of vague projects, none of which have been successfully carried out, and the completion of which he has left somewhat lamely to the judgment of his wife.

The "sympathies of religions" received a significant illustration at the laying of the corner-stone of a Calvinistic Presbyterian Church in this city last week. The various exercises were performed by Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, a Congregationalist (Orthodox), an Episcopalian, and a Universalist. It would be an easy matter of course to pick flaws in any explanation which might be given of the purpose of this demonstration; but when we remember that only a little time ago Calvinists were roasting Unitarians, and Puritans were kicking Baptists out into the woods, we confess to a mild approval of this somewhat sensational performance. Nor need we be greatly disquieted by the reflection that some portion of this apparent unity has been brought about doubtless by the desire to fight the better against some common enemies,—to enforce Sunday laws, to sustain prohibition, or even "to put God into the Constitution." When the sects can forget their differences sufficiently to unite in favor of any one of these things, they confess thereby that some things in this world are of more importance than theories about another world; and upon this point we are so thoroughly in agreement with them, that we prefer to find them practically on what seems to us the wrong side, rather than to have them nourishing old theological hatreds which forbade the taking of any side.

There has been some talk recently about the formation of a literary association of New England colleges, the purpose of those interested being to make arrangements for a series of contests for literary prizes. The idea is borrowed of course from the "inter-collegiate" contests which have been held for the past two years in New York, and which have not been well attended by representatives from New England. With all respect for our college students, we may be permitted to express our opinion that the amount of information possessed by any undergraduate upon any subject of importance is very likely to be small in amount if not poor in quality, and any parade, therefore, which he may desire to make of his information had better be made within the walls of his own college. To declare, in pompous phraseology (as was done recently in New York) with reference to undergraduates who have been setting forth their opinions, that they show that they have not been unduly influenced by either the German or the

French school of thinking is to make a ridiculous statement which can only foster a silly vanity at the expense of sound education. A college boat-race or a ball-match may be pardonable or even commendable; but in philosophy, in Greek, in mathematics, let the boys "dig," and not be prompted to indulge in meretricious display.

There is good news for the temperance reformers. The State Inspector and Assayer of Liquors, Mr. James F. Babcock, has prepared his first annual report, in which he gives the results of the examination of several hundred specimens of liquors (chiefly spirits—brandy, gin, rum, or whiskey) procured from different parts of the State. Of all the samples examined, only one-fifth proved to be at all adulterated, and of this one-fifth the adulterations were, as a rule, not injurious to health, but were used in order to increase the profit of the seller, the adulterant most commonly employed being pure water. Whiskey is often artificially colored, tannin and catechu were found in several instances, once, carbolic acid, and once (from accident in manufacturing) copper was detected. Brandy is often artificially prepared, but not with injurious ingredients. On the whole, the result is decidedly encouraging, showing clearly that distilled liquors are not injuriously adulterated to any considerable extent. Some temperance orators, however, must regret a result which is liable to destroy the effect of their loudest thunder. Beers and ales have not yet been examined, but we venture to prophesy that these will be found to be much purer even than distilled liquors.

The Senate passed the House "Silver" bill, with amendments, the principal one striking out the provision which made silver a legal tender to the amount of \$50; also a bill on the finances of the District of Columbia; and the River and Harbor Appropriation bill, which appropriates nearly \$6,000,000; accepted the House bill providing for the expenses of the admission of goods to the Centennial Exhibition; concurred with the House amendment to the bill making appropriations for improving the Capitol grounds; provided for the sale of extra copies of public documents, and passed Senator Hamlin's postal bill, which fixes the rate of postage upon all mail matter of the third class (which includes nearly everything mailable, under four pounds in weight) at one cent for each ounce, with the exception that transient newspapers and magazines are forwarded at the rate of one cent for three ounces and one cent for each additional two ounces; the sender may write his name with the word "from" on the outside of the package, and also a list of the articles enclosed. The House decided to bridge the Missouri River at Sioux City; agreed with the Senate amendments to the Silver bill; passed a bill concerning commerce and navigation; and passed the Deficiency bill. On Saturday, the House debated the question of the surrender of Kilbourne, who has been indicted by the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, and for whose surrender a *habeas corpus* had been served upon the Sergeant-at-arms of the House. As a refusal to surrender would be virtually an assertion of the power of the House to suspend the action of *habeas corpus* in time of peace, the question (undecided as we write) is seen to be a very important one.

The revolt of the Herzegovinians still threatens to cause serious complications in European politics. The insurgents refuse to accept the reforms promised by the Sultan; an outbreak has occurred in Bosnia, attended with a great deal of religious animosity; and a very threatening state of affairs, if not a positive revolt, exists in Serbia. In the meantime, Turkish finances are in a deplorable condition, interest cannot be paid upon the bonds, and public officers are working without the payment of their salaries. Intervention is quite likely to take place, and what intervention may lead to, no one can prophesy.

ENGLISH SKETCHES.

BY MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

LONDON, March 25, 1876.

How well Christians carry to all nations the gospel of peace, which they are charged to preach to every creature! It seems that the London Missionary Society decided to send forth the messengers of the gospel to take the glad tidings to the natives of New Guinea, living in the neighborhood of Fly River. Accordingly they fitted up a "missionary steamer," named the *Ellen Gowan*, and put thereupon one Rev. Mr. Macfarlane, missionary to the said society, accompanied by Signor de Albertis, and Mr. Chester, a police magistrate. This steamer forthwith directed its way to Fly River, and ascended some one hundred and seventy miles,—one hundred miles higher than any steamer had before penetrated. The party met native canoes more than once, whose crews waved green branches in sign of amity, and from which the missionary and his party bought yams. The Rev. Mr. Macfarlane appeared to have been in command, and he himself relates the subsequent events. When the steamer had journeyed about one hundred and seventy miles, some more canoes appeared, bearing down towards the vessel. Mr. Macfarlane suspected these natives of hostile intentions, although no attempt at attack had as yet been made; but they yelled and gesticulated, and this was enough for the warlike son of the Church. It would not do for the steamer to retreat, for "we had made up our minds not to return on account of the hostility of the natives"; nay, were not the interests of humanity best served by not waiting for these presumed enemies to attack the ship of Christ, but by attacking them? "They had to learn the superiority of European

weapons," writes Mr. Macfarlane, "and the folly of attempting to capture European vessels, and we felt that it would be decidedly to their advantage to learn the lesson from the deck of a missionary vessel, where we hoped to teach it without loss of life. So our duty seemed to be to stand and fight, rather than run away, and the result will prove that we did right." Thoughtful and amiable Christian missionary! If anything could make the whole story blacker, it is the offensive cant which pretends that it fights natives for their own good.

And what were the weapons of these messengers of the gospel of peace? *Dynamite and rifle-bullets.* As the canoes approached, the Christians fired across the bows of the first, and as, after a momentary hesitation, the natives still pulled forward, "ten bullets struck the bow of one of the canoes," and the unlucky crews "seized their paddles . . . and pulled as for life." Then some more bullets were sent after them, and, when they stopped about a mile off, another bullet was shot at them, "which started them off again." Thus was preached the gospel of goodwill to men. Another account says that the natives retreated on "experiencing the fatal effects of the English rifles"; but according to Mr. Macfarlane no blood was spilt. Little thanks to him for it. Ten bullets striking the prow of a swiftly-moving canoe means danger to the rowers; but if a native had been killed, Mr. Macfarlane, though regretting the accident, would doubtless have comforted his pious soul with the idea that the survivors would have learned wisdom in the future. On the way back one feeble arrow, which fell short, was shot at the steamer, and the missionaries retorted with more bullets, chasing the natives until they hid in the bush. Another weapon was also used against the natives, of course with a view to their education. "Mr. de Albertis had several charges of dynamite on board for the purpose of killing fish." Some canoes were hovering at a distance, and the pacific missionary made friendly gestures to induce them to approach. The natives, naturally doubtful of the intentions of the strangers who shot at them when they did approach, wisely kept their distance; so these loving gospellers dropped a charge of dynamite in the river, with a long fuse attached, which exploded under the leading canoes much to the consternation of the unfortunate natives. "How beautiful upon the" river "are the feet of those who carry the gospel of peace," and how gladly the natives will welcome missionaries who commence their evangelistic work by shooting at them, and who spread the gospel by dynamite. Sir R. Alcock, chairman at a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, congratulated the London Missionary Society on "the good work they were undertaking"; but we are inclined to think that such missionaries as Mr. Macfarlane are the true authors of such outrages as the murder of Bishop Pattison.

The conduct of the natives of Fly River, however, set the Christians a good example, for the missionary ship proceeded, and left the crew practically at their mercy. In danger, those who had been bullies of course showed themselves cowards, and they now endeavored to propitiate the natives with presents and amicable gestures. The natives forthwith assisted them in getting the ship afloat again, and, says Mr. Macfarlane, they "had evidently abandoned the idea of attacking us, and were disposed to be friendly." Upon this the *Saturday Review* caustically remarks: "The truth being that the natives had apparently never attacked them at all, except that one lot off an ineffectual arrow, while the missionary had been persistently peppering the natives with bullets, and scattering them with dynamite. It seems, in fact, more likely than not that the natives would have been friendly from the first, if the missionary had not begun by shooting at them." Mr. Macfarlane has discovered a new reading of the text which bids the disciple turn the other cheek when one cheek is smitten, and he is preaching this fresh revelation. It runs: "When harmless people whom you prefer to regard as enemies come near you, give them the opportunity of not resisting evil by popping at them with rifles, and exploding dynamite under them. This tends to civilize them, and to educate them into belief in Christian superiority." The gospel according to Macfarlane is indeed an attractive one. In England we have beer and Bible to turn our elections; abroad we are apparently to have bullets and Bibles to spread our power.

After this specimen of Christian labors in foreign parts, we read with some interest of the progress of the Bible Society, which is an organization employed in scattering Bibles and Testaments by the million. Grave questions should arise in Christian minds as to the wisdom of this proceeding, since Dr. Tischendorf has asserted that the Sinaitic manuscript discovered by himself will render necessary an entire reconstruction of the text, and it seems scarcely right to sow broadcast an erroneous version of the Word of God on which depends the salvation of the reader. The re-translation now going on may perhaps mend matters a little; but as Dr. Angus, one of the translators, has lately acknowledged that there are 100,000 different readings of the New Testament, there must always remain much doubt as to the real revelation. It seems a pity that the Holy Ghost, as he thought good to give a revelation, has not also thought it worth while to look after his work more carefully, and preserve it from such melancholy variations. It is as though a man promised to put up a sign-post to show people the right way, and then made a weathercock which turned in every direction. "It was a blessed thing to realize," said the chairman of a meeting of the Bible Society, "that in the last year a larger sum had been spent in connection with the Society than had ever been expended in any previous year." It seems to us a melancholy thing to realize that so much money is wasted in circulating the Bible, when money is so sorely needed for more nec-

essary work,—for circulating scientific works which should teach men to think, instead of a work which fetters the brain and dwarfs the mind. Another gentleman said that many people, good Christian people, were anxious because the influence of the Bible was being undermined; they feared the attacks of sceptics, the revision now going on, and scientific investigation. He acknowledged that attacks were made by "such men as Bradlaugh and Watts," but he was not afraid of them, as their statements "were manifestly false." As to revision, "he supposed that, when the revision committee had finished their labors, they would give us a book which would have removed from it all that was doubtful, and retain all which they were thoroughly satisfied had come from God himself." As to science, they must not be afraid; "he had too much confidence in the book to fear anything from that source."

Nevertheless the timid Christians are in the right. The attacks of sceptics, the continual lectures given by the secular party, the stream of pamphlets issued by freethinkers, the tens of thousands of tracts published by the National Secular Society and scattered broadcast over England, are destroying, in the hearts of thousands all faith in the "Word of God." The revision is shaking, in the hearts of thousands more, that unquestioning reverence for the Bible which placed its words above criticism, and made it blasphemy to doubt. And scientific investigation is undermining the Bible in every direction. Who now believes in the creation 5880 years ago? Who now thinks that all the races of mankind spring from one human pair, created 4004 years before Christ? Who accepts the six days' creation, or the order of the appearance of vegetable and animal life as given in Genesis? Who allows that trees and plants could flourish without the sunbeams, or that the centre of the solar system was created after one of its planets, the earth? Look back one hundred years at the faith in the Bible that then existed, and then scrutinize the way in which it is believed by those who think themselves to be Orthodox Christians, and you will realize the marvellous change brought about by scientific discoveries. Men and women who study Tyndall, Huxley, and Clifford, can never again accept with any brain-belief at all the childish cosmogony of Moses, the birth of an ignorant age.

A meeting to welcome Moncure D. Conway is to take place on Monday evening next at South Place Chapel, Finsbury, and I shall hope to give THE INDEX readers an account of it in my next week's letter.

Communications.

NEW YORK LETTER.

NEW YORK, April 7, 1876.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

While the people of this city are familiar with the "Cesnola Collection of Antiquities" from the island of Cyprus, to many of your readers an account of it may be quite new, and the subject is certainly extremely interesting.

These antiquities were discovered by General Louis Palma di Cesnola, an Italian nobleman by birth, who fought in the Revolution in Italy in 1848, and also in our late civil war. In 1865 he became a citizen of the United States, and since then has been our Consul in Cyprus. Settled at Larnaca (the name signifying "the place of tombs"), his attention was directed to Cyprus as the central meeting-point of ancient races; and he was led to an examination of its tombs, the sepulchres of its successive owners, the Phœnicians, the Egyptians, the Assyrians, Persians, and Greeks,—the necropolis of one race, in some instances, reposing upon an older city of the dead. Di Cesnola commenced the opening of the tombs in 1865, and the collection on exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in this city is the result of his labors for the seven following years. In this period he examined more than eight thousand tombs. He found it to have been the custom to bury, with the dead, favorite objects of the fine and the industrial arts; and the treasures thus discovered consist of coins, glass, bronzes, jewelry, terra-cotta, pottery, etc. There are more than four thousand vases of earthen-ware, of a great variety of shapes and sizes, many of them such as we have now, and in a state of perfect preservation as to form and freshness of color, the latter being usually of a dark brown and a purple red. There are amphora, bowls, dishes, lamps, statuettes, bass-reliefs, and objects used for household purposes. In copper and bronze, there are mirrors, armlets, rings, knives, and the like. In gold and silver, there are ear-rings, finger-rings, necklaces, etc. But the most beautiful and attractive of all these treasures from the tombs is the rich collection of ancient Greek glass, of more than fifteen hundred pieces, consisting of ointment-cups of every shape, tear-bottles, jugs, bottles, bracelets, plates, etc. The charm of this glass-ware consists in its wonderful coloring, the hues being blended and contrasted in every variety of tint imaginable, and with a vividness of iridescence suggesting the apocalyptic description of the precious stones of the New Jerusalem, and acting upon the eye with the fascination of a charm. This remarkable coloring is not supposed to have been given to the glass in its manufacture, but to have come from its contact, for so many centuries, with damp earth, together with the action of the decomposed liquid contents of the articles, and their combination with the gradual decay of the glass itself.

The most striking part of this large collection, obtained by the tireless perseverance of di Cesnola, is yet to be named, and that is the Gallery of Statuary. After much fruitless research, in 1870 he was

rewarded by the discovery of the renowned temple of Venus, in Galgos. From this he obtained the hundreds of figures to be seen in this gallery. They are formed of a brownish-white, calcareous stone. The most of them are mutilated, though there are some perfect specimens of statues, statuettes, and busts. They are exceedingly interesting as a history of early sculpture, and its successive stages in the hands of the successive conquerors of the island, examples being presented of the early Cypriots' art under the Phœnicians, followed by that of the Egyptian, the Assyrian, the Greek, and the Roman. The physiognomy of those supposed to stand for Phœnicians or Assyrians is most peculiar. The mouth, nose, and chin are all brought together into a very small compass; and upon the lips is a sort of smirk, rather irresistible to the risibles of the beholder. The emotions are strange, indeed, on sitting in that long, silent gallery, surrounded by this great number of forms and visages, which represent human action and feeling some three or four thousand years ago, which for many centuries of that time have been entirely lost to the knowledge of man, and which have now so recently been unearthed and brought to these far-off shores, whose very existence was not dreamed of till long, long ages after these works were wrought. Involuntarily we ask, how much had these, our brothers, in common with us, the lookers-on of their achievements? And can it be possible that we, like them, are in our turn to become the mythical objects of curiosity, wonder, and speculation to future ages and races?

This collection forms only a part of the valuable Metropolitan Museum of Art, for which a large building is now in process of construction in Central Park. Di Cesnola is making farther important discoveries in Cyprus, the results of which will probably be added to those already on exhibition. Referring to Central Park, I am reminded of a notice I recently saw, that the "Ladies' Irving Monument Fund Association" design to erect a group of bronze statues in the Park, one being that of Washington Irving, another that of Joseph Jefferson as Rip Van Winkle, and the third of the group an ideal figure of a "Knickerbocker,"—a fitting combination, and a happy thought. A. H.

THE CARVERSVILLE CONVENTION.

MR. ABBOT:—

Will you allow me to inform the readers of THE INDEX that a convention has been called to meet at Carversville, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, during the Centennial period, for the purpose of discussing the whole subject of Coöperative Industry; and whether, with the present hard times as a motive, a plan of living cannot be devised that will better secure the great objects of human existence than the one so long in vogue? If, indeed, as is alleged, there is no cure but revolution for the present system of selfish competition, which makes the rich richer and the poor poorer, let us know it as the result of a process of reasoning, and gird up our loins for the inevitable struggle. But to those who have faith in God, faith in humanity, and faith in common sense, there must be a better way of living than the one which converts human society into a den of hungry wolves. Those who are invited to take part in this great discussion are not expected to indulge in mere fault-finding and denunciation of the present condition of things, but to suggest a practical and practicable method of reform.

As there is a call out for a Congress of Liberals to meet at Philadelphia in July, I send you this communication that the objects in view by the two Conventions respectively may not be confounded.

Carversville is reached from Philadelphia either by the North Pennsylvania Railroad to Doylestown, and thence over good roads, by stage, seven miles; or by the Pennsylvania Railroad, via Trenton, New Jersey, Belvidere Division, to Bull's Island, thence to Carversville, a distance of two miles, through a beautiful valley, by stage. B.

THE STORY is told of Dr. Jerome Walker, an accomplished physician, who had been writing a letter at the dictation of a sick soldier: "Ah! doctor," said the sick man, just as the letter was being closed, "wad yer plaze ask 'em to excuse the mistakes in spellin' and writin'." The companion story to the above is one which may have found its way among our own "Pebbles" of the leader of a religious meeting somewhere in the country last summer, who saw a proper looking stranger in the little company. Leaving the desk, he stepped down and in a whisper asked him his name and religious connections. Finding the answer satisfactory, he returned to his seat, and said: "Will Brother Dodge, of New York, offer some remarks?" This the city brother did, to the best of his ability, and modestly sat down; when the leader again appealed to him: "Will Brother Dodge, of New York, ask the Lord to bless his feeble remarks?"—*Independent*.

REV. J. M. FINOTTI, of Arlington, has obtained for the laying of the corner-stone of the new Roman Catholic Church in Arlington, some fragments of the walls of the Holy House of Nazareth, wherein our Lord dwelt with his blessed Virgin Mother and the patron of the Universal Church during his life, previous to the three years of apostolic life. There will also be particles of the holy sepulchre, and of the sacred cradle at Bethlehem.

A YOUNGSTER while warming his hands over the kitchen fire was remonstrated with by his father, who said: "Go 'way from the stove; the weather is not cold." The little fellow, looking up demurely at his stern parent, replied: "I ain't heatin' the weather, I am warmin' my hands."

Sanctuary of Superstition.

BELIEF IS ENOUGH.—Do you believe in Christ? If so, his righteousness is yours.—"Remembrance of Me": American Tract Society.

HAS A HEAVENLY NATURE.—Now fish, you all know, can't live out of water. Why? Because it is not their nature to. I cannot live in it. Why? Because it is not my nature. I cannot live in the world now. I cannot go everywhere in the world as I did before. I have a heavenly nature, and it keeps me out of it. I am a citizen of another world. Heaven is my home.—*Dwight L. Moody, at Philadelphia, Jan. 2.*

ONLY ONE CHURCH.—No Catholic, if he has regard for consistency, can say that it is a safe procedure for human beings, ransomed by the blood of Christ, to walk independently of the guide appointed for him by the founder of the Church. He cannot say that there is more than one path leading to eternal life, nor that the roads of unbelief, heresy, and schism do not lead in an opposite direction.—*Catholic Advocate, Louisville, Ky.*

THE LAMB.—Behold, then, the Lamb of God! Look to thy bruised and smitten Savior! Confess his name. Believe with all your heart on him. Accept him as your refuge and your trust; cling to him with a grasp which can never be unclasped! There you are safe. There you have peace! There you need fear no evil. In Christ we are SAFE; out of him we are in constant peril.—*From a Tract of the Christian Publication Society, Boston.*

OUTWITTED.—Here is a shield and buckler against the assaults of Satan. Luther records: "Once upon a time the devil came to me and said, 'Martin Luther, you are a great sinner, and you will be damned!' 'Stop! stop!' said I; 'one thing at a time. I am a great sinner, it is true, though you have no right to tell me of it. I confess it; what next? Therefore you will be damned. That is not good reasoning. It is true I am a great sinner; but it is written, 'Jesus Christ came to save sinners,' therefore I shall be saved. Now go your way.' So I cut the devil off with his own sword, and he went away mourning because he could not cast me down by calling me a sinner."—*"The Faithful Saying": American Tract Society.*

THE STRIKING DEVIL.—Little child, if you go to hell, there will be a devil at your side to strike you. He will go on striking you every minute forever and ever, without stopping. The first stroke will make your body as bad as the body of Job, covered from head to foot with sores and ulcers. The second stroke will make your body twice as bad as the body of Job. The third stroke will make your body three times as bad as the body of Job. The fourth stroke will make your body four times as bad as the body of Job. How, then, will your body be after the devil has been striking it every moment for a hundred millions of years without stopping?—"The Sight of Hell," by the Rev. Father Furness, C. S. S. R. [Printed *permissu superiorum*, and recommended to be used along with the Catechism in Sunday-schools. It is one of a series of "Books for Children and Young Persons."]]

RECONCILED BY BLOOD.—The word of reconciliation which the apostles preached as the foundation of all they taught, was that we are reconciled to God not by our own works, nor by our own righteousness, but wholly and solely by the blood of Christ.

Understand this well. To think you must be more contrite, more humble, more grieved, more sensible of the weight of sin, before you can be justified, is to lay your contrition, your grief, your humiliation for the foundation of your being justified, or at least for a part of the foundation. The foundation is not your contrition (even that is not your own), not your own righteousness, nothing of your own; nothing that is wrought in you by the Holy Ghost; but it is something without; you namely, the righteousness and the blood of Christ. For this is the word: "To him that believeth on God that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness!"—"Reconciled": American Tract Society.

THOMAS PAINE IN HELL.—In hell, every detestable evil, every abominable passion, will reign and triumph. They whose lives were the blackest, and whose dispositions the most horrid, will meet there. Nero and Herod and cruel persecutors; Alexander and bloody conquerors; the guilty crew of Sodom and Gomorrah; Paine and Voltaire, Hume and hardened infidels, . . . will compose the society of hell. Among all these there will not be one mild disposition, nor one circumstance to soften the rage of the infernal passions they feel within. There, alas! must they dwell, hateful and hating one another, ever tormenting, and ever tormented; with every hellish passion and every devilish disposition augmented by the madness of despair. . . . God will never wipe one tear from their eyes, or remove one pain from their hearts; but will pour upon them all the fierceness of his wrath. Jesus will never lead them to fountains of heavenly pleasure, nor for one moment manifest the smallest portion of that love which in full perfection he will manifest to his friends through one eternal day. . . . God calls on them no more, but has forgotten to be gracious. Jesus pities them no more, nor can his blood ever wash away one of their sins, though once it might have cleansed them from all.—*"Persuasions to Early Piety": American Tract Society.*

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EDITOR:

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EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS:

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8. That, from the standpoint of Justice, Labor destroys Property.

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THAT PROPERTY IS IMPOSSIBLE.

Demonstration. Axiom.

Property is the Right of Increase claimed by the Proprietor over anything which he has stamped as his own.

First Proposition.

Property is impossible, because it demands something for nothing.

Second Proposition.

Property is impossible, because, wherever it exists, Production costs more than it is worth.

Third Proposition.

Property is impossible, because, with a

given Capital, Production is proportional to Labor, not to Property.

Fourth Proposition.

Property is impossible, because it is Homocidal.

Fifth Proposition.

Property is impossible, because, if it exists, Society devours itself.

Appendix to the Fifth Proposition.

Sixth Proposition.

Property is impossible, because it is the Mother of Tyranny.

Seventh Proposition.

Property is impossible, because in consuming its Receipts it loses them; in hoarding them, it nullifies them; and in using them as Capital, it turns them against Production.

Eighth Proposition.

Property is impossible, because its Power of Accumulation is infinite, and is exercised only over Finite Quantities.

Ninth Proposition.

Property is impossible, because it is powerless against Property.

Tenth Proposition.

Property is impossible, because it is the Negation of Equality.

CHAPTER V.

PSYCHOLOGICAL EXPOSITION OF THE IDEA OF JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE, AND A DETERMINATION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF GOVERNMENT AND OF RIGHT.

Part I.

1. Of the Moral Sense in Man and the Animals.

2. Of the First and Second Degrees of Sociability.

3. Of the Third Degree of Sociability.

Part II.

1. Of the Causes of our Mistakes. The Origin of Property.

2. Characteristics of Communism and of Property.

3. Determination of the Third Form of Society. Conclusion.

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1876. NEW YORK. 1876.

Eighteen hundred and seventy-six is the Centennial year. It is also the year in which an Opposition House of Representatives, the first since the war, will be in power at Washington; and the year of the twenty-third election of a President of the United States. All of these events are sure to be of great interest and importance, especially the two latter; and all of them, and everything connected with them, will be fully and freshly reported and expounded in *The Sun*.

The Opposition House of Representatives, taking up the line of inquiry opened years ago by *The Sun*, will sternly and diligently investigate the corruptions and misdeeds of GRANT'S administration, and will, it is to be hoped, lay the foundation for a new and better period in our national history. Of all this *The Sun* will contain complete and accurate accounts, furnishing its readers with early and trustworthy information upon these absorbing topics.

The twenty-third Presidential election, with the preparations for it, will be memorable as deciding upon GRANT'S aspirations for a third term of power and plunder, and still more as deciding who shall be the candidate of the party of Reform, and as electing that candidate. Concerning all these subjects, those who read *The Sun* will have the constant means of being thoroughly well informed.

The Weekly Sun, which has attained a circulation of over eighty thousand copies, already has its readers in every State and Territory, and we trust that the year 1876 will see their numbers doubled. It will continue to be a thorough newspaper. All the general news of the day will be found in it, condensed when unimportant, at full length when of moment; and always, we trust, treated in a clear, interesting, and instructive manner.

It is our aim to make the *Weekly Sun* the best family newspaper in the world, and we shall continue to give in its columns a large amount of miscellaneous reading, such as stories, tales, poems, scientific intelligence, and agricultural information, for which we are not able to make room in our daily edition. The agricultural department especially is one of its prominent features. The fashions are also regularly reported in its columns; and so are the markets of every kind.

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THE CENTENNIAL CONGRESS OF LIBERALS!

AN APPEAL TO ALL

Who believe that the United States should be

Absolutely Secularized.

And who favor the movement to carry out the principle of

STATE SECULARIZATION,

As indicated in the "Demands of Liberalism."

805 WALNUT ST., PHILADELPHIA,
March 1, 1876.

To the Liberal Leagues and the Liberal Public of the United States:—

The General Centennial Committee, appointed at a convention held in this city last September for the purpose of making all necessary arrangements for a General Centennial Congress of Liberals next summer, have decided to call said Congress to convene at Philadelphia, Saturday, July 1, 1876,—further particulars to be hereafter announced.

Each organized Liberal League will be entitled to send five delegates as special representatives—three in addition to its President and Secretary. But all individual Liberals who sympathize with the general objects and aims of the Liberal Leagues will be equally entitled and welcomed to seats and votes in the Congress.

REPORT PROMPTLY!

In order to lessen as much as possible the expenses of the delegates, each League is requested to elect them as soon as possible, and to report their names to the undersigned through its Secretary. All Liberals, delegates, or individuals who desire and intend to participate in the Convention are requested also to forward personally and immediately their names and full post-office addresses to the undersigned, that he may be enabled to make the most favorable terms possible for their accommodation. If notified early, he hopes to secure for them a considerable reduction in railroad fares, and to provide boarding-places at perhaps half the usual rates of the season.

Donations Solicited!

The Centennial Committee on Finance, having through their Chairman transferred their duties to the General Centennial Committee, the undersigned has been appointed to attend to the financial department, and hereby appeals to the Liberals of the country for voluntary contributions to the amount of One Thousand Dollars. This amount will be needed to make the Congress a complete success, though the utmost possible will be done with whatever is contributed. The officers of the union of Liberal German societies propose to raise the same amount for their convention, and have already raised \$600 of it. The Young Men's Christian Association here have already spent this year nearly \$100,000 in preparation for the Centennial, in the interest of Orthodox superstition; it would be a pity if all the friends of "Liberty and Light" could not do a hundredth part as much for the cause of national development and free humanity! The money will all be wanted (and much more could be advantageously expended) in providing suitable halls and headquarters, advertising the Congress liberally in advance in the chief dailies of the country, defraying the necessary expenses of desired and invited speakers, paying verbatim reporters, publishing a complete pamphlet report of the proceedings, etc., etc. What is done must be done speedily, since the arrangements should be completed, as far as practicable, by the first of May.

All sums donated will be duly acknowledged in THE INDEX, and a full report of all expenditures will be sent for publication in the same paper. Remittances should be sent to the undersigned, 805 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. Will not all friends of the movement respond heartily and at once?

DAMON Y. KILGORE,

Acting Treasurer.

I believe that Mr. Kilgore is a gentleman of unimpeachable personal integrity, and that all money remitted to him as above will be faithfully and economically devoted to the legitimate uses of the Congress.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT,

Chairman of the General Centennial Committee.

At the preliminary Convention held at Philadelphia on Sept. 17, 18, and 19, 1875, for the purpose of making arrangements for the Centennial Congress of Liberals, the following were appointed a

General Centennial Committee:

FRANCIS E. ABBOT,
DAMON Y. KILGORE,
ALEXANDER LOOS,
ISAAC RHEN,
BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD,
H. S. WILLIAMS,

with power to increase their number to fifteen. The completion and success of the arrangements must depend on the liberality of the friends of the movement, who are respectfully and earnestly solicited to contribute the necessary funds.

The Index.

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VOLUME 7.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, APRIL 27, 1876.

WHOLE No. 331.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fairs shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

Therefore, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

- ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF ———.
- ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in ———, and thereby to effect the total separation of Church and State in fact as well as in theory.
Also to send delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League, when organized, and to cooperate heartily with all the liberals of the country in furtherance of the above-named object.
- ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.
- ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.
- ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.
- ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League.
- ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification for any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

No person shall ever in any State be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious practices shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

AN ITEM in the New York Sun says that "the sum of \$121,000,000 has been spent in England since 1840 in building and restoring church edifices."

BISHOP HUNTINGTON (Episcopalian) thinks that the exclusion of the Bible from the public schools is "foredoomed by circumstances that are to be deplored."

SOME STATISTICS, published by the Tax Commissioners of New York City in obedience to a request of the State Legislature, show the value of church property exempted in that city from taxation. The Protestant Episcopal churches are valued at \$10,700,000; the Methodist Episcopal at \$2,911,500; the Presbyterian at \$6,814,000; the Baptist at \$2,432,000; the Reformed Dutch at \$3,401,000; the Congregational at \$417,000; the Jewish synagogues at \$2,000,000; the Catholic at \$6,999,000. These figures do not include schools, hospitals, cemeteries, etc. In addition, the Catholics have private charity schools valued at \$2,478,000; private hospitals at \$712,000; colleges at \$948,000; asylums and reformatories at \$1,248,000; and cemeteries at \$155,000. Total of Catholic property, \$12,538,000.

THESE ARE the honest, brave words of George William Curtis in *Harper's Magazine*: "Let us remember that Thomas Paine is the author of the inspiring paper that nerved the colonies to declare their independence. He put into forcible and resistless form the conviction and the wish which the people hardly dared to confess that they entertained. They had taken arms not to overthrow, but to maintain a government. If the logic of events had shown them that their hope of reconciliation was a dream, they were reluctant to acknowledge it. They were Englishmen still, and their hearts yearned for England. But Paine spoke the right word at the right moment. He dropped seed that sprouted the instant it touched the soil. In January *Common Sense* was published; in July independence was declared. That fact justified the title of the pamphlet. The common sense of the situation in January, 1776, was revolution, not reunion with Britain. Let us hope that the portrait of a man who saw this and said it for all America will not be wanting in the Centennial Gallery of 1876."

A FEW DAYS ago a young man called to see us who said he had made up his mind, though he could ill spare the money, to give twenty-five dollars either to the Centennial Congress of Liberals or to THE INDEX, just as we thought best. Being convinced of the immediate paramount necessity to the liberal cause of a great and successful convention at Philadelphia this summer, we advised the former course; and the noble-hearted radical paid his twenty-five dollars for the Congress on the spot. Another young man called a day or two later, to contribute five dollars to the same object. These were acts of self-sacrifice in each instance, and showed the generous spirit which is just as ready to spend and be spent for liberalism as for Orthodox illiberalism, the moment that liberalism begins to develop the consciousness of a practical work to do. The world knows earnestness when it sees it, and will respect radicals as much as fanatics, when they manifest the devotion and self-forgetfulness which give to fanaticism all its moral power. We feel new courage and hope,

as we watch the unmistakable beginnings of a spirit destined to baptize the cause of liberalism in America with an imperishable glory.

THE NEW YORK State Superintendent of Public Instruction, in his late report to the Legislature, recommended a Constitutional guarantee of secular schools in that State: "Great anxiety exists at present among the people in regard to the schools. Although the danger may not be immediate, wisdom dictates that the evil be prevented before it has an opportunity to come. There are reports that propositions have been made, and in some cases accepted, that certain parochial schools not under the control of the State should be used by the trustees or boards of education of the districts in which they are located, on condition that the teachers should be appointed by those having control of such schools, or that the course of instruction be subject to their approval. The adoption of such a policy would be a step toward the destruction of our system of public instruction. I earnestly recommend that the Legislature take such steps as will securely imbed in the Constitution of the State our common schools, as will place them beyond the power of any man or set of men, party or sect, to interfere with their admirable working, or in any manner impair their usefulness or tend to their destruction. Let the Constitution be so amended as to make it obligatory that a free, public, unsectarian system shall be maintained in the State, thus making our school system a unity that will exist throughout all time."

IT IS almost amusing to see how shy the average politician and the average secular journal are of any political discussion which, however remotely, involves a reference to religion. Even the *Nation*, which deservedly stands much higher than the average secular press, seems unable to rise above the superficiality which marks most of the talking and writing on this class of subjects. It says in a late issue: "Mr. Blaine did, indeed, bring forward at the opening of Congress a Constitutional amendment directed against the Catholics, but the anti-Catholic excitement was, as every one knows now, a mere flurry; and all that Mr. Blaine means to do or can do with his amendment is, not to pass it, but to use it in the campaign to catch anti-Catholic votes." We do not all dissent from this view of Mr. Blaine or his motives; it is sufficiently evident that his "unsectarianism" is a sham, being simply Protestant as opposed to Catholic "sectarianism." But to intimate that the public school question was [or is] nothing more than an "anti-Catholic excitement," or a "mere flurry," is a proposition which shows how easy it is even for able minds to flounder about in the shallows of a very profound subject. The school question can never be settled without settling the true relation of religion to education, of the Church to the State, of the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion to the fundamental principles of free popular government, and a host of kindred inquiries of the utmost moment. The country has stumbled, almost by accident, upon a system of public education which is now determinedly challenged and impugned from top to bottom, both by the Catholics and by many Protestants; and the issue raised will prove to be the longest-lived and most refractory that has yet afflicted the public peace. This generation will not live to see the end of it; and the *Nation*, instead of dismissing it in this forcible-feeble way, would prove its own sagacity much better by treating it with the consideration which its gravity demands. The school system will be in danger, and constantly increasing danger, until the American mind has mastered the politico-ethical philosophy which alone can permanently sustain it; and this is an issue which will remain vital when the "mere flurry" of the Presidential campaign is quite forgotten.

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[FOR THE INDEX.]

The Bible with Reference to Recent Archæological Discoveries.

TRANSLATED FROM THE "REVUE DES DEUX MONDES" BY KATE NEWELL DOGGETT.

BY JULES SOURY.

If, as was taught by Heraclitus of Ephesus, everything changes and is eternally undergoing transformation, the historical sciences must also be subject to the universal ebb and flow of things, and the truth of yesterday may become the error of to-morrow. It is especially in the sciences, whose object is almost inaccessible to our means of investigation, that we observe this kind of contradiction and perpetual oscillation. Comparative mythology is one of these difficult studies, in which we progress only by delicate approximations. The divine forms evoked by the *savant* crowd confuse each other, undulate vaguely as in a nebulous twilight, then vanish, and are lost in the abyss of time. Where is the Faust capable of recalling to light and restoring to life these graceful or terrible shades? This work demands not only great penetration, wide sympathies, exquisite perceptions of the most delicate shades of meaning, but also a sort of divination or intuition. A learned man, however eminent, rarely unites such lofty qualities; but one generation may realize the ideal that another has conceived. Our gratitude is none the less due to the wise ones who have guided us in this study. Others will come more powerful, perhaps, but not more sincere, more disinterested than these rare spirits.

It is in the religious system of Chaldea and Assyria, as we know it from the cuneiform texts and the monuments of the empires of the Tigris and the Euphrates, that we must seek the origin of the religions of Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine. The primitive religion of the peoples of the Semitic race was polytheism. Like the ancient inhabitants of the valley of the Nile, like the fathers of our own race—the Aryans of the shores of the Oxus,—like all the human species of the Old and the New World, the sedentary or nomad tribes which, from the most remote antiquity, spread themselves in the countries included between Armenia, the Persian Gulf, and the Red Sea—Assyrians, Arabs, Canaanites, Phœnicians, Hebrews,—they at first adored the sun, the moon, and the planets, light and fire, the immense vault of the starry heavens, the mountains—those giants born of the earth,—the rivers, forests, and animals. While the Aryans of the country of the seven rivers, where the most ancient Vedic hymns were composed, were ceaselessly moved by the imposing spectacle of atmospheric changes—the combats of Indra with the dragon that held imprisoned the beneficent water of heaven, and by the thousand accidents of light and shadow which played in the clouds kindled by the fires of the rising or setting sun,—the Semites, from Aleppo to the Arabian Sea, from Egypt

to the Persian Gulf, knew scarcely anything but a sky burning and cloudless, the savage solitude of vast, sandy plains, and the incomparable splendor of nights in which the moon, like a queen, seemed to dominate the army of the skies.

Hence the relative poverty of the Semitic mythology. Certainly there is something besides arid deserts in this part of Asia. Not to speak of the central plateau of Arabia, upon the banks of the Euphrates and in certain parts of Syria the soil, fertilized by the rains of winter, produces abundant harvests. At the foot of Lebanon there are delicious valleys in which the orange, the date, and the banana are loaded with flowers and fruit. In autumn and in spring Syria is a paradise; still it often suffers from drought, from "famine of water." Compared with the Indus and the Ganges, what are the Orontes, the Jordan, or the Adonis? Brooks with pebbly beds which, three-fourths of the year, one crosses dry-shod.

Like soil, like race. In these rocky and sandy plains the human being will be small, thin, dry, so temperate his head will be as empty as his stomach. The type of this race, the Bedawin, the nomad Arab, scarcely thinks; he knows nothing; his imagination is as arid as the desert. A swift horse, a long, straight lance, a fine camel, a beautiful woman, are the eternal theme of his poems. His sensations, always the same, create only sentiments and ideas of monotonous simplicity. His language is simple; simple its syntax, declension, conjugation; all its grammatical forms are equally poor. No abstract terms to express universal ideas. But have children general ideas? These naïve discourses in which the propositions are linked together and follow each other without other bond than the conjunction *and*, are, in fact, the language of a child. Such beings, whether in nomad or sedentary state, will never be great artists, still less philosophers or *savants*. Aristotle, Hippocrates, Ptolemy, all Greek science might pass over their horny brains without leaving deeper trace than the winter rains in the bed of their torrents.

But though neither artist, philosopher, nor *savant*, one is not the less a man, nor can one live in intimate relation with Nature without experiencing emotions more or less lively, without being penetrated with awe or admiration, without glorifying the destructive or conservative forces of the universe. Among all these forces, indisputably the most powerful is the sun, the fire of heaven, source of terrestrial fire, only and supreme cause of movement and of life upon this planet. There is no need of reasoning to comprehend that it is the life itself, the blood, as it were, of our celestial father that runs in the veins of our mother,—the earth. In the love season, when the luminous heaven surrounds and penetrates it, a new world springs forth from its fertile bosom. It is this life that thrills in the plains where the warm, humid air softly bends the herbs; this that rises in shrub and tree, that vocalizes the solitudes with the joyful cries of the birds; this that in the seas or running streams, on the mountains, in the forest, couples the proud male to the lascivious female, that palpitates in all bodies, loves with all beings; but all this terrestrial life, all this warmth, all this light are only emanations from the sun. We are, says Tyndall, not only in a practical but in a purely mechanical sense, children of the sun. What the science of our days has proven the ancient man instinctively comprehended.

Far, very far off in the past, before metaphysics existed, men adored fire and worshipped the sun. At the foundation of the Semitic, as at the foundation of the Indo-European religions, the principal myths are solar myths. Before trying to understand, they contemplated, they described, they sang the universe in the hymns and cosmogonies, parts of which have come down to us. The sun, moon, and planets, the mountains, rivers, and plants, the storm, wind, thunder, fire,—all the forces of Nature were divinized, adored, above all feared, and became for man, as still for some of the lower races of men, creatures endowed with life, feeling, intelligence. That which is born develops itself and reaches maturity only to decrease and die; the earth and its productions, for instance, were regarded as dependent upon that which subsists eternally, changeless, never growing old, like the sky and the stars. They found in Nature an active cause and a passive one, and divinity, following human analogy, was conceived as male and female; as among the Semites, Baal, and Baalath, the active force which creates, preserves, and destroys; the passive which conceives, engenders, and brings forth. The symbol of the creative power of Nature was universally represented in the sanctuaries and upon the religious monuments by the organs of generation. The fundamental unity of the two forces of the divinity often caused the attributes of the male to pass to the female divinity, and reciprocally, thence the hermaphrodite or androgynous divinities of Syria and Phœnicia. Sometimes even, as in the temple of Hierapolis, a third being symbolized the unity of the two.

I.

It is from the north of Assyria, from the country of the Kurds, that the tribe of nomad Semites came which, doubtless forced by some invasion, passed the Euphrates, and directed their course from north-east to south-west towards the land of Canaan. The Ammonites, the Moabites, the Edomites had preceded those who were to be called Beni-Heber, or Hebrews. Going forth from Ur, the great city of the Chaldeans situated near the confluence of the Tigris and the Euphrates, they were led at first by Terah to the city of Haran, afterwards by Abraham, son of Terah, beyond the river, across Syria, even to the land of Canaan. The inhabitants of this country were Semites by the same title as the tribes which came from beyond the Euphrates. The near rela-

tionship of the Chaldeans and these nomads is proven by the identity of language and religion. We do not learn anywhere in the Bible that these new-comers had any difficulty in making themselves understood by the old inhabitants, and all the names of cities or persons of this nation with which we are acquainted are purely Semitic. It is besides demonstrated that the Canaanite element dominates in the biblical Hebrew; Isalah himself calls Hebrew the language of Canaan. All these peoples—Ammonites, Hittites, Hivites,—whom the Greeks called Phœnicians, had then reached a high degree of civilization. Ages before they had conquered or absorbed the aborigines, the Nephelims, the Emims, the Rephaim, giants and monsters which recall the Anasikas and Rakshasas against which the Aryans had to struggle in Hindustan. Caravans of merchants traversed the country to sell in Egypt turpentine, frankincense, myrrh, etc. The money in use among them was stamped. In Genesis we read of vessels and ports. In cities like Sodom and Gomorrah, which seem to have made upon the naïve Bedawin the same impression as Babylon, we find certain refinements of manners not customary among barbarians. The Canaanites had long outgrown the gross fetishism which we find in the family of Abraham. Rachel steals the idols of her father. "Why hast thou robbed me of my gods?" says Laban to Jacob. Rachel, having concealed them in the "camel's furniture," seated herself upon them, and, when her father came to her tent, she found a pretext for preventing search.

Says the prebendary of Salisbury, "The ready dexterity and presence of mind with which she concealed her theft show her an apt pupil in her father's school of untruth." In another passage of Genesis we read that Jacob buries under an oak near Sichem the idols, talismans, and amulets of the people of his house. Many times the Bible shows us the descendants of Abraham as idolaters and polytheists. In the book of Joshua, Terah, the father of Abraham, is represented as pagan and polytheist, as well as their ancestors who, from ancient times, had dwelt beyond the river,—that is, the Euphrates.

Thus, even if the Bible did not expressly tell us so, we should find at almost every page of the old books of Israel and of the prophets of the eighth century, facts which testify to the idolatrous fetishism and polytheism of the Semites. In the first place we may declare it a self-evident truth that there could not exist fundamental differences in the religious conceptions of families, of peoples inhabiting the same countries, speaking the same language, and, according to their own avowal, descending genealogically one from the other. But the polytheism of the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Syrians, the Phœnicians, and the pre-Islamic Arabs is an incontestable fact. Not less incontestable is the polytheism of the Terahites; that is, the peoples which, like the Israelites, descended from Terah,—the Edomites, the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Ishmaelites. All these tribes which came from Chaldea and Assyria worshipped the stars and fire; they found in Palestine the worship of the same gods. The names, even, of some of these divinities were identical, which proves their original kinship. *Nomina, numina*, says the axiom which in the school of Kuhn has become the key of comparative mythology.

In Genesis it is related that Abraham, the mythical father of the Hebrews, met in the land of Canaan Melchizedek, king of Salem, who was priest, or *cohen*, of El-Eilon, father of heaven and earth. This god El, who continued to be the God of the children of Israel to the time of the exodus from Egypt, and who almost always appears accompanied by an attribute, as El-Eilon, El-Schaddai, El-Kanna, El-Hai, seems to have been common to all the families of the Semitic race. In the Greek and Latin inscriptions of Syria, lately published by Mr. Waddington, we find mention of monuments of the worship of Kronos, as the Greeks called El. We find El again in the Phœnician colonies at Carthage. As to the characteristic of universality, El is in the Semitic pantheon what Djans is in the Indo-European. The Assyrian idea of God is given by the word Ilon, and the ideographic character of this notion had in the beginning the form of a star. It was the highest divinity of the Babylonians, as is indicated by the name of the great city of which El was the tutelary divinity,—Bab-El or Bab-Ilon, the door of El. In Assyria he received the appellation, exclusively national, of Ashur. The inscriptions designate him as "king or chief of the gods, supreme lord, father of the gods." Some rare monuments belonging to Assyria give to Ilon, or Ashur, a wife, the counterpart of himself, his passive form. Whether this god primitively designated the starry heavens or light, a sidereal signification has always been attributed to him; he has been likened to the planet Saturn; Berosus calls him Kronos; and according to Sanchoiathon, Kronos was called El by the Phœnicians.

The supreme God of the children of Israel was also of the Canaanites. We see, too, that the Terahites accepted as sacred certain places venerated by the inhabitants of the country, trees, mountains, springs of water, and Beths-El, or houses of El. These primitive sanctuaries were huge blocks set up in all places, especially upon the hills, in testimony of some oath, or in memory of some important event. These stones were consecrated with oil, wine, or the blood of sacrifices. Later the origin of these megalithic monuments was attached to the legends of the patriarchs, and altars and temples were erected upon their sites. These are the *bamoth*, or "high places," so often spoken of in the Bible; mentioned also upon the *stela* of Measa as in the inscription of *Umm el awbid*, etc., and where the offering of sacrifices was continued long after the centralization of the worship at Jerusalem.

All these nomad tribes that, with their flocks, poured into the land of Canaan were a scourge to its

Inhabitants. Like the Bedawin of our days, they did not enter the cities, but pitched their tents in the fields, pillaged the country, and devoured everything, even to the last spire of grass. More than one city shared the fate of Sichem, where they slew the men, stole everything there was in the houses, and led away captive the women and the flocks. The soil of Palestine seems not to have sufficed for the maintenance of all these hordes, for we read that the last comers, the children of Israel, several times went down into Egypt to escape famine, as, a little while ago, ten or twelve thousand Arabs from the provinces of Bengazi and Tripoli, driven by hunger, left the country and crossed the desert to Egypt.

During the thirteenth dynasty the Semitic tribes of the North had begun to invade Lower Egypt. Nomads like Abraham and the sons of Jacob, whose whole possessions consisted of flocks, were, in the eyes of the Egyptians, "shepherd-kings,"—Hyksos, like the other hordes of Arabia, Syria, and the land of Canaan. The relationship of the Hyksos and the Terahites is no longer a matter of doubt. We know that under the eighteenth dynasty the ancient rulers of the country gradually regained the ascendancy, and the shepherds were obliged to abandon Avaris (Tanis) and leave Egypt. The Hebrews remained. They had established themselves to the north-east of Egypt in the land of Goshen, which is upon the route to Canaan. Situated between the Red Sea and the Nile, this country was so rich in pasturage it was called the best part of the land. The Semites, frightfully fruitful, increased and multiplied so rapidly that the Pharaohs of those days, "who knew not Joseph," did not witness the prosperity of these shepherds without disquietude. The Egyptians, who held them in horror, and who, according to Manetho, would have expelled them as impure, oppressed them, loaded them with grievous burdens. Not to speak of the paintings of several Egyptian tombs in which we see the Semites making bricks and building walls under the eye of Egyptian overseers armed with long whips, a hieroglyphic inscription of the reign of Rhamses, mentions the *Aberiou*, or Hebrews, among the people employed in public works. No human creature was less fitted for this kind of labor than a child of Israel. The Hebrews went out of Egypt and abandoned the land of Goshen about 1820. According to Kuenen, who agrees with Lepsius, Bengsch, Bunsen, and Chabas, the emigration took place in the reign of Amenophthis, successor of Rhamses II. The leader of the emigration bore an Egyptian name, and, according to all the historians, he had been instructed in all the learning of the Egyptians. Manetho, who, in agreement with the Bible, designates Moses as the political and religious chief of the children of Israel, makes of the future legislator of the Hebrews a priest of Heliopolis. Nothing more is known, and probably never will be, of Moses. At least five or six centuries separate his epoch from that in which the oldest documents that speak of him were written. The grand and living image which we admire in Exodus and the book of Numbers has no historic feature. We cannot prove that a single law of the Decalogue goes back to Moses; we can prove, on the contrary, that such origin is inadmissible, for the greater number of those laws, especially with the additions that accompany the Ten Commandments in the somewhat divergent versions of Exodus and Deuteronomy.

When the children of Israel returned to the land of Canaan they were idolaters and polytheists as when they left it. Their principal divinity was no longer El, but Jah, whom the people worshipped under the form of a bull of molten metal. No phenomenon is more common in the history of religions than the appearance of new gods which dethrone the old. Thus, among the Hindus and the Greeks, Varounas fades gradually before Indra, Ouranos before Zeus. But if the old divinities no longer govern, they always reign. The god El, whose name we find everywhere in the Bible, especially in the poetic books, did not disappear before Jah, nor before the other gods, or Elohim of the Semitic pantheon; but he is no longer the national god, the tutelary divinity of the confederate tribes of Israel. Jah is henceforth the god of Israel, as Chemosh (Kamôs) was the god of the Moabites, Molech of the Ammonites, Ortol—light or fire of El—of the Edomites and Ishmaelites.

We are struck with the singularly sombre and terrible character of these divinities. All these gods are gods of fire, who feed upon fat and blood, and devour human victims. Do not let us forget that these shepherd-tribes were still half-savage. Many centuries even after the epoch at which we have arrived, we read in the legislation of the Hebrews of the repression of strange customs and depraved tastes found only among the grossest peoples. They are forbidden to tattoo themselves, to feed upon insects, reptiles, etc., etc. The gods of the Terahites were naturally as sanguinary as their worshippers. For a long time they maintained a sinister and sensual character which distinguished them from the Canaanite divinities. Not, I repeat, that these different Semitic families adored divinities essentially different. Aside from local worship, which we find among all peoples, their gods were the sun, moon, and stars, in turn considered as the cause of production and destruction in the world. But while some celebrated with joy and orgies the god of life and light, Baal and his Baalath, the king and queen of heaven, others were led to propitiate, by bloody sacrifices and ceremonies of frantic cruelty, the implacable fury of the flaming star, the insatiable Molech, who every year devoured his children. In fact it was to the sun of Spring and the sun of Summer that worship was rendered. Whether the god was called El, Bel, Baal, Adonis, Tammuz, Hadad, Rimmon or Molech, Jah, Chemosh, Milcom, it was always the sun. So, whether the goddess were called Baalath, Berketo, Ashera, or Astarte, she is always a telluric or cele-

tial divinity, the earth or the moon. We may add that often the sun and the moon were replaced by the planets. From the most remote antiquity the sun considered as Molech has been confounded with the planet Saturn. Adar, originally a solar god, a god of fire, became later the god of the planet Saturn.

(The name of the god Kevan, worshipped by the Israelites in the desert, Amos v., 27, has just been read in the Assyrian form upon a tablet which by this word explains the second part of the name of the planet Saturn in Accadian, Lubat-Sakus.)

Considered as Baal, the sun has been identified with the great star of fortune Jupiter; and Venus, as the little star of fortune, was associated with him.

It is now proven that at the time of the exodus from Egypt, in the desert, and even in the time of the Judges, light and fire were, among the Israelites, not symbols of the divinity, but the divinity itself. Jah, god of light and fire, is no other than the sun considered as Molech. As Molech, he is represented under the form of a bull of metal, brass, iron, or gold. The golden calf worshipped in the desert is no more an Egyptian idol than were the two bulls of the same metal worshipped in the time of Jeroboam in the sanctuaries of Dan and of Bethel. Jah is not an Egyptian god, as many have erroneously believed. The time has passed in which we can pretend to account for the religious or the philosophic systems of diverse peoples by successive and universal borrowings. That was little other than a facile means of ascending to a pretended primitive revelation. A contrary doctrine has gained the day in science. How can we imagine that hordes like the children of Israel understood anything of the civilization of the Egyptians, and went so far as to borrow their religious ideas? A sojourn of several centuries in a country, four hundred years and more, must have modified the habits of a people, and it is certain both Phoenicians and Hebrews borrowed much from Egypt; but these loans were all external, and had reference only to certain material details of civilization, of worship, and of sacerdotal regulations, as the holy ark, the breastplate of the high-priest, the linen ephod, and other parts of the costume of the priests, the sacred utensils of the sacrifice, etc. So the Hebrews borrowed from Assyria the winged bulls with human head which we find at the gates of all the palaces, the cherubim which guarded the entrance to the terrestrial paradise, the ark of the covenant, and the Holy of Holies of the temple of Solomon, and which served as a steed to Jehovah. So far as Egypt is concerned, it is probable these loans were in part posterior to the exodus from the country.

These shepherds encamped upon the old land of the Pharaohs might have remained there a thousand years without making the least progress. They saw Egypt only from without. More numerous, they might have crushed the civilization of the peoples of the Nile valley, but they would never have understood it. They remained as much strangers to all higher culture as the Bedawin of our days, who, only a few leagues from Damascus or Bagdad, preserve their patriarchal customs.

Nor did the other nomad Semites who had invaded Egypt adopt the indigenous religion. But M. de Rougé has proven the existence of a religion common, in the beginning, to some of the peoples of the Delta and of Syria. He admits a primitive kinship between the Mishraites and the Canaanites. The god Set, or Sutech, of the Egyptian monuments, before becoming the sombre Typhon, the adversary of Osiris, was the national god of the shepherds; the Semitic name of Set was Schad. Thus we find in Egypt in very remote times the Schaddai, or Almighty, of the Hebrews. That also, says François Lenormant, was one of the appellations of the Syro-Phoenician mythology, whose origin has been proven in the religions of Chaldea and Assyria.

(The name Asit, or Asid, that we read in the oldest epigraphic monument of Assyria, nineteenth century before the Christian era, sometimes given to Ashur with a prosthetic a, which does not prevent recognition of the root, is the same as the Hebrew Schaddai. But Ashur is the national Assyrian form of the supreme god Ilu, El.)

Jah is not an Egyptian god, proven irrefutably by the fact that the name of this divinity is Chaldean. The mysterious *tetragrammaton*, the ineffable word, whose letters bear in the Bible the vocalization of the word Adonai, presents evidently the root *hahav*, Chaldean form, dialectic variety of a Hebrew verb which signifies to breathe, to live, to be. The name of this divinity, generally pronounced Jehovah, must originally have been Yahaveh. This form was later contracted into Jâhon and Jâh. As to the significance of the name, philologists have long recognized in Jah the god of existence, he who has and who gives life.

The Aramean name of the god Jehovah proves both his great antiquity and his Chaldeo-Assyrian origin. Every one knows that the worship of fire and light come from the Iranian plateau of Asia. When the Terahites abandoned Chaldea and passed the Euphrates, they worshipped, among others, the god Jehovah; they worshipped him at the time of their first sojourn in the land of Canaan; they worshipped him in Egypt; and it was doubtless the ark of this god they carried into the desert. If originally he was not so popular as the other divinities of Israel, if ages were necessary for him to become the national divinity of this people, and still other ages to be considered as the only god of the universe, there is nothing in this which should surprise us. Apparently the worship of Jehovah belongs especially to the aristocracy of the Terahite tribes. Max Müller shows us that religions at first have belonged to families and to extremely restricted societies of men.

Jehovah belonged in a special manner to the Ben-Israel. If we may believe the Bible itself, Balak, son of Zippor, King of Moab, threatened by an inva-

sion of the children of Israel, sent elders of Moab and of Midian to the shores of the Euphrates to a famous seer, Balaam, son of Beor, that he might curse the invaders. But this seer of Mesopotamia cursed and blessed in the name of Jehovah. We may note in passing that Balaam at the same time worships Baal, sets up altars, and immolates to him calves and rams. Movers and others have proven that Jehovah designates the supreme god among several Semitic peoples. This name is found in its contracted form in a great number of Canaanite or Phœnician proper names. Greek writers, Diodorus Siculus for instance, mention Jaon or Jao. The most curious text we can recall here is perhaps that of the oracle of Apollo at Claros, mentioned by Macrobius, which, as Lobeck and Movers have demonstrated, is not the apocryphal work of a Gnostic Christian. According to this oracle Jehovah is the greatest of all the gods, the supreme divinity, the solar god regarded under four faces which are the four seasons of the year. He is Hades in winter, Zeus in spring, the sun in summer, and Jao in autumn. The epithet of mild and effeminate that is here given to Jao shows clearly that Adonis is meant whose central worship was at Byblos in Lebanon, and whom Sanchoniathon calls the Most High, Elion, as the god of Melchizedek. So in Phœnicia, Jao is the source of life that animates all Nature. Jao is the sun.

In all the books of the Pentateuch except Deuteronomy, Jehovah is not the only god of the Hebrews; he is simply more powerful than all the other gods. Jehovah is El-Elohim, the god of gods, like Zeus or Indra. This polytheism breaks out everywhere in the old books of Israel. Thus the messengers of Jephthah say to the king of the Ammonites, "Dost thou not possess the country that Chemosh thy god has given thee as a heritage? So we possess the land of all those whom Jehovah our god has driven out before us." It is remarked very properly that all which is read upon the *stela* recently discovered, which Mesa the King of Moab had set up to his god Chemosh, might have been found upon a monument of the same kind, upon an *ebenezer* set up by a king of Judah or of Israel to his god Jehovah. Chemosh, angry with his people, had delivered them into the hands of their enemies; he became favorable to them again, and crushed the adversaries of the King of Moab. Jehovah, whose name is found upon this pillar, speaks and acts no otherwise in the books of his people.

The name of the divinity that recurs at almost every verse of the Bible, Elohim, is a plural. "Plural of majesty, plural of excellence," it is said. So be it. It is true that, wherever it was possible, the last writers of the sacred books have put in the singular words that at first were in the plural; but they have not been able so perfectly to efface all trace of polytheism that we do not find striking proofs of it in certain forms of speech which have survived the destruction of the ancient beliefs of Israel. The popular phraseology, the surest and most authentic monument of the ideas of a people, did not always lend itself to the pious scruples of the scribes. (Gen. x., 13; xxxv., 7. Exod. xxxii., 4, 8. Deut. v., 23. Jos. xiv., 10. I. Sam. xlvii., 26, 36. II. Sam. vii., 23. I. Kings xix., 2. Ps. lviii., 11. Jer. x., 10; xlii., 36.)

In certain parallel passages the oldest version makes the verb agree with Elohim, while the more modern puts it in the singular. They did still more. In certain passages of which we have a double recension, we see that everywhere the word Jehovah has been substituted for the word Elohim. (Psalms xiv. and lili.) In the books of the prophets the name Jehovah is the usual expression to designate the divinity. The word Elohim is very rare in this sense, and is seldom employed except in certain formulas or modes of speech consecrated by usage. On the contrary the nearer we ascend to the times of the oldest monuments of Hebrew literature, the more frequent we find the use of the word Elohim. Leviticus, and Numbers (except from xli.-xxiv.) are all Jehovahist, while in Exodus the Elohist and Jehovahist documents are of almost equal extent; in Genesis the first predominates. In our opinion Elohim is the plural of Eloah, and implies several Eloah. Elohim is the evident, undeniable proof of the primitive polytheism of the children of Israel.

The history of the religion of the Hebrews attests that among this people, also, the religious idea was born of the sentiment of terror. The fear of the Lord is the foundation of all the religion of Israel. The passages one might cite are innumerable. Jacob swears by the "terror" of his father Isaac. Jehovah, like Indra and Zeus, manifests himself in the forces of Nature and in atmospheric phenomena. The wind is his breath; his voice is the thunder that makes the desert tremble and breaks in pieces the cedars of Lebanon. He causes the snow and the hail to fall, he covers the ground with hoar-frost, he produces the ice and the cold. It is he who stirs up the sea when the waves thereof arise. But it is, above all, by fire that Jehovah reveals himself to his worshippers. The tempest, lightnings, and thunder announce his coming upon Horeb and upon Sinai, where he appeared in the flame, in the midst of a burning bush that the fire did not consume. We see him descend, the darkness under his feet, borne upon the wings of a cherub. Smoke issues from his nostrils, and a devouring fire goes out of his mouth. From the heavens Jehovah thunders, and Elion, the Most High of the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, etc., makes his voice heard. He shoots forth his arrows and disperses his enemies; he makes his lightnings to shine and devours them. In the desert Jehovah marched before the children of Israel in a pillar of cloud by day, in a pillar of fire by night. He appeared to Abraham in the midst of the night-adows as a smoking oven. To show that he was well-

pleased with a sacrifice, he darted forth in flames between the morsels of the victims spread out upon the altar. He reveals himself thus to Abraham, to Gideon, to Elias. Let us remember that among the Hebrews, as among the Persians, fire is pure; that the everlasting fire was to be maintained upon the altar by a priest; that the same word designates both the fire and the sacrifice. Of the victims offered, bulls, rams, sheep, goats, birds, Jehovah reserves to himself the fat, of which he finds the odor agreeable when it rises to heaven as a sweet savor. All the fat belongs to Jehovah, we read in Leviticus. (Leviticus iii., 16.) He trembles with joy at the idea of a slaughter, a massacre, a butchery of men and beasts. He streams with blood and fat. The sword of Jehovah is drunk, says Isaiah; it drops blood; it is covered with fat, with the blood of lambs and of he-goats, with the fat of the reins of rams.

Naturally the young of man belongs to Jehovah as well as the young of beasts and the fruit of the tree. All the gods of the Semites, El-Schaddai, Adonis, Baal, Molech, Jehovah, Chemosh, are conceived as monarchs of the Orient. They have absolute rights over everything that is born or dies in their empire. Man acknowledges himself a vassal; he worships "the master," and brings to his lord the first fruits of his flock, of his field, of his family. So far as originally identical with Molech, Jehovah claimed all the first-born. "Sacrifice to me every one that openeth the womb, all the first-born among the children of Israel, the first-born of man, and the first-born of beasts, for all that is mine." Human sacrifices have without doubt existed among all peoples, but they held an exceptionally high place in the Semitic religions; it was long before they disappeared from them. Everywhere, indeed, where these religions have penetrated, even among other races, we find traces of Molech worship. In all the sanctuaries of the Phœnician colonies established upon the shores or in the islands of the Mediterranean, at Carthage, in Sicily, at Marseilles, at Rhodes, at Salamis, in Crete, there were bulls of metal or brazen statues of the god. At certain fixed epochs, in certain expiatory ceremonies, or when they wished to avert some scourge, they threw into the sides of the bull or upon the arms of the statue, heated to a white heat, men and children.

Nothing is better established than the existence of such sacrifices among the Hebrews in honor of Jehovah, and that down to the time of Josiah, perhaps even to that of the return from the captivity of Babylon. The epoch of the patriarchs offers us, in Genesis xlii., a notable example. During their sojourn in Egypt the Beni-Israel continued to offer to God their first-born (Ezek. xi., 26.) Thus the Israelites were, in the eyes of the Egyptians, worshippers of the evil principle, of Typhon, murderer of Osiris. In the time of the Judges we have the history of Jephthah and his daughter, of Samuel, and of Agag. David appeases the anger of Jehovah by putting to death seven sons and grandsons of Saul; he casts into the furnace prisoners of war. At Gilgal, a celebrated sanctuary, oxen and men were sacrificed to the molten bulls of Jehovah. A passage in Micah shows that an expiatory virtue attached to the sacrifice of the first-born. "Shall I offer my first-born to atone for my crime, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?" Throughout the duration of the monarchy these sacrifices were made in the kingdoms of Israel and of Judah, particularly in the valley of Hinnom near Jerusalem, to the south of Mount Sion. There was the famous Tophet, a sort of pyre, or sacred hearth, kept up by the priests. Here are some expressions of Isaiah which have not received all the attention they merit, for they seem to leave no doubt of the nature of Tophet: "Yes, since yesterday (long time) Tophet is prepared, it is prepared for Molech, it is deep and wide. Its pyre has fire and wood in abundance. The breath of Jehovah burns like a torrent of sulphur." Is. xxx., 33. Upon this smoking altar the Hebrews threw their first-born. Jehovah, the flame of the sacrifice, devoured these offerings. Numerous passages in the Bible show that the children were not merely passed through the fire, but given as food to the flames.

Later, after the captivity of Babylon, when monotheism had triumphed, they softened certain expressions which would have scandalized the pious Jews assembled in the synagogues upon the Sabbath day to hear the reading of the holy books. We have proof that the Biblical texts have undergone modifications of this kind in parallel passages like II. Chron. xxviii., 1-4; II. Kings xvi., 3. In one it is said the king of Judah, Achaz, burnt his sons in the fire; in the other he only passed them through the fire. The divine legends at need inspired in people and in kings these kinds of sacrifice.

Eusebius has preserved a fragment of the history of Phœnicia by Philo of Byblos, in which Kronos, whom the Phœnicians called El, immolated his only son to avert the perils of war that threatened the countries of which he was king. It is that which Mesa, king of Moab, also did, who, under the same circumstances, sacrificed to Chemosh his own first-born; for all the forms of Molech, as the Milcom of the Ammonites and the Chemosh of the Moabites, to whom Solomon built temples upon the hills of Jerusalem, or the Adramelech (II. Kings xvii., 31) and the Anammelech of the colonies of captive Chaldeans and Sussians whom Sennacherib had transported to Samaria; all these local forms of Molech had, like Jehovah, their devouring pyres and their valleys of Ben-Hinnom.

What is the consecration of the first-born to Jehovah? What is circumcision but a transformation of these sacrifices brought about inevitably by the softening of manners? Circumcision which, like the sacrifice, took place the eighth day after birth, was also a bloody rite whose object was to appease the divinity. The life of the first-born was redeemed by

an indemnity of five shekels of silver for a male, and three shekels of silver for a female, which were paid to the priests.

II.

Besides Jehovah and the other forms of the Semitic Molech, the god who had the greatest number of altars and temples in Palestine was indisputably Baal. During the period of the Judges and of Samuel, almost two centuries, the worshippers of Jehovah associated the worship of Baal and of Ashera with that of the national god. If we see the name of Jehovah in the proper names of this time as Jom, Jothan, Jonathan, etc., we find that of Baal in other proper names of the same epoch. Gideon, a judge of Israel, calls himself Jerubbaal; Saul, the anointed of Jehovah, gives to one of his sons the name of Ebaal; and Jonathan, and the son of Jonathan in turn, are named Meribbaal. Under idolatrous and openly polytheistic kings, like David and Solomon, especially under their successors, the worship of Baal and Ashera was without any doubt the most popular in the two kingdoms of the north and the south. Under the reign of Ahab, the famous prophet, or nabi, of Jehovah, Elijah alone slays four hundred and fifty prophets of Baal, and four hundred of Ashera. Jezebel and Athaliah, so ill-used by the Jehovahist writers of the books of the Kings and the Chronicles, loved to surround themselves with priests and priestesses of these cheerful and noisily sensuous divinities. The symbols and worship of Baal and Ashera were often introduced into the worship of the temple of Jehovah at Jerusalem. To a pietistic king like Hezekiah, who destroyed the "high places," broke the pillars of Baal, tore up, cut, or burned the symbols of Ashera, succeeded kings less intolerant, better politicians, like Manasseh and Amon, who, not to shock the beliefs of the majority, rebuilt the "high places," replaced Ashera in the temple at Jerusalem, and reestablished the worship of Baal. It was in vain that Josiah, the blind instrument of the sacerdotal coup d'état of Hilkiah, overturned all that Manasseh had set up. This Hebrew Don Quixote, whose brain was turned by the dark, mysterious discourses of his high priest, was impolitic enough to provoke Necho II., Pharaoh of Egypt. The man who slew the priests of Baal even in the cities of Samaria failed to be protected by his god Jehovah, for he was left among the dead in the valley of Megiddo.

(CONCLUDED NEXT WEEK.)

AN OPEN LETTER TO O. B. FROTHINGHAM.

DEAR SIR:—

I have looked upon you always as one of the broadest-minded and most comprehensive among our liberal thinkers and writers. Your views and opinions upon all subjects discussed by radicals I ever have awaited with happy anticipations, confident that you would indicate at least the true direction for all really catholic minds to take. I certainly never have expected from you the least word that should even seem to discourage any one of us from taking the most independent position, and pursuing the most independent line of action, that our individual judgments might dictate. However insistent and reiterative others might be upon any special idea, measure, or method; whatever near approach to dogmatism any other radical might make, in urging any to him favorite doctrine or scheme,—you of all men I have expected would avoid anything of this; would rather invite and encourage, first and last, to the freest thinking and acting, even though this should lead to divisions and diversions in our ranks; for I believed you wise enough with radical wisdom to value freedom and independence above any mere party expediency or party efficiency. In all my association with you on the staff of INDEX writers, I do not recall a single instance wherein you gave voice to any narrow counsel or politic appeal; wherein you uttered any cry that rallied radicals to close-knit, serried organization, or that had a strenuous sound to sweep them into phalanxes to be hurled against a particular enemy. On the contrary, the whole impression left upon me from your published utterances is that you are more of a philosopher than a reformer, more of a thinker than an organizer; and that your individual tastes and habits of mind commit you rather to private and personal methods of finding and furthering truth, than to any specific public, political, or party action.

Having this opinion of your general spirit, purpose, and aim, I confess to no little surprise in reading your editorial contribution in THE INDEX of March 30, entitled, "Concentrate." It reads, permit me to say, like something wholly foreign to your pen; and were not your ever welcome initials appended to it, you are the last writer to whom I should refer it. That I may the more effectively indicate my own dissent from the sentiments therein expressed, allow me to quote a few of its pregnant sentences:—

"The ineffectiveness so much complained of by liberals, and so justly too, is due in considerable measure to their diffusiveness. They scatter their force: worse than that, they divide their force, and set detachments against one another; they are jealous, factious, partisan. They support, or rather try to support, try desperately and vainly to support, too many papers; they undertake too many incidental projects; they stickle over too many points of purely speculative interest; they indulge in too many private crochets. The secret of combination is the willingness to concede some things for the sake of a few things of essential concern. . . .

"There are two interests of vital moment to all liberals of whatever school; the release of the civil powers from ecclesiastical influence, and the overthrow of

authority in the realm of mind,—the complete separation of Church and State, and the complete enfranchisement of the intellect. These two things all liberals who deserve or claim the name have at heart sincerely. These two things are of prime consequence to them all as elementary conditions of their success in other directions. . . . There is money enough, and mind enough, and earnestness enough to make the Liberal League triumphant in their work of secularizing the government, and to beget modesty in the Catholics on the one side and the Protestants on the other. . . .

"If the organs of liberalism in different parts of the country would lay their emphasis, for six, or even for three, months on two or three primary ideas, nothing more would be required. . . .

"THE INDEX seems to be doing its part to infuse a working spirit into the liberal host. That its efforts should not be seconded would be indeed a misfortune."

In stating my objections to the foregoing remarks, I will concentrate all my minor points in one chief indictment. It is this: that in the whole article in question you speak of the radicals in this country as though they formed, or should form, some conscious party in the State, or sect in the Church, of America; and as though their deliberate purpose was, or should be, to overthrow some other party or sect.

Now my conception of the radical uprising is something quite different from this, and I had previously supposed that yours was. According to my idea, radicalism was not born at all as a new party or a new sect; it was not born with any party or sectarian mission whatsoever. It was born out of parties and out of sects, and its destiny was to grow away from both, and to be neither. The very thing that you complain of in it—namely, its tendency to "diffusiveness"—is in my eyes its very glory and attractiveness. To this end was it born, and for this cause came it into the world,—to be "diffusive." The very instant that radicalism shall begin to "concentrate," to organize, to form itself into leagues and combinations offensive and defensive; to say, with imperative self-consciousness, "Go to now, I will do so and so, I will oppose this, I will destroy that,"—in that same instant it will begin to stiffen, to harden, to fossilize, and to become itself an occasion for a new protest and a new departure. I believe you to be too careful and wise a student of history not to foresee that this would be the inevitable effect of any determinate organization of the radical elements in this country.

No! the very hope of radicalism, that shines as a nimbus on its brow to-day, is that it shall not "concentrate," that it shall not organize, that it shall not go up and down the country "leaguely" its forces together in wilful determination,—putting itself under distinguished leadership, lifting up banners with mottoes, uttering slogans and rallying cries. There is not inherent virtue enough in any possible party under heaven, that would long withhold it from becoming tyrannical and corrupt so soon as it should become fairly established and self-conscious. I say it with all conceivable respect and good feeling for those who hold a different view—nevertheless, I say it because I honestly believe it,—that those who advocate the "concentration" and "organization" of radicalism, the gathering together its individual elements and driving them against some objective point, are its most mistaken and unwise friends; and in the end, if that were possible, they would kill it, and cause it to die as disgraceful a death as ever attended any party that existed. The "ineffectiveness" of radicalism, of which you now complain, would surely begin when it was organized; it will not begin before. At present it is effective beyond calculation; it is effective as a thought, as an idea, as a spirit. By virtue of its very "diffusiveness" it prevails. When any man, or any set of men, wilfully try to spread it, it will stop spreading. How was it with Unitarianism? Those of us who came out of that ought to have brought some wisdom with us! So long as it was content and believing enough to remain a free and diffusive element in New England civilization, unharnessed with preambles and proclamations, unburdened with platforms and declarations, it was a real and respectable power; but when it began to organize, and to gather to itself a party consciousness, then it began to die,—and to-day it lies a woful wreck on the shore of the river of progress.

With dismay which would be despair, if I did not know that wisdom is wiser than some of her children, I see a similar experiment beginning to be tried by some radicals. Already, what may be called an Orthodox radicalism begins to peep over the horizon at certain points. Those who will not answer to the stentorian call and summons to "concentrate" and "organize," who will not follow "Douglas the true" when he blows his bugle blast, who will not turn aside from their private convictions and "stand up to be counted,"—such are made to feel the least perceptible pressure of a party power and spirit; are hearing themselves called "lazy," "indifferent," "impracticable," "inefficient." They know well enough that all this means that they are considered heterodox radicals, not alive to the imminent perils and exigent duties of the hour!

Suppose, my dear sir, that "there are but two interests of vital moment to all liberals of whatever school." Is there but one "Orthodox" method of promoting these interests? Is it demonstrated as inevitable that we must all go and join the Liberal League if we are in any wise earnest about these "two" things? Suppose some of us choose, in any paper we prefer, to speak as persuasively as may be of these two things and some others, without rushing to enroll our names on any League book,—must we then be considered and stamped as unwise, or false, or recreant radicals? Suppose we have a little "money," and less "mind," and a mere modicum of

"earnestness,"—is it then the unequivocal and irresistible "demand" of the universe that we go and dedicate all these on the altar of the Liberal League? Will you point me to the infallible radical or radicals who can authoritatively answer these modest conundrums? "If the organs of liberalism in different parts of the country would lay their emphasis for six, or even for three, months on two or three primary ideas, nothing more would be required." Ah! but are you not astute enough, sir, to see that if we should have "two or three primary ideas" upon which every "organ" should be "required" to play with "emphasis" for the space of "six months," we should come very near by that time to having a radical creed, which only indeed it would be considered Orthodox to support? I scarcely can think that, when you wrote this, you fully realized how much it would sound like the good Unitarian "talk" with which the ears of some of us still ache from having heard so plentifully!

I pause with tender memories of friendship before the last paragraph which I have quoted from your article. Nothing can exceed my profound appreciation of the noble work which THE INDEX has done in time past, nor the measure of my admiration of the great ability of its editor. There is not a sentiment of my heart inconsistent with the most genuine desire for the welfare and prosperity of both. And yet I should be sorry to see even the support of THE INDEX made a test of Orthodoxy among radicals,—and I say this all the more freely because I have no pecuniary interest in any other journal. Those who agree with the "chief practical aim of THE INDEX" (I quote from its standing prospectus), "to organize a great national party of freedom," will of course support it,—and may they do so more and more effectually! But there are many radicals who do not agree with that "aim." Must they support it, or be accounted bad radicals? May they not prefer to support some other paper, and still be considered sound in the faith? If the vaunted law of "supply and demand" has any truth in it, this matter of newspaper support will take care of itself.

In conclusion, permit me to warn you, my dear sir, that, in your newly kindled zeal for the "concentration" and organization of radicals, you do not commit yourself to measures from which you may afterwards desire to depart. I know of no one who appears to me less likely to rest content in the traces of party organization than yourself.

I will only add that I have chosen the columns of the *New Age* as the means of communicating with you, because I did not wish to offer to THE INDEX anything that might tend in the slightest degree to abate the loyalty of even its least zealous supporters.

Very sincerely yours,

A. W. STEVENS.

—*New Age*.

"THE MAN OF THREE COUNTRIES AND DISOWNED BY ALL."

"The admirers of Thomas Paine held a meeting in Paine Memorial Hall, at Boston, on Tuesday evening, and adopted an address, saying that 'the present was a propitious time to place in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, a marble bust of Thomas Paine, as a recognition of his great services in behalf of the cause of human liberty.' The cost, it is believed, will be about \$1,200."

Should this suggestion assume practical shape we shall be very much surprised if the managers of Independence Hall do not revive a document, numerously and respectfully signed, protesting against the admission of the proposed bust into the national pantheon. Yet in the long roll of Revolutionary heroes and statesmen, there are not more than a half-dozen names which better deserve the honor of marble commemoration; and there is no name in that roll which has been visited with so much miserable ingratitude, covered with so much unmerited reproach. That we celebrate our Centennial this year, and not later, is due to Thomas Paine more than to any other man. It was his bold and brilliant pen which, in the winter of 1775-76, roused public sentiment to a pitch that made a declaration of independence an imperative and immediate necessity. Such a declaration was certain to come at no very distant day; but *Common Sense*, that immortal pamphlet, stirred the people and spurred Congress to take the decisive step then and there, and not wait for a more favorable time and place. The author of that pamphlet saw, more clearly than any one else in America save Samuel Adams, that there could be no satisfactory and lasting compromise between the Colonies and the Mother Country; that the latter was determined to exert her authority to the utmost, regardless of consequences; that the former must either sink into slavery or rise to the dignity of freedom; and that if freedom was to be attained the blow of final and permanent separation must be struck at once. The persuasive and powerful arguments of *Common Sense* changed a dangerous and demoralizing indecision into prompt and emphatic action; action which literally drew the sword and flung away the scabbard; action which narrowed the issue down to the single and simple alternative of liberty or serfdom. Not less important was the work accomplished by that other immortal pamphlet, *The Crisis*. Coming, as it did, in the darkest hour of the war, and opening with the sentence, which thrills us even now,—"*These are the times that try men's souls*," it stimulated the flagging energies of a nation struggling against tremendous odds, put life and hope into a discouraged and defeated army which all the genius and devotion of Washington could hardly hold together, and was worth more to a falling, almost hopeless, cause, than ten regiments of fresh soldiers. It was at this dismal period, too, that the man whom Orthodox Americans have been

taught to regard as a sort of brevet devil, not only refused to receive a cent of remuneration for these pamphlets—which were then having an enormous sale,—but drew a year's salary, due him as clerk of the Pennsylvania Assembly, and began with it a private subscription in aid of the starving troops. The salary was only \$500 in Continental currency, but it was all he had, and it served to quicken the patriotism and liberality of those who had more. The following letter, written after the termination of hostilities, speaks for itself:—

"ROCKY HILL, Sept. 10, 1788.

"THOMAS PAINE, Esq.:

"My dear Sir,—I have learned since I have been at this place that you are at Bordentown. Whether for the sake of retirement or economy I know not. Be it for either, for both, or whatever it may be, if you will come to this place and partake with me, I shall be exceedingly happy to see you at it.

"Your presence may remind Congress of your past services to this country; and if it is in my power to impress them command my best exertions with freedom, as they will be cheerfully rendered by one who entertains a lively sense of the importance of your works, and who with much pleasure subscribes himself

Your sincere friend,

"G. WASHINGTON."

Well has Paine been called "the man of three countries and disowned by all." England, where he was born, could not forgive his love of liberty; America, whose liberties he helped to achieve, could not forgive his love of truth; and France, whose liberties he labored in vain to fix on sure foundations, could not forgive his love of mercy. When the French Assembly met to order the execution of Louis XVI., it was Paine who rose, and, in the name of liberty, protested against the deed which was both crime and blunder. "Destroy the king," he cried, "but save the man. Strike the crown, but spare the heart." "These are not the words of Thomas Paine," exclaimed a dozen members from different parts of the hall. "They are my words," said the brave Englishman of whom Englishmen are ashamed to be proud. He was arrested and sent to the prison of the Luxembourg; twice sentenced to the guillotine, and only escaped by an accident, which, had he been a saint, would have been heralded abroad as a miracle. It was while thus facing death in the depths of a dungeon that he wrote *The Age of Reason*. Among the innumerable enemies whom that book has raised up for its author, probably not one in ten ever read it, and probably not one in fifty ever read the other writings from the same pen. Yet, as a piece of literary work, *The Age of Reason* is the poorest that Paine did, and no man who is not familiar with his best ought to consider himself acquainted with English political literature. *Common Sense* and *The Crisis* are noble specimens of literary simplicity combined with literary power, while there are passages in the *Rights of Man* which breathe and burn with vigorous beauty. Take this, for instance, where Paine rebukes Edmund Burke for pitying the sufferings of the French aristocracy while forgetting the infamies of the Bastille:—

"Not one glance of compassion, not one commiserating reflection, that I can find throughout his book, has he bestowed on those that lingered out the most wretched of lives, a life without hope, in the most miserable of prisons. It is painful to behold a man employing his talents to corrupt himself. Nature has been kinder to Mr. Burke than he has to her. He is not affected by the reality of distress touching upon his heart, but by the showy resemblance of it striking his imagination. He pities the plumage, but forgets the dying bird. Accustomed to kiss the aristocratic hand that hath purloined him from himself, he degenerates into a composition of art, and the genuine soul of Nature forsakes him. His hero or heroine must be a tragedy-victim expiring in show, and not the real prisoner of misery sliding into death in the darkness of a dungeon."

Only two political writers whom we have studied, in our opinion, surpass Paine,—Jonathan Swift and "Junius." And Paine has caught the peculiar excellences of both Swift and "Junius" to a very rare degree, though in no sense the imitator of either.

As Paine has been and still is, to a certain extent, "the bugbear of the priest and the anti-Christ of the preacher," a brief glance at his religious views will not be out of place in an article intended to do some sort of justice to one who has been most shamefully belied. We present his creed in his own words:—

"I believe in one God and no more; and I hope for happiness beyond this life.

"I believe in the equality of man; and I believe that religious duties consist in doing justice, loving mercy, and endeavoring to make our fellow-creatures happy.

"The word of God is the creation we behold. It is an existing original which every man can read. It cannot be forged; it cannot be counterfeited; it cannot be lost; it cannot be altered; it cannot be suppressed. It publishes itself from one end of the earth to the other. It preaches to all nations and to all worlds; and this word reveals to man all that is necessary for him to know of God.

"The true deist has but one Deity, and his religion consists in contemplating his power, wisdom, and benignity, and in endeavoring to imitate him in every thing moral, scientific, and mechanical.

"I trouble myself not about the manner of future existence. I content myself with believing, even to positive conviction, that the power that gave me existence is able to continue it in any form and manner he pleases, either with or without this body; and it appears more probable to me that I shall continue to exist hereafter, than that I should have had existence, as I now have, before that existence began.

"The world is my country; to do good my religion."

In his last will and testament he says:—

"I have lived an honest and useful life to mankind; my time has been spent in doing good, and I die in perfect composure and resignation to the will of my Creator, God."

Paine's opinions in religious matters differed in no important particular from those of Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, and John Adams. He put his opinions in print; they did not. Cannot the American people, in this Centennial year, afford to drop a few flowers of grateful remembrance on a grave which has been so long a target for the arrows of scorn and obloquy?—*St. Louis Republican*, Mar. 26.

MAMMA: Whatever are you crying for, Annie? Annie (who has suddenly burst into tears): Because—because—you've taken my orange. Mamma: Why, you asked me to have it two or three times. Annie: Yes, I know I did; but I thought you would say no, thank you, and give me another one as well.

"WELL, WELL, if the time has come when the 'fast males' must have a train of cars to themselves, I am glad I am an old woman, and haven't long to stay in this sinful world." And Aunt Betsey wiped the end of her nose with her best handkerchief.

CASH RECEIPTS.

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N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are not on hand will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

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Books.

ANIMAL PARASITES AND MESSMATES. By P. J. Van Beneden, Professor at the University of Louvain, etc. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1876. [International Scientific Series.] ON FERMENTATION. By P. Schützenberger, Director at the Chemical Laboratory at the Sorbonne. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1876. [International Scientific Series.] THE GRAPHY. By W. H. Froese and J. Sivewright. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1876. A PARAGRAPH HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By Edward Abbott. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1876. SPIRIT INVOCATIONS. By Mrs. J. H. Conant and Allen Putnam. Boston: Colby & Rich. 1876. LIVING WATERS. A New Collection of Sacred Songs. By D. F. Hodges. Boston: Oliver Ditson & Co.

Pamphlets and Periodicals.

APPLETON'S HAND-BOOK OF AMERICAN CITIES. New York: D. Appleton & Co. COMIN' THRO' THE RYE. A Novel. New York: D. Appleton & Co. MISSISSIPPI UND RHEIN. Centennial-Phantasee. Von Heinrich Ende. Milwaukee: Carl Doering. 1876. SECTAR VINDICATION IN THE STATE, and the Bible in the Public Schools. By E. P. Hulbut, formerly a Judge of the Supreme Court of the State of New York. Albany: Joel Munsell. 1870. MATERIALISM, AND IRREVERENCE. Two Sermons by O. B. Frothingham, at Masonic Temple. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1876. GOD ON OUR SIDE, AND MAN AND THE BIBLE: Two Sermons by John W. Chadwick, in the Second Unitarian Church in Brooklyn. New York: Charles F. Sowerby. SERMONS by the Rev. Charles Voysey, at the Langham Hall, London: "Light in the Darkness," "Is Death an Eternal Sleep?" "The Devil," "The Heart at Liberty," "Faith" (Parts I, II, III), "Delusions as Agents of a Moral Government" (Part I). PUBLICATIONS OF THOMAS SCOTT, Esq., No. 11, The Terrace, Fargahar Road, Upper Norwood, London, S. E.—"Christianity," by Charles Bray—"Hell,"—"The Athanasian Creed," by Rev. J. W. Lake—"The Ultimate Authority in Matters of Faith,"—"The Beauties of the Prayer-Book,"—"The Confounded Convert,"—"Signs of the Times": March and April. A REVIEW by the Minneapolis Liberal League of a Sermon by Rev. E. F. Sample. Published by the League. 1876. KING'S CHAPEL AND THE EVACUATION OF BOSTON. By Rev. H. W. Foote. Boston: Geo. H. Ellis. 1876. THE MISSISSIPPI ELECTION. Speech of O. P. Morton in the United States Senate, Jan. 19, 1876. THE RESULT of the Brooklyn Advisory Council. New York: A. S. Barnes. TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL REPORT of the Young Men's Mercantile Library, Pittsburg, for 1875. PHILOSOPHY of Devout and General Contemplation. Mason, Mich.: 1874. AN EPITOME OF SPIRITUALISM AND SPIRIT MAGNETISM. Boston: Colby & Rich. JOURNAL of the National Indian Association, in aid of Social Progress in India. March, 1876. London: Henry S. King & Co. JOURNAL OF SPECULATIVE PHILOSOPHY. January, 1876. St. Louis: Gray, Baker & Co. THE POPULAR SCIENCE MONTHLY. April and May Nos. New York: D. Appleton & Co. RECORD OF THE YEAR. May. New York: G. W. Carlton & Co. THE LANGHAM MAGAZINE. March and April, Nos. 1 and 2. Edited by the Rev. Charles Voysey. London: Deacon & Co. SCRIBNER'S MONTHLY. April and May Nos. New York: Scribner & Co. ST. NICHOLAS. April and May Nos. New York: Scribner & Co. THE UNITARIAN REVIEW. March, 1876. Boston: L. C. Bowles. THE WESTERN. March, 1876. St. Louis: Western Publishing Association. THE SATYRARIAN. May, 1876. New York: Campbell & Co. THE HERALD OF HEALTH. April, 1876. New York: Wood & Holbrook.

The Index.

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TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only short articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

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CARRIE BURNHAM KILGORE, Ch. Com. Phil. L. L.
605 Walnut St., Philadelphia.

MR. KILGORE's report for this week had not arrived on going to press.

WE ARE REQUESTED to state that Mrs. Whipple will lecture in Investigator Hall, Paine Memorial Building, next Sunday forenoon, at half-past 10 o'clock. The public are cordially invited to attend.

AN ENVELOPE inclosing \$1.00, without any letter or any clew to the sender, but postmarked "New York, April 21, 8 P. M.," was received at this office. Also an envelope with post-office order for \$6.25, sent from Station G, New York, on February 5, has been held in the daily but vain expectation of hearing from the sender. Will the parties please notify us of their names and wishes?

THE "THOUSAND DOLLAR FUND":

SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF \$100 EACH FOR THE CENTENNIAL CONGRESS OF LIBERALS.

April 15. A Friend in Boston (paid) \$100.00
FRANCIS E. ABBOT, in trust.

THE LOTOS-EATERS.

Suppose that early in 1776, when the wisest and purest statesmen in the colonies were endeavoring to create a decisive public opinion and stimulate bold public action in favor of Independence, some of the people had publicly reasoned in this way:—

"These men are dangerous advisers. They are trying to form a conscious party of Patriots, with the deliberate purpose of overthrowing the party of Tories. They are turning patriotism into partisanship. According to our idea, patriotism is inconsistent with partisanship. Its divine mission is to grow away from parties of all sorts; to be diffusive; to avoid concentration; to form no organization; to propose no practical ends about which good men can possibly differ; to have no policy of action; to aim at no objective point; in short, to do nothing. Patriotism is only effective as a thought, an idea, a spirit; the moment it contemplates action, it begins to harden, to stiffen, to fossilize, and will necessitate an instant protest against itself. It cannot rally men for anything; its only hope is that it shall not organize at all. So long as it remains a mere disembodied and diffusive element in general civilization, it lives; but so soon as it begins to create a common consciousness of common objects, and to organize patriots into a party to accomplish them, it becomes a mere wreck,—it dies. These organizing patriots are ruining their own cause. We see with dismay that they are creating an *Orthodox Patriotism*, and that we are considered as *Heterodox Patriots*. We see that, if we do not believe that complete separation from Great Britain is the one commanding necessity of the hour, or if, believing this, we do not believe that the best way to achieve separation is to go to work and separate, then we come under suspicion of being indifferent, impracticable, inefficient. What we want is to form a Patriotic Club, and discuss patriotism—and some other things. We do not want to enlist in the army, for that involves slogans, and bugle-blats, and rallying cries; we do not want to fight for the Independence of the colonies, for fighting means fighting somebody, and nobody can do that without making himself a partisan. Perhaps we are as much in favor of Independence as these ambitious and stentorian bugle-blowers; but is there only one method of achieving it? Suppose we choose to write persuasive editorials about it, and to talk persuasively about it in our Patriotic Club; is that not better than to rush to enroll our names on the recruiting sergeant's lists? Shall we not soon succeed in persuading King George the Third to let us go? To fight his red-coated soldiers will only make him angry; we shall only become partisans, and irritate him into becoming a partisan too. If we regularly mail him our persuasive editorials and the reports of our persuasive discussions in the Patriotic Club, surely he will be persuaded, and the colonies will become independent without any Fourth of July Declarations of Independence and partisan Revolutionary Wars. To entertain a suspicion to the contrary would be to doubt our own persuasiveness! That is impossible. We believe that the best method of achieving Independence is moral suasion, administered cautiously and at intervals, and plentifully diluted with discussions on—some other things. Let us have no *Orthodox Patriotism*! Let us have no Patriotic Creed! Let us have an end of all this aggressive endeavor to rouse the country, recruit troops, raise supplies, organize a Continental Congress, lay the foundations of a mighty new nation. The Adamses, Otises, Hancocks, Warrens, Washingtons—all these and their like are mere partisans, and are transforming patriotism into partisanship. We prefer to call a meeting of the Patriotic Club, and listen to a persuasive essay on—some other things."

How would all this have sounded in the stern and earnest hours of 1776? Would the utterers of such well-meant obstructionism have been ranked as "heterodox patriots"? We fear they would hardly have got the credit of being "patriots" at all; for patriotism in that stringent crisis meant something more than "a thought, an idea, a spirit"—it meant Bunker Hill, and the long list of battle-fields where men were patriotic enough to die for the Independence they declared. Without a country, there can be no love of country; and we of 1876 would have

had no country to centennialize, if they of 1776 had been all members of the Patriotic Club.

Yet one of the most conscientious men we know—a man of pure and glowing aspirations, a man enamored of truth and goodness and beauty, a man whose friendship it would grieve us greatly to lose—has just remonstrated in a precisely similar strain against the attempt to inspire definiteness of purpose and heroism of action into the aimless radicalism of our own day. He argues against the Liberal League movement on the grounds sketched above; and we are glad to be enabled, by Mr. Frothingham's cordial consent, to republish the "Open Letter" on a previous page. If there is anything in it which can possibly "abate the loyalty" of any INDEX reader to INDEX ideas, by all means let it be abated. All we wish is such support as rests on deliberate conviction of the essential value of our work; we are content to dispense with all other.

Radicalism is talking and writing and dreaming itself to death. It is opulent in scholarship, imagination, poetry, sentiment, culture; but it has too long been a pauper in the stern common-sense, the virile energy, the crystal-clear consciousness of something great to do, the self-sacrificing, resolute will to go ahead and do it, which alone can enable it to command the respect or win the confidence of this keen-eyed American people. It fritters itself away in interminable criticisms, wastes its vitality in discussions that begin nowhere and conduct nowhere, busies itself about anything and everything except doing for this generation the great work which it alone can do. Its work is threefold: to give to modern religious thinking an impregnable position, a positive method, and a practical object. This position is outside of and boldly opposed to Christianity, on the indestructible rock of pure Naturalism, which every historical religion denies point-blank at the very outset; this method is the method of modern science, which annihilates every pretence of supernatural "authority," and which alone has won positive knowledge since thought began; this object is the total emancipation of the State from the Church, to the end that human nature may work out its political and social problems by its own inherent laws, unhindered by the organized and tyrannical ignorance of the past.

More and more evident it is that radicalism must remain practically powerless to mould the destinies of the country, until it becomes, not only "a thought, an idea, a spirit" (which indeed it is), but also a mighty resolve to apply this thought, idea, spirit, to the further development of the national life. *Orthodoxy* is respected because it has the courage of its opinions, and asserts itself politically; radicalism is despised as either bloodless, cowardly, or selfish, because it tamely submits to political servitude. The sceptre of the Church is stronger to-day than George the Third's was a century ago; the most precious interests of the republic cry for its liberation as loudly as ever; the battle is still for Independence, and the Liberal Leagues are the Minute Men of 1876.

"Orthodox radicalism"? "Heterodox radicals"? Yes—the orthodoxy of radicalism is courage, earnestness, resolution, heroism, self-sacrifice, action; the heterodoxy of radicalism is timidity, apathy, purblindness, do-nothingism, love of ease, inaction. Whoever is satisfied with servitude will wear the yoke patiently, submit uncomplainingly to the indignities which willing slaves never escape, and wonder, or chafe, or rebel, at the summons to assert his right to be free; but whoever burns with the passion of independence will leap to his feet, and strike for it like a man. It is frivolous to stigmatize the demand for personal and national liberty as a "radical creed." Those who feel no need of it, and those who do, will never understand each other. But the radicalism which despises it, or which for any reason under heaven refuses to claim it at all costs, exactly fills out our own conception of conservatism. The cool, unsympathetic, hard common-sense of the people rates such radicalism as this at its real value, and sees more to admire and be influenced by in the unintelligent but vital earnestness of bigots and fanatics. The master who believes in and maintains his own divine right to rule is more of a man than the slave who does not believe in or maintain his own natural right to be free; and the common people flock after him accordingly. Who can blame them? Inaction when action is imperatively demanded by self respect and the public weal tells its own story—the story of simple insensibility to duties imposed by the situation itself. The Patriotic Club might have held their persuasive sessions nightly through the whole Revolutionary War; but the patriotism which ex-

pended itself in talk, when citizen-soldiers were dropping dead in their bloody tracks in defence of Independence, would have been voted by the men of 1776 as practically no better than Toryism. It would have been useless to protest against such a valuation: human nature permits no other.

Homer tells of the land of the Lotos-eaters, where the traveller who once tasted the "pleasant food of the Lotos" lost all desire to return home, and chose to live a soft life of dreamy exile rather than encounter again the hardships of the sea. Tennyson, singing with his own exquisite melody the song of the Lotos-eaters, might well be Post-Laureate of the Patriotic Club:—

"All things have rest: why should we toll alone,
We only toll, who are the first of things,
And make perpetual moan,
Still from one sorrow to another thrown;
Nor ever fold our wings
And cease from wanderings;
Nor steep our brows in slumber's holy balm;
Nor hearken what the inner spirit sings,
'There is no joy but calm!'
Why should we only toll, the roof and crown of things?"

Let us alone. What pleasure can we have
To war with evil?"

"What pleasure can we have to war with evil?" Nay, there is no "pleasure" in it—nothing but duty! To liberate the Republic, to break the yoke of the Church, to vindicate the rights of natural intelligence and natural conscience against the haughty claim of Theology to control the legislation of the State, to emancipate free-thought from the heavy pressure of unjust discrimination and disadvantage in the struggle for existence with antiquated error, to win for free-thinkers the pellucid consciousness of State-respected equal rights and the self-respect which comes therewith—all this is toil and fatigue, sacrifice and battle; but it is duty! It has been in deliberate defiance and disregard of all "policy" that THE INDEX has for years proclaimed this duty to the sleepy and Lotos-eating radicalism of America. Supporters have dropped away; friends have been offended; and THE INDEX still keeps its flag flying only because others, with noble generosity, have done double their share in its support. If it had shunned all agitation for the political equality of free-thinkers with Christians, suppressed the "Demands of Liberalism," and spared itself the distasteful toil of advocating the Liberal League,—if it had with shrewd self-interest avoided a distinct issue with Christianity, confined itself to indirect thrusts and side-blows, adapted itself to the actual state of public opinion among the liberally-disposed, and published only essays and articles of a speculative and tenderly emotional character,—its circulation would to-day be many times what it is. But THE INDEX has never, no, not for an instant, aimed first and foremost at its own prosperity. It has been, and is, only a tool, a weapon, a means to an end. There is a redundancy of purposeless journalism in America; but there is also at least one journal that has a purpose, to achieve which it would cheerfully and rejoicingly sacrifice its own existence. This purpose is to make radicalism worthy of itself, by devoting itself with iron will and high, heroic, generous enthusiasm, no matter at what cost, to the task of establishing the Republic of Humanity, the Commonwealth of Man, on the rock of soul-freedom and equal political and social rights. This task means something more than talk; it means combined, whole-souled, unquenchable determination and action to put the ideal into fit embodiment in the State. And signs of ultimate success are bringing new hope and courage. If the Centennial Congress of Liberals only proves to be what the Liberals can easily make it, a great national movement will be begun which will by and by make them forgive THE INDEX for its aggravating pertinacity in urging them to be something nobler than mere Lotos-eaters.

LOGIC A NEW TOUCH-STONE OF TRUTH.

The ancient touch-stone was faith; but this is now held to be the test of credulity, the voucher of superstition. The new criterion is supposed to be much simpler and more satisfactory; easy as A B C; plain as "twice two are four"; so evident that all but the blind can see it; so obligatory and persuasive that none but the cowardly and insincere venture to evade it. Given a statement, another statement follows by necessity of reason, as a train of cars, once set on rails and impelled in a certain direction, goes where the iron lines carry it. There is no other alternative.

The error consists in assuming that a statement is a definite, limited object that is set on rails, and propelled in a particular direction. That it is nothing

of the kind need not be said. Make a statement! Yes, but that is more easily said than done. To make an exhaustive statement, that shall express the whole mental contents of the thinking intelligence, that shall cover all the requisitions, and meet all the contingencies of inference and deduction, is an achievement which only the most accomplished minds are capable of. To make a statement that shall convey to all other minds the exact and full meaning which the originating mind put into it, is an achievement that even the most accomplished minds are incapable of. That would be equivalent to furnishing men with brains, which many a writer and speaker has distinctly declined to do. So little does the train feel compelled to obey the originating impulse, that it flies off in the most unforeseen directions, setting the laws of traction at defiance, and often driving off into the very quagmires and sandbanks which the first projector was especially anxious to avoid. The bother is that the officious and misleading party who offers his services as conductor, professing a perfect acquaintance with the road, is at heart unfriendly to the company, and secretly determined to wreck the train. The "logician" is the foe of the philosopher, and "logic" is the instrument by which he proposes to bring him to grief, the stone which is to throw him from the track. Men would find themselves in strange predicaments, if they accepted the "logic" of their adversaries. It takes the Unitarian but five minutes to bring the Trinitarian to a pass compared to which Balaam's was broad. The Universalist will bring the Calvinist to his knees in two seconds. What if the "evangelical Christian" were to intrust the speculative outcome of his system to the rationalist, or the rationalist were to intrust his to the evangelical? We know very well what logic, in Christian hands, will reduce Free Religion to; what logic, in "infidel" hands, will reduce all religion to. Thinkers must claim the right to keep the logic of their beliefs in their own hands, and refuse to be responsible for conclusions not fairly involved in their thought. Logic is the method of reason. Its office is to formulate ideas. A just logic is that which formulates ideas justly, not that which formulates them partially, or distortedly, or arbitrarily.

Does logic compel one who rejects every accepted definition of God to drop the word God entirely? Does logic compel the disbeliever in individual immortality to cease all speculation into the future and avow himself a beast? Does logic compel the disbeliever in prayer, as usually practised, to avoid every expression or attitude that in the eyes of any careless observer looks like prayer? Is the utterance of an aspiration dishonest? Is the spoken meditation insincere? Is the breathing forth of desire a disloyalty? Is the earnest lifting up of the heart a cowardly concession to popular usage? Is the man shamming or practising an imposition who tries to persuade himself or others of the power of an ideal world? It is absurd to say it. The only reply that can be made to those who insist on the logical duty of avoiding everything that is unintelligible to literal or uncongenial minds is the steady persistence in those very things till they be understood.

Logic is so respectable a thing that simple souls are tempted to yield at the first challenge, like the timid traveller who gives up his purse to the footpad without even making sure that the threatening pistol is not a harmless stick. A little honest fidelity to convictions on the part of sincere men will be of the greatest service by exposing the fraud, and proving the doughty assailant to be a scarecrow. O. B. F.

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY E. C.

President Grant has returned to Congress the bill reducing the salary of the President to \$25,000. In his veto message he shows that, when the salary was fixed at this sum, the salary of a member of Congress was only about \$750 per annum; and although this latter has been increased until it is now \$5,000, no addition has been made, until recently, to the salary of the President. We are glad that the President has had the courage to veto this bill, which was introduced evidently for the purpose of gaining a little cheap political capital, and should never have been allowed to pass the Senate. The present popular method of reducing public expenditure by curtailing the salaries of officials—practised, or at least attempted, in town-meetings, city councils, State legislatures, and Congress—is a petty sham, into the acceptance of which unfortunately some excellent people allow themselves to be humbugged. We repeat, what we have more than once expressed or indicated in these columns, that no public salaries, so far as we know, are larger than or even as large as they should be; but on the contrary our public officers are, to a considerable extent, miserably underpaid. We require

men, for \$2,000, to shoulder responsibilities which in the business world they would not be expected to take up under ten times that amount, and then we wonder that so many of our public servants help themselves from the Treasury whenever they have a good chance to do so. First-rate men are worth a first-rate price, and government must pay it, if it would retain the services of the men whom it needs. As matter of fact, the occupant of the White House is obliged to spend nearly \$100,000 a year, and our Presidents have been able to retain their places heretofore only by reason of the fact that Congress has annually paid a large part of their domestic expenses,—expenses which nearly all other men, including public officers, are obliged to pay out of their regular incomes.

A National Labor Convention was held at Pittsburgh last week, and the delegates adopted a platform in the shape of a long set of resolutions. They urge a repeal of the treaty with China; demand a repeal of the Resumption Act, and the issue of "government money"; request a periodical publication of the cost of manufacturing all kinds of machinery; ask for such an amendment of the patent laws that every manufacturer of a patented article shall be limited in his profit; request Congress (we do not know what this means) to select some branch of industry, and appropriate a loan, payable in twenty years at a low rate of interest; demand a strong protective tariff, and a strict enforcement of the eight-hour law; require Congress to pass stringent usury laws; condemn "store-order" systems, and the prison-contract system of labor; ask the enactment of laws to give money due for labor precedence of all other claims; ask also for laws against all discrimination by common carriers; recommend a liberal system of internal improvements; and urge the enactment of "apprentice" laws. In our opinion this platform is very faulty, because unnecessarily lengthy, and dealing with too many subjects. The purpose of the Convention could have been attained in a simpler and much more effective way by the adoption of the petition which is said to have been signed by a large number of people in Michigan, and which Mr. Howe recently presented in Congress, requesting the passage of a law directing the Secretary of the Treasury to pay to each single man in the country \$10, every Saturday night, and a larger sum to each head of a family in proportion to the number of his children. How long this practice might be kept up, could such a law be passed, we do not know; but it could be continued certainly for a longer time than the country would exist if the labor-reformers were able to carry out the doctrines of their platform.

Secretaries Bristow and Jewell deserve credit for their recent action with reference to certain demands of two of the Investigating Committees. The Committee on Expenditures in the Treasury Department requested Mr. Bristow to bring before it and to leave in its care some original records belonging to his Department. This he declined to do for the reasons (1) that as legal custodian of these records he had no right to allow them to go out of his possession; (2) that certified copies of these records are accepted as evidence in all courts of justice, and should be accepted also by the Committee; (3) that the originals are open to the inspection of the Committee at any time; and (4) that the clerk of the Committee, in whose care the records would be left, was discharged recently from the Treasury Department for drunkenness. Mr. Jewell took similar ground with reference to a like request from the Committee on Post-Office Expenditures, and it is a curious fact that the clerk of this Committee also is a discharged employé of the Post-Office Department. The appointments to clerkships made by the Democrats since they obtained control of the House have been, upon the whole, singularly bad, and would of themselves justify the suspicion that the party is not fit to be entrusted with the control of the government.

About the same time last week that we were writing of the late Mr. A. T. Stewart, a "roaring farce," as the play-bills say, was enacted with reference to his estate, and our comments were fully justified before they appeared in print. Mr. Stewart's will was admitted to probate, and his widow immediately made over her entire interest in her husband's business and personal estate to his executor and lawyer, Judge Hilton, who thus became head of the firm of A. T. Stewart & Co., and the possessor of property valued at from \$10,000,000 to \$20,000,000. Hilton gave up the million bequeathed him by Mr. Stewart, and Mrs. Stewart reserved her husband's real estate. The public is permitted to understand that Hilton accepts this immense fortune with the implied provision that he is to carry out Mr. Stewart's benevolent projects, and his fitness for this mission can be better appreciated when we recall the fact that he was a prominent member of the Tammany Ring in the palmy days of Tweed, and belonged to the notorious Central Park Commission. Hilton as philanthropist, therefore, can be paralleled only by the devil as monk, or by Tweed as statesman. His appearance as Stewart's executor was sufficiently surprising, but his serious assumption of this new rôle presents a burlesque spectacle such as, outside of New York, could be seen only among the natives of Senegambia, or perhaps among some of the officers of our civil service.

Moody and Sankey have closed their exercises at the New York Hippodrome, which the evening following their departure was turned into a ball-room, and a very worldly military band took the place of the choir of Christian singers. The amount of money contributed during the last two days of the revival performances was something enormous, and shows the hold which these two men have upon the

sympathies of a large portion of the people who listen to them. It is the fashion, we observe, for the press to speak kindly of these evangelists and their work, and the assurances that they really do a great deal of good are almost unanimous. If this be true, we can only deplore the existence and the denseness of the ignorance which can be benefited by their efforts. Mr. Moody's sermons, those at least which we have been able to read, contain a very large amount of cheap exhortation and vehement assertion, and are interlarded with those suspicious and in many instances manifestly untrue stories which abound in the trade-stock of all ignorant preachers. That this poor stuff is enjoyed by and really benefits the numerous thousands who listen to it, furnishes a sad commentary upon our much-boasted public intelligence; and the fact that it can be recommended by eminent merchants and divines, who help to pay for its propagation, shows that merchandise and theology may alike be acquired without great gain of intelligence.

A farm was sold because of the non-payment of taxes last week in Worcester,—a very prosaic statement in itself, but of special interest in this case on account of the peculiar circumstances connected with it. About three years ago Mr. Stephen S. Foster refused to pay the taxes upon his farm because his wife was not permitted to vote. For some length of time prior to this refusal Mr. Foster had been making speeches in which he declared that the cause of woman-suffrage needed a martyr; that it was going along too quietly; that the cause of antislavery made but little headway until men began to be stoned and dragged in the dirt; that woman-suffrage, in short, needed a row, at least, and possibly a martyrdom. Finally, Mr. Foster refused, with a great blare of trumpets, to pay his taxes, and was haled immediately as the coming martyr of the cause. Of course the city of Worcester had no resource but to advertise the farm for sale. It was sold once, a year or two ago, but the purchaser refused to take the deed, and last week it was again put up at auction. The bidding was spirited, and when the farm was at last knocked down to the highest bidder, the crowd, which awaited the announcement of the name, learned that the purchaser was—Stephen S. Foster. In fact, Mr. Foster has reconsidered his loudly-announced determination, has made up his mind that a farm without suffrage is better than the possibility of suffrage without a farm, has paid his taxes therefore, or, in his own phraseology, has bought up the bargains, has compromised with the devil, and has left "the cause," alas! to seek another martyr.

An invention which may bring about a change in the nature of sea-coast defences was tested the other day at the Navy Yard in Washington. It consists of a cigar-shaped torpedo boat, moving under water at a faster rate than that of any steamer, and at a depth which insures safety from the heaviest shot. The machinery which drives it, and which is within the boat, is controlled by an electric battery which is managed by an operator on shore, who sends his orders through a wire which unrolls from a reel as the boat advances. By means of this wire the operator can send the boat forward, turn it to the right or left, stop it, back it, or fire the charge which it contains. The inventor is Mr. John S. Gray, of New York, and the invention, which was tested successfully, is pronounced by some of the naval officers one of the most wonderful implements of war ever contrived.

The Senate did very little work last week. Its principal debate was upon the question of paying Pennsylvania Avenue, the repair of which was finally ordered. It also authorized the Congressional printer to furnish copies of the records to Congressmen at cost price; passed, with amendments, the House Deficiency Bill; and also the House bill defining the tax on fermented and malt liquors. Belknap appeared before the Senate, and the impeachment trial began, but was almost immediately adjourned in order to allow the Managers to prepare arguments in support of the jurisdiction of the Senate which was denied by Belknap's lawyers. The House released Kilbourne, or, more properly, directed the Sergeant-at-arms to obey the writ of *habeas corpus*. A question which threatened to prove a very troublesome one was thus disposed of for the present at least. The House agreed with the Senate amendments to the Consular and Diplomatic Appropriation bill; accepted some and rejected some of the Senate amendments to the Deficiency bill; passed an act concerning distilleries making stockholders liable for taxes, penalties, etc.; and debated at length, and finally passed, by a vote of 139 to 84, the bill transferring the Indian Bureau to the War Department, the act to take effect July 1st, so that, if the Senate concur, we are to have another experiment with the Indians. Among the accepted amendments to this bill was one admitting Indians to citizenship upon compliance with certain conditions, the most important condition being self-support for five years preceding application.

ENGLISH SKETCHES.

BY MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

LONDON, April 1, 1876.

I promised last week to give the readers of THE INDEX an account of the reception accorded to Moncure D. Conway on his return from America, and I now redeem my word. The place was South Place Chapel, Finsbury; the time, Monday, March 27. Americans well know how great is the influence exerted by Mr. Conway in the English capital. His

independence of thought, his rare honesty of utterance, his originality, and his courage, have won for him a position quite unique. He is a thorough heretic, and yet is in society; he is boldly unorthodox, and yet is not slandered. At his house may be met the intellectual cream of society. For rank and wealth he cares not, but chooses his friends among the honest-thinking, the large-brained, the scientific, whether or no they add to these qualities the adventitious attractions of social standing and large banker's balance. South Place Chapel is as unique as its lecturer. A "Unitarian place of worship" in days gone by, it is now a hall from whose platform are taught the most advanced views. Prayer is one of the things of the past within its walls; hymns are still sung, but they are of a transitional character,—the book containing them having many theistic productions in its pages, although these are but seldom heard now-a-days. A very good choir leads the singing, and an anthem forms part of the "service." The "lessons" are drawn from Mr. Conway's *Sacred Anthology*, or from any of the writings of great moral teachers, elder or modern, from Plato to Emerson. The lecture is the great attraction of the whole, and is a discourse on some ethical point, some political question, some sign of the onward movement of the age, some struggle of the dying superstition; now and then it will be some quaintly fanciful subject, embellished with delicate humor and much poetico-artistic antiquarian lore. Mr. Conway's most salient features are an intense and bitter hatred against Christianity, as one of the slaveries of the world; an indignant passion against everything that savors of tyranny or of injustice; an enthusiastic devotion to his ideal of progress; and a deep interest in, and reverence for, the scientific researches of the day. His thought is well described by the word "artistic," as he shrinks much from crude or from harsh forms of thought. In the Stuart's days he would have been a Puritan from conviction, and would have followed Cromwell against Charles; but he would have shuddered inwardly at the rough outside of the hero-captain, would have revolted against the cant of his comrades, and would have lamented that to their solid worth there was not joined the chivalrous grace of Buckingham and the delicate poesy of George Herbert.

The chapel on Monday evening was well filled with smiling faces; and when Mr. and Mrs. Conway appeared, the applause was both loud and long. It was remarked that the former was looking wonderfully well, and appeared to be all the better for the breath of native air. South Place thanks you, American friends, for treating its favorite so well, although it would have grudged him to you, if your clasp had been so tight as to keep him away from his English home. And here let me say that much anxiety has been felt lest Mr. Conway should return to the land of his birth and permanently settle there. We have all felt that the work he has carried on here is too important to be allowed to lapse, and that it would suffer if confided into strange hands. The tendrils which through years have learned to cling round a tree cannot roughly be torn away without injury to both; and when a man's name has become identified with a movement, he, to a certain extent, belongs to that movement, and is bound to consider its welfare in any course open to him. We rejoice that Mr. Conway has determined to remain at his post, and we cannot but feel that, in so deciding, he has done what those who honor him most expected that he would do. Mrs. Conway leaning on her husband's arm, looked her best and brightest, and that is saying much. She is as great a favorite as her husband, uniting the most thorough boldness and honesty with very perfect and gentle womanliness. I know of no woman who is, at once, so charming a woman, and so true, right through. What Mrs. Conway thinks right, that she will do, let who will say nay; and if the world growls, the world may smooth down again, for turn for it will she by no means. The consequence is that she is very much respected, and has considerable influence. On this special evening she looked her most attractive, dressed with delicate taste, and holding in her hand a magnificent bouquet of roses and ferns, presented to her by a number of young ladies connected with South Place.

Mr. Hickson, the Treasurer of the South Place Chapel Committee, was the chairman of the evening, and was entrusted with a handsomely illuminated address of welcome, which, after reading aloud, he presented to Mr. Conway. I do not know if THE INDEX can spare room for the text, which ran as follows:—

ADDRESS TO MR. MONCURE D. CONWAY ON HIS RETURN FROM AMERICA.

Str,—Among the numerous friends who hail your safe return to England with heartfelt gratification, the members of the two societies over which you have presided so many years in London are anxious to give full expression to the enthusiasm and hope which animate them upon once again welcoming your presence in their midst.

They will be glad to receive the assurance, for which your interesting communications from America have, in a measure, prepared them, that the pleasing anticipations with which you started have been more than realized; and that you have reaped in the land of your birth the happiness which springs from the renewal of genial intercourse with kindred and early friends, and from the recognition of a marked progress in the intellectual and social condition of your countrymen.

It is their hope and belief that your addresses have contributed to the elevation and advancement of freethought in America, by inciting its followers to persevere faithfully in the manly course upon which they have entered, and by affording encouragement to those who may fear lest, in the earnest pursuit of truth, restraints should be weakened which have been considered necessary to the welfare of the human race.

It would, indeed, have been surprising had your reception by your compatriots been less enthusiastic, remembering, as they must, your sacrifices for conscience' sake, and for principles which, however obnoxious in years gone by, are now seen by them to have been the highest inspirations

of an enlightened mind. But some degree of pride may be pardoned in recalling that in England you found absolute freedom of utterance and opportunity for literary effort.

They well know that there have been times when you would gladly have spared old and honored friends a shock to their religious sensibilities, from the infliction of which, at the call of duty, in the spirit of a true reformer, you dared not shrink.

In the honor conferred upon you by the overtures emanating from the most liberal society in the intellectual centre of the New World, which singled you out as the most worthy successor to one of the greatest religious teachers of modern times—Theodore Parker,—they see reflected the high admiration, so keenly entertained here, of the importance of the work done by you in this country. Here, too, it is recognized that you have manfully walked in the footsteps, and are a worthy pupil of that brave and good man.

Gratulations were high yielding to apprehension lest an even greater need, a higher duty, and a wider field, should have claimed your future efforts, and called you from among them.

They dare not selfishly stand in the way of your personal and family prosperity; they hope, notwithstanding, that you will recognize the great work that lies before you in this country, the promotion of which must receive a serious check should you withdraw from its leadership. Already the results achieved, but yet to be consolidated, give promise, under well-sustained endeavor, of ripening into national importance; and the time appears at hand when, with increased numbers and resources, this aspiration may be realized.

Your return is hailed no less as a pleasing augury of the advancement of religious progress in England, than as a pledge of international good-will between liberal thought on both sides of the Atlantic; and it is earnestly hoped that the happiness experienced in rejoining the home you have built up in the Old Country may be heightened by this inadequate, but sincere expression of a most fervent welcome, and that your temporary absence may but have served to strengthen the tie which has grown under united efforts in a high and exalted cause.

LONDON, the 27th of March, 1876.

I extract the following report of Mr. Conway's speech from the *National Reformer*, the only paper that has given a full account of the proceedings:—

Mr. Conway, on commencing his reply, was welcomed by cheering, repeated again and again, until the building almost shook with the rounds of applause. When silence was at length restored, he said that it afforded him much pleasure to see his friends again, and he could not help expressing his thankfulness to them for their more than friendly greeting and their kindly address. He felt it hard to realize that his absence had only been measured by months, so long had it seemed to him even in happy days, separated from home and from the work that he loved. Specially had he thought of them on the Sundays, and wondered what they were doing, and what they were hearing here. Some of the lectures had been forwarded to him, and he had read them in the far West, and had rejoiced at the strong and able teaching which they were receiving. He was glad to tell them that his visit had fulfilled the main purposes for which he went. He had spent some very happy weeks in the scenes where his boyhood had passed. With the Virginians, blood was much thicker than water, and their love for the land of their birth was very passionate. He felt that he had reinforced his whole life, as he sat there beside his aged parents, and found that the old love was as strong as ever, and the old ties were binding still. In Cincinnati, too, he had met many old friends belonging to that noble and gallant church which had supported him in days when it was not so easy to assail supernaturalism as it was to-day. He had tried to tell Americans something of the method of progress here, and of the great leaders of men. He had told them, also, somewhat of that personage who had lately come into English courts, which did not seem to think much of him, which had even seemed inclined to doubt his existence; that personage known as the devil, who, during his absence, had been non-suited with costs. He had tried to carry into the West some of that information which he had gathered from Orientalists here, for he thought that his countrymen needed to be familiarized with the habit of thought of the disciples of Buddha, and of the Hindu and the Japanese. He had not been idle; for he had travelled some twenty-five thousand miles, and had addressed public assemblies nearly one hundred times since he left them. He had not done much pulpit-work, but he had thoroughly enjoyed speaking to his old Cincinnati friends and conversing with the leading freethinkers of America. He had spoken five times in Theodore Parker's pulpit, and he had felt that, since he sat there as one of the great man's congregation, Time and Fate had marked him enough to engrave on his heart reverence for those great pioneers who had worked such a revolution in thought, and had overthrown the slavery of superstition. When the congregation there invited him to take Theodore Parker's place among them, he recognized the honor that they did him,—an honor not so much to himself, as a recognition of the truth of the principles that he had been trying to advance, and which were the natural working out of the principles taught by Theodore Parker and William Johnson Fox. Mr. Conway then explained the circumstances of the invitation and his feeling of the gravity of the decision that rested upon him, since it was his countrymen who called him, and who desired that he should serve them. He wrote home to ask the counsel of his South Place friends, and when he returned he found that the decision had practically been taken out of his hands, for events had elapsed such an expression of feeling that it had gone to his heart, "making it simply impossible for me to leave such friends as surround me here. So I return to my work, under auspices that I feel to be fresher and happier than ever." It was just twenty-five years since he had left his father's house to go forth to his ministry, and he had since travelled along the rough and dusty road that all must tread who strive to follow Truth; many a cup of cold water had been proffered to him by kindly hands for the sake of the Truth whose disciple he was, but he felt that now his cup ran over. He felt that they all desired one thing,—to learn more of Truth, to embrace it, to press it close to their hearts, to culture their thought into harmony of life, to keep abreast of the great scientific discoveries of the day, and to let them pass into their lives and minds. There was part of a great work. In America, on every side, he had seen superstition crumbling, and the seed they had drawn from the Saxon land was burgeoning out into fuller flowers of truth and fuller blossoms of progress. The work here was the same as there; he had seen and felt it in the eagerness of the people to learn the thought going on in London, and he believed that intercourse would lead to a fuller expansion of the mind of that race to which they all belonged. He had been in contact with the mind of America, had seen and talked with her poets, her philosophers, her men of science; and everywhere he had felt that they belonged to the new era of thought, and that we and they were destined to move abreast in this grand search after Truth. "I have come back with a determination to work, and to do my very best, with your sympathy and aid, to labor for the diffusion of truth; and to that work I, in my turn, welcome you."

After this a presentation was made to Mrs. Conway by the ladies of Camden Town, and Mr. and Mrs. Conway then held a perfect levee, friends pressing forward to shake hands, and passing across the platform in one continuous stream to exchange a hearty handshake of welcome and congratulation.

Communications.

CONSCIENCE.

MY DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

Bishop McQuaid, in his late lecture on the School Question, has laid great stress on the Catholic conscience, and the compunction Catholics feel to have their children taught at our public schools, or to pay taxes to help sustain the latter. Now, sir, conscience is a serious thing; and I believe no nation on earth reverences it more, and is more jealous of the fullest freedom of conscience, than Americans,—a natural consequence of their long enjoyment of this great boon. Legally and constitutionally at least, if not also practically, here Church and State are divorced; while in Europe, even in the freest countries (e. g., in England), they are united, and wherever this unholy union exists the freedom of conscience is practically impossible. The Bishop knew, then, quite well what he was about, and there can be no doubt that this great reverence of the American people for the freedom and sacredness of conscience gained him the sympathy of many a good man for his plausible claim of the violation of the Catholic conscience. And yet this talk about the Catholic conscience is all sheer sophistry, as are, in fact (one or two points excepted), all the claims and arguments of the Bishop.

With regard to his claims for the Catholic conscience, the good Bishop seems to ignore the important fact that there are two widely different kinds of conscience,—the genuine conscience and the spurious conscience, or the "reasonable" and the "unreasonable" conscience, as you rightly styled them in your lecture. The former is inherent in man, and forms an essential part of his humanity,—is founded in, or rather is but a particular mode of action of, his Reason. Hence we find it the same in all men of all times, nations, and climes, merely modified in degree and proportion as their reason itself varies, first in its intensity, and then in its development and culture. As a further proof of the oneness of conscience and reason, and of the former's dependence on the greater or lesser enlightenment of the latter, I would only call attention to the well-known fact that we also find some unmistakable manifestations of "conscience" in animals,—at least in the higher classes of them, as dogs, horses, apes, etc.

Now it is claimed to be the domain of conscience to distinguish between right and wrong; to approve of and foster the one in man, and to disapprove of and suppress the other; to reward the one by the serene happiness and sweetest pleasure resulting from its approval, and to punish the other by the most excruciating remorse resulting from its disapproval. But to know good and evil is the function of reason; to judge of our thoughts and sentiments simultaneously as they arise in us, and of our acts, as well before as after their commission, is the function of the moral sense in us; and to reward our obedience or punish our disobedience to them is the function of conscience. Yet all three of these functions are but different modes of actions of one and the same faculty, Reason. Any one, then, truly conscientious, must and will necessarily also be reasonable and moral. He may, though, because humanly imperfect, also have his foibles, and even "do that he willed not"; but he can and will not persist in the wrong. His conscience will "trouble" him, and he will "repent" and "amend."

The other, the pseudo-conscience, on the contrary, is neither inherent in man, nor is it always in agreement with Reason, but very often in opposition to it. It is also not universal, but individual, varying in every individual according to his accidental circumstances. For this pseudo-conscience is not, like the real conscience, the "inner voice" of Reason; but the combined effect of casual and exterior influences, such as nativity, parentage, society, and other environments. It varies furthermore, and is eminently biased by, the religious (sectarian) education and training the child receives, the religious doctrines and tenets the man believes in, or at least the sect he belongs to. But as every positive religion has more or less of the erroneous and unreasonable in it, this pseudo-conscience must necessarily partake of them, must do so just in proportion to the intensity and honesty of a man's religious belief. As his theology, so will be his conscience. But whatever the doctrines or tenets of the Church or sect to which he belongs may be, his individual theology or belief, and hence his conscience, will be in the same degree superstitious, or enlightened, as the child is kept in ignorance. "As the twig is bent the tree's inclined," is no more true of a real tree than it is of the child and man. The pseudo-conscience may, then, make a man a devotee to his sectarian religion, a zealot, fanatic, and bigot, but never a truly conscientious man. He may be most sincerely and honestly conscientious in this false way, and yet with all his conscientiousness be a bad and dangerous man, and commit the most irrational, immoral, and inhuman deeds; yea, he may even commit them because of his conscientiousness, because his wrong conscience may delude him to believe acts right and meritorious, which are horribly shocking to a reasonable, enlightened conscience. Daily life, every page of history, and even of the Bible itself, furnish thousands of instances of this kind. A man to whom the pseudo-conscience is the only conscience may thus be very conscientious, and yet at the same time most unreasonable, immoral, and highly dangerous for society and the State.

If the foregoing distinction between the two kinds of consciences is correct, the morality of any man, his value to society, and his usefulness to himself and the State, must primarily depend on the nature of his conscience; or this again on the kind of education

the child receives, and more especially on the direction given to his mental faculties. Have, then, the parent and the Church the only interest in the education of the child—its nascent citizen,—as the Bishop claims? If not the sole, at least the first and paramount aim of the Church is to make the child a sectarian, to train him to become a believer in and a member of the Church, and to make not his Reason, but the Church, the basis of his conscience. The Church has thus an interest of her own in the child which frequently is antagonistic to that of the child, and which she ever strives to promote at the cost of the child; while the interests of the State and of the child are identical. Must it then not be the higher interest, nay, the prime duty, of the State to see to it that every child in the land gets his share of right education,—that his mental as well as physical faculties are rightly developed, his reason enhanced, his moral sense awakened and strengthened, and his conscience enlightened? The Bishop, however, claims that this is the domain and function of the Church alone; that the State, in its public schools, does not and cannot teach morality unless it also teaches religion, for "there can be no morals without religion." According to Catholicism, then, morality is dependent on religion (!), and therefore the Catholic conscience is averse to public schools where the Catholic religion is not taught. This assertion of the Bishop is, however, a most egregious mistake or a cunning sophistry. The Catholic, like every other sectarian conscience, must either be in harmony with the one, universal, true, human conscience, or it must oppose it. If the former, it cannot be averse to general education in public schools; if the latter, it is but a pseudo-conscience, and its unjust demands must give way to the reasonable and just demands of the State. The Bishop can now take which horn of the dilemma he pleases.

Moreover, the Catholic, like every sectarian religion, holds doctrines and tenets utterly antagonistic to the interest of society and the stability of the State. For instance, it teaches that there is "a higher sovereign" (Pope or Church) than the State, and a citizen's allegiance due to this foreign "higher sovereign" before it is due to the State; and it claims authority over others, in clear violation of the statutes of the State and the equal rights of the citizens. Is, then, the State to acknowledge the sacredness of such an unreasonable, sectarian, pseudo-conscience, and conform to it? Certainly not! The State is the collective enlightened Reason of the nation, and the guardian of public morals; and since the State is neither a sect nor can have any positive religion, all consciences, even the pseudo-consciences of its individual members, are alike sacred to it. They are so, however, only in the individual as to his individual religious belief, and only so long as this belief and conscience do not bring him into antagonism to the public welfare, whether to menace the stability of the State, or to infringe on the rights of any of its citizens. But as soon as any believer does either, his claim to the right of his conscience cannot shield him against the consequences of his deeds.

MORRIS EINHSTEIN.

TITUSVILLE, Penn., March 22, 1876.

PRIESTLY INTIMIDATION AGAIN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

My dear Sir,—I may be mistaken, but I cannot help thinking you will before long see cause to change your opinion on the question to which the heading of this letter refers. You seem momentarily to misunderstand what I meant, when I wrote that—"everything depends on the answer we give to this one question: In granting or withholding the benefit of its ordinances, is the Church dealing with its own?" You take "its own" to mean its own people, for you ask: "Why should the Church not be permitted to 'deal with its own' by burning them, if heretical, at the stake? Simply because the free State will not and cannot concede that any man is the Church's own," etc. But surely it was tolerably plain that by "its own" I referred solely to the "ordinances," the sacraments and rites of the Church. Just read the question as I put it, and see if it lends itself to any other interpretation. Then glance at the illustration I used of a rich man withholding his custom from a poor man, because the poor man, in the exercise of his natural or civil rights, has displeased him; and it will seem still stranger that you should have supposed me to be speaking of the citizens of a free State as the property of a priesthood. My position is that the Church is no more responsible to the State for the manner in which it dispenses such benefits as it has at its command, than the rich man for the manner in which he bestows his custom, lends his credit, or distributes his property.

Suppose a case. A man is heard complaining that he cannot send his children to a public school. "Why not?" some one asks. "Because, if I do, I cannot have the sacraments of my church." What would be the proper answer to make to that? The proper answer, it seems to me, would be to say: "Well, the State has provided you with a school, but it cannot guarantee you sacraments; and, if you cannot have both, you must only take your choice." Upon your theory, as I understand it, the answer ought to be: "Send your children to the school, and we shall see that you get the sacraments too, if we have to imprison the priest for it." I must confess that I fail to see the reason or justice of this.

You seem to admit, at the outset of your remarks on my last letter, that, if no "threatenings" were made use of, no penalties (under the law we are supposing) could be imposed. Are we then to understand that under such a law it might be legal to do the thing which it was illegal to threaten to do,—that a priest might, as a matter of fact, exclude from the altar those who sent their children to the public schools, provided it could not be proved that he had

previously threatened to do so? Imagine, then, how efficacious such a law would be, and how rational it would appear to make the doing of a thing legal, but the threatening to do it a crime! No one can feel more deeply than I how terrible an evil Roman Catholicism is inflicting on the rising generation, how cruelly it warps their minds and perverts their hearts; but, for all that, I could not bring myself to vote for a law which should prescribe a course of action for the Church within its own sphere of purely moral suasion. If the doctrine of liberty is good for anything, it must be good even for a case like this. Let us not do evil that good may come.

Believe me, as ever, faithfully yours,

WM. D. LESUEUR.

OTTAWA, April 9, 1876.

[We are very sorry to have misunderstood our correspondent's phrase, "dealing with its own," and of course accept unhesitatingly his present explanation of it. The general difficulty, however, is not cleared up to our own mind by the considerations above presented. The "terrible evil" confessedly inflicted on children by this priestly intimidation introduces an element into the discussion which involves the whole duty of the State to protect its citizens from wrongs which are at the same time wrongs to the community. Our main point is not at all met; namely, that it is (or ought to be) a punishable crime to intimidate anybody so as to prevent him from enjoying his civil rights or from discharging his parental obligations. The question is—can the State permit force or intimidation for any purpose whatever, when directed against unoffending citizens? And this question becomes all the more grave, when the whole future happiness and public usefulness of the rising generation is concerned. The ground we are inclined still to take is that the State should care nothing for the kind of intimidation practised, but simply punish intimidation itself, as an infraction of the personal rights both of parent and child. It should stop with the overt act of threatening; if it stops short of that, it refuses to protect its own citizens from acts of violence which are as wicked in principle as the *auto da fé*. This alone is the real point at issue, and we are open to conviction, if we are in error.—ED.]

FREETHOUGHT IN NEW HAVEN.

NEW HAVEN, April 15, 1876.

DEAR SIR:—

Below you will find appended the constitution of the Free Lecture Association of New Haven, which we wish you to publish. By so doing you will confer a favor which will be appreciated by the Liberal friends of New Haven.

Respectfully yours,

W. W. STOW, Secretary.

CONSTITUTION OF THE FREE LECTURE ASSOCIATION.

Article 1. This Society shall be known as the Free Lecture Association of New Haven.

Article 2. Being established upon the basis of a Free Platform, the object of this Association shall be to maintain the intellectual and spiritual freedom of every individual by encouraging and supporting the broadest liberality of thought and speech upon all subjects pertaining to the highest interests of humanity, in all the ways demanded by an age of universal emancipation of men's minds from all limitations of creed-worship and fellowship.

The means to be employed for the furtherance of these objects shall be regular local meetings, lectures, addresses, and free discussions upon all subjects having for these objects the advancement and progression of the race, whether spiritual, intellectual, scientific, social, religious, or secular: our motto being, "A free platform, free speech, and freedom in our individual opinions."—holding to the old adage, "Hear all sides and then judge,"—and believing with one of the grand exponents of liberalism, Thomas Jefferson, that "there is no danger from error of opinions so long as truth is left free to combat it."

Article 3. The officers of this Association shall consist of a President, Vice-President, Treasurer, Financial, Recording, and Corresponding Secretaries. These officers shall constitute an executive board. All financial affairs of this Society shall be regulated by this board. All accounts of the Treasurer and Financial Secretary shall be audited by a special committee. These officers shall hold office for one year, or until others are appointed.

Article 4. Meetings of this Society shall be held quarterly. Annual meetings shall be held, at which time all officers of this Association shall be elected by ballot by members of this Association.

W. W. STOW, Secretary.

30 BRADLEY ST., NEW HAVEN, CONN.

A NEW-MADE minister, having occasion to marry a couple as his first official act, and there being quite an assemblage present, determined to strike them dumb with awe, and so, in winding up, he said, "I pronounce you man and wife, and the Lord have mercy on your sinful souls!"

AN AMERICANIZED citizen was called on as a witness in a case before one of the justices lately, and when the oath was administered he raised both hands and said: "I shall spoke nodding what sin't drew, if ever I hope to die so quick as a minute!"

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Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America—that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country—is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large." And later still: "I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest."

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PUBLISHED BY THE

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AT

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EDITOR:

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT.

EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS:

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805 WALNUT ST., PHILADELPHIA, }
March 1, 1876. }

To the Liberal Leagues and the Liberal Public of the United States:—

The General Centennial Committee, appointed at a convention held in this city last September for the purpose of making all necessary arrangements for a General Centennial Congress of Liberals next summer, have decided to call said Congress to convene at Philadelphia, Saturday, July 1, 1876,—further particulars to be hereafter announced.

Each organized Liberal League will be entitled to send five delegates as special representatives—three in addition to its President and Secretary. But all individual Liberals who sympathize with the general objects and aims of the Liberal Leagues will be equally entitled and welcomed to seats and votes in the Congress.

REPORT PROMPTLY!

In order to lessen as much as possible the expenses of the delegates, each League is requested to elect them as soon as possible, and to report their names to the undersigned through its Secretary. All Liberals, delegates, or individuals who desire and intend to participate in the Convention are requested also to forward personally and immediately their names and full post-office addresses to the undersigned, that he may be enabled to make the most favorable terms possible for their accommodation. If notified early, he hopes to secure for them a considerable reduction in railroad fares, and to provide boarding-places at perhaps half the usual rates of the season.

Donations Solicited!

The Centennial Committee on Finance, having through their Chairman transferred their duties to the General Centennial Committee, the undersigned has been appointed to attend to the financial department, and hereby appeals to the Liberals of the country for voluntary contributions to the amount of One Thousand Dollars. This amount will be needed to make the Congress a complete success, though the utmost possible will be done with whatever is contributed. The officers of the union of Liberal German societies propose to raise the same amount for their convention, and have already raised \$800 of it. The Young Men's Christian Association here have already spent this year nearly \$100,000 in preparation for the Centennial, in the interest of Orthodox superstition; it would be a pity if all the friends of "Liberty and Light" could not do a hundredth part as much for the cause of national development and free humanity! The money will all be wanted (and much more could be advantageously expended) in providing suitable halls and headquarters, advertising the Congress liberally in advance in the chief dailies of the country, defraying the necessary expenses of desired and invited speakers, paying *verbatim* reporters, publishing a complete pamphlet report of the proceedings, etc., etc. What is done must be done speedily, since the arrangements should be completed, as far as practicable, by the first of May.

All sums donated will be duly acknowledged in THE INDEX, and a full report of all expenditures will be sent for publication in the same paper. Remittances should be sent to the undersigned, 805 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. Will not all friends of the movement respond heartily and at once?

DAMON Y. KILGORE,

Acting Treasurer.

I believe that Mr. Kilgore is a gentleman of unimpeachable personal integrity, and that all money remitted to him as above will be faithfully and economically devoted to the legitimate uses of the Congress.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT,

Chairman of the General Centennial Committee.

At the preliminary Convention held at Philadelphia on Sept. 17, 18, and 19, 1875, for the purpose of making arrangements for the Centennial Congress of Liberals, the following were appointed:

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ALEXANDER LOOS,

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BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD,

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with power to increase their number to fifteen. The completion and success of the arrangements must depend on the liberality of the friends of the movement, who are respectfully and earnestly solicited to contribute the necessary funds.

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BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, MAY 4, 1876.

WHOLE No. 332.

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2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fairs shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

Therefore, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF —.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in —, and thereby to effect the total separation of Church and State in fact as well as in theory.

Also to send delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League, when organized, and to cooperate heartily with all the liberals of the country in furtherance of the above-named object.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification for any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

tion. No person shall ever in any State be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious practices shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSSES.

AMERICANS have justly the reputation of great mechanical inventiveness; but the worst machine they ever invented is "machine politics."

MISS SUSAN H. WIXON will lecture at the Paine Memorial next Sunday, at 10:30 A. M. A patriotic poem by Annie F. Brown, eleven years of age, will be recited.

A NEW "Science Hall" was dedicated recently in New York, at 141 Eighth Street, by the Religious-Scientific Society. The First Congregational Society of the Religion of Humanity is to occupy it on Sundays, and the New York Liberal Club will make the Hall its head-quarters.

ALL ENEMIES of a "venal and licentious press" will take a savage satisfaction in the indictment brought against it in a recent editorial on "The Labor Question and the Press": a sympathetic versification of which may be found in another column, entitled "The Sword of Buncombe Hill."

GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS says of Secretary Bristow: "He has done what others were contented to say ought to be done." What better thing could be said of any man? What better type of genuine radicalism could be found? What does religious liberalism need more profoundly than a double portion of Bristow's spirit? May it manifest itself this summer at the Congress of Liberals!

THE LIBERALS of Stockton, California, are preparing to celebrate the Fourth of July in true "Centennial" fashion. They have ordered of Mr. Morse a copy of his noble bust of Paine, also busts of Washington, Franklin, and Jefferson. The model of the latter Mr. Morse has nearly completed in clay. The others he will furnish from models already made. He is making the Jefferson to match his Paine in size, and the two appear to be quite at home in each other's company.

THE CENTENNIAL COMMISSIONERS, according to a Philadelphia despatch of April 29, "to-day reconsidered the resolution closing the buildings and keeping the grounds open, free, on Sundays, and a resolution was adopted closing both the buildings and grounds on Sundays,—only two voting against it." This is the way in which Orthodoxy tramples on the rights of the liberals, who are taxed at the same rate as the Orthodox to pay the National bounty of \$1,500,000 to the Exposition. The explanation is short: *the Liberals are unorganized.*

A DISPATCH from Washington on April 30 states that the German American citizens of the District of Columbia have "issued a call for a national convention in this city to insist that the Cincinnati platform shall contain a declaration against the present discrimination in treaties with foreign nations between native and naturalized citizens living abroad, in favor of taxation of church property, against interference with personal liberty by prohibitory laws, and against any encroachments upon the non-sectarian school system." There is no use in trying to postpone the settlement of the religious questions forced into politics by the present usurpations of the Church; the agitation has begun; all the politicians cannot stop it; and the German Americans are doing their duty like brave men and patriots.

A CABLE DISPATCH sent from Rome on April 27

states: "Representatives of some of the great powers were recently in conference with several influential cardinals, with a view of ascertaining the best means of bringing to an end the conflicts between the various States and the Church. The cardinals unanimously declared peace impossible, unless the spiritual independence of the Church is acknowledged. The alliance and agreement between the Church and State were regulated by the Concordat without either party being made subordinate." This means that the Catholic Church, as an institution, shall be an independent power, co-equal with the State, and not subject to its laws. On the contrary, the American Republic is absolutely supreme within its own territory, refuses to divide its authority with any other organization, treats all Catholics as merely common citizens, exacts from them obedience to the civil laws, and does not even recognize the existence of the Catholic Church except as one of countless voluntary and private corporations. The instant it departs from this just and safe policy, it will begin to die. Yet the Catholic Church is steadily plotting to acquire an independent status, hoping to compel the American Union to enter into a Concordat with it as a co-equal power. This once being won, the Church will proceed to make the State practically "subordinate" to itself, by claiming its own supremacy in "faith and morals"—the latter, as Mr. Gladstone has eloquently shown, covering the whole domain of political and individual life. Can anything be clearer than that the Church is just as surely sowing the seeds of rebellion against the national authority as ever the dead Slave Power did? It is to-day preaching a *crusade against the modern State*; and he is no wise man who despises her power to create fanatical commotion.

THIS EXTRACT from an editorial in *Zion's Herald*, a leading Methodist journal of Boston, arrests attention: "It is proposed to procure and forward, during the great Exposition in Philadelphia, a marble bust of Thomas Paine, to be placed in Independence Hall. If Paine's reputation rested chiefly upon his admirable Revolutionary papers, this might not be an unwelcome gift to the city of brotherly love; but as his after reputation, as the author of the *Age of Reason*, and the most blatant and blasphemous atheism, quite overshadowed his previous estimation as a political writer, the patriotic significance of his bust would be lost. We would, therefore, with proper deference to the tastes of the free-thinking friends of Mr. Paine, suggest that, as Mr. Paine, without any doubt, fell a wretched victim to his unconquerable appetite for intoxicating liquors, his bust be placed in the 'star-shaped' building which is to be erected by the beer manufacturers for the exposition of their flourishing trade. It might serve as the 'awful illustration' if it failed to awaken grateful reminiscences, or lively respect for the original." This oft-repeated story of Paine's drunkenness, which we believe to have been totally disproved, was reiterated lately in the *New York Tribune* on the authority of an old journal of Stephen Grellet, a "noted minister of the Society of Friends." It is ministers, we notice, who are so quick to accuse Paine of atheism and drunkenness in one breath. Now we all know that the charge of atheism is grossly and maliciously false, as Paine's works are delictic from beginning to end; and the falsity of the other charge, if for no other reason, might be naturally suspected. In fact, these slanders, which are so evidently prompted by unworthy motives, deserve no more serious answer than this stanza from Robert Burns' "Death and Dr. Horn-book":—

"Some books are lies frae end to end,
And some great lies were never penned;
E'en ministers, they has been kenned,
In holy rapture,
A rousing whid at times to vend,
And naill't wi' Scripture."

LIST OF LIBERAL LEAGUES.

T. LOUIS, MO.—M. A. McCord, President; P. A. Lofgreen, L. La Grille, Secretaries.
 BOSTON, MASS.—F. E. Abbot, President; J. P. Titcomb, G. A. Bacon, Secretaries.
 JEFFERSON, OHIO.—W. H. Crowell, President; A. Giddings, Secretary.
 SAN JOSE, CAL.—A. J. Spencer, President; J. L. Hatch, Secretary.
 TOLEDO, IOWA.—J. Reedy, President; E. S. Beckley, Secretary.
 VERMONT, N. J.—John Gage, President; Sue M. Clute, Secretary.
 JUNCTIONVILLE, NHB.—J. W. Eastman, President; B. L. Easley, Secretary.
 OLATHE, KAN.—S. B. S. Wilson, President; H. A. Griffin, Secretary.
 DETROIT, MICH.—W. R. Hill, President; A. T. Garretson, Secretary.
 BRIDGEVILLE, MICH.—A. G. Eastman, President; F. R. Knowles, Secretary.
 OMAHA, MO.—R. F. Thompson, President; M. Roderick, Secretary.
 BATH, ME.—F. G. Barker, President; C. Rhodes, Secretary.
 BERLIN, WIS.—President, J. D. Walter; Secretary, J. D. Kruschke.
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 NEW YORK, N.Y.—J. B. Brown, President; D. M. Bennett, Secretary.
 ST. JOSEPH, MO.—P. V. Wise, President; T. H. Kennedy, Secretary.
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The Bible with Reference to Recent Archaeological Discoveries.

TRANSLATED FROM THE "REVUE DES DEUX MONDES" BY KATE NEWELL DOGGETT.

BY JULES SOURY.

[CONCLUDED FROM LAST WEEK.]

After the religious terror of the reign of Josiah, polytheism, and especially the worship of Baal, was renewed with incomparable splendor, attested by every page of Habakkuk, Zechariah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. "O Judah," cries Jeremiah in the reign of Joachim, "the number of thy gods is as many as of thy cities. As many streets as there are in Jerusalem, so many altars hast thou raised to infamy, altars of incense to Baal." The prophets of Samaria more than ever prophesied in the name of Baal. The more intimate relations of the Hebrews with Phoenicia, Egypt, Assyria, the exchange of religious ideas, the profound scepticism of the sages who, like the author of the book of Job, hardly believed in the necessary dependence of happiness upon piety, and for whom Jehovah, his heaven and his Satan, were only poetical figures, all seemed to conspire together towards the annihilation of the work of the great religious reformers of the eighth and seventh centuries. Happy to exist, careless of the future, gayly drinking his wine under the trellis, accompanied by the Bacchic songs and lascivious dances of the daughters of Syria (Amos v., 5; Isaiah v., 12), the voluptuous sons of Jacob became so profoundly pagan that the prophet, despairing of triumphing over the inveterate habits of idolatry, exclaimed in his discouragement: "Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots?" (Jer. xiii., 23.)

Those who have read the Bible, particularly the old books, know that in them we are always meeting people ascending to the "high places," or descending from them, prophets or seers at their head, with players upon the flute, the lute, the harp, and the cymbals. Every hill shaded by a thicket of trees, a wood of oak, or terebinth, was a "high place," a *bāmāh*, where was set up the pillar of Baal beside the (Ez. xx., 29) stake of Asherah. We have spoken of these blocks of stone set up upon the mountains, to which were attached certain legends of the mythologic and heroic times. Sanctuaries were built upon these mountains. Priests sacrificed there. There the people ascended to offer victims and incense to Jehovah and other divinities, especially to Baal and Asherah. This continued to the reign of Josiah, or rather to the epoch of the captivity, 586. In the time of Samuel the most famous "high places" were Ramah, Gilgal, Bethel, and Mizpah. Often the sanctuary of the "high place" was not a temple of stone, but a simple tent. Upon the altars of Baal were set up cippi of stone, images of the sun having the form of a cone or of a pyramid, and typifying flames. The mention of these columns is almost always ac-

companied by that of the Asherim, symbols of Asherah.

The mountain was Baal's, the wood Asherah's. Baal, or Bel, was the "lord," the "master of heaven"; Baal-Schammam, as all the peoples of Semitic race called him, like the Homeric Apollo, is the god who darts afar his arrows; Baal-Schillekh is the "flaming lord"; Baal-Hamman, as he is called in the inscriptions, is, in one word, the sun (II. Kings xxiii., 5), no longer considered as Molech, the god of destruction and death in the universe, but as father of life, as supreme dispenser of light and heat, as principle and cause of the renewal which every year covers the earth with a luxuriant vegetation.

It is this god, the ancient Baal, or Belitan, to whom the city of Itanos, in Crete, referred its foundation, whom the most ancient Phœnician colonies worshipped. They placed their cities under his protection, and called him Melkarth, "lord of the city." Upon the Babylonian cylinders Bel, father of the gods, holds the circle, the symbol of eternity. Among the Hebrews, to Baal was attributed the influence which the sun exercises upon vegetation and the fruits of the earth, the wheat, the vine, the olive, the fig. Cities of the sun, veritable Heliopolises, were not rare in Palestine. In Syria the worship of the prophet Elias, thanks to the similarity of names, in many places replaced the worship of the sun. The Dahites had openly adopted this latter worship. The story of Samson (Shimshon, from *shemesh*, sun), the Hercules of their tribe, is a solar myth. Upon the obelisk of Salmezar III, the sun is called lord of the celestial legions, and the word used in the inscription to signify legions corresponds to the Hebrew word *Teebāth*, "armies," so often in the Bible united to the name of Jehovah.

The Jehovah, *Teebāth*, of the Hebrews is the sun, the dazzling orb that rules the heavenly host, the moon, the planets, and the stars, which, after the primitive signification of the grand solar myths was lost among the Semites as among the Aryans, was worshipped at Jerusalem in the temple of Jehovah. Ezekiel shows us the worshippers of the sun, the face turned towards the East, prostrate between the porch and the altar. The emblems of the god at Jerusalem were those horses and chariots which the kings of Judah had placed at the entrance of the temple (Ez. viii., 16; Deut. iv., 19; II. Kings xxiii., 11).

Inferior to the ancient Baal, ordinarily designated in the Bible by the word *hab-baal*, with the article, there is a younger Baal who, under a thousand diverse forms, represents the special and varied action of the sun upon the earth. According to the distinctive characteristic attributed to him by the popular faith, the god bore a different surname. Thence those innumerable Baals in the kingdoms of Israel and Judah to which the prophet refers. "As many as are thy cities, so many are thy gods, O Judah," (Jer. xl., 13). In Phœnicia also, as Renan has shown, every city, every corner of a city, had its worship, which often differed only in words from the neighboring worship, but those words were important. *Nomina, nomina*. Thus Baal-Berith, adored at Sichem, was the titular god, or Baal, of the political alliance of the tribes; Baal-Zeboub (the Beelzebub of the Gospels, in which the old divinity has become a mere devil,) was a famous oracle at Ekron, in the land of the Philistines, which the king of Israel, Ahaziah, sent to consult. Baal-Peor was the god of the wild pleasures, the unrestrained love that rent the bosom of the virgins. If we except the worship of Asherah, of which we shall speak presently, no deity had more naturalistic rites.

As to the local forms of Baal, Baal-Hamon, Baal-Hazor, etc., they are much more numerous. The name of the deity assessor of Baal—his wife Baalath—is found more than once in the geography of Palestine, and attests the extent and importance of her worship. We will cite only Baalath-Beer, or, as we should say, "Our Lady of the Fountain or Well." The inscriptions tell us of Jaribol, or Jerah-Baal, Baal united to the moon, Astarte; Agibol, or Ezel-Baal, Baal adored under the form of a bullock, etc. Upon the figured monuments we find Baal under the form of a bull; and Asherah under that of a cow.

In the time of the Seleucids, at the epoch of Antiochus Epiphanes (died 97 B.C.), they engraved images of the god, which recall the Hellenic Zeus seated upon his throne with his eagle, and images of Ashtoreth with head crowned with towers.

But the most popular form of Baal, in so far as he represents the annual course of the sun, was that of Adonis (Adōn, Adonai), or rather Tammuz. The Semitic religions were familiar with gods young and beautiful, who died in autumn and rose again in spring. In Palestine, even at Jerusalem, Adonies were celebrated. "There were seated-women weeping for Tammuz," says Ezekiel, speaking of the temple. This worship must have rooted itself deeply in Judea, for it survived the destruction of both temples at Jerusalem, and the dispersion of the Israelites throughout the whole world. From the monastery at Bethlehem, in 398, St. Jerome wrote to Paula that "in the cave where the infant Christ once cried, the lover of Venus was bewailed." He also speaks of a wood, sacred to Tammuz, in the environs of Bethlehem. In the Bible this god is designated as the "Only one" (Jer. vi., 26; Amos viii., 10; Zech. xii., 10; cf. II. Chron. xxxv., 25). The funeral lamentations for this Only one were an universal mourning-feast, especially among the women, who, in the midst of the sobs and cries of the official mourners, repeated, like the refrain of a litaney, "Ah! Lord. Ah! his glory!" (Jer. xxii., 18; xxxiv., 5). These lamentations were "a custom in Israel." The daughters of Israel every year wept four days for the daughter of Jephthah, whom the Samaritans worshipped as a goddess.

It was at Byblos, a holy city to which pilgrimages

were made by the inhabitants of Lebanon, who seem to have resembled the Hebrews more closely than the Canaanites of Tyre, Sidon, and Aradus, especially in the valley of the river Adonis, that the most venerated sanctuaries of the god were erected. In an admirable page of his *Mission of Phœnicia*, M. Renan describes these mountains of Lebanon, these smiling Alps, and the race inhabiting Byblos, "animated, wide-awake, good, sensuous, among whom we find recurring types as in Egypt." Speaking of the country, he says: "The infinite charm of Nature leads ever to the thought of death, conceived not as cruel, but as a sort of dangerous attraction to which one yields, and lulls himself to sleep. There religious emotions float between voluptuousness, sleep, and tears. To-day, even, the Syriac hymns I have heard sung in honor of the Virgin are a sort of tearful sigh, a broken sob."

In the valley still exist numerous remains of these "tombs of Adonis," "holy sepulchres," to which the women of the old mysteries, in the intoxication of a voluptuous grief, came, to cover with tears and kisses the cenotaph of the beautiful youth whom a savage beast, a bear, or a wild boar had killed upon the mountain, and whose blood reddened the water of the river. (Every year after the rainy season the Nahr-Ibrahim takes on a reddish tint.) The piety of the people of Lebanon had certainly localized in many places the death of Adonis. At Ghineh, upon the walls of rock, the passion of the god is sculptured. Upon one side a man clothed in a short tunic, with lance in rest, receives the attack of a bear; upon the other a woman seated, in an attitude of grief,—Baalath, the inconsolable spouse of the god of light and life, "the great goddess," the celestial goddess, as the inscriptions of Syria call her; the lover, fevered with amorous desire, who will not be comforted, who will not, cannot, believe the death of the beloved, and who is everywhere seeking her Adonis, as Isis sought her Osiris, and Cybele her Atys.

After the harvest in autumn, when from the heights of ether the paling sun sends only feeble rays to mourning Nature, the *fêtes* of Adonis took place at Byblos. To represent symbolically the death of the god, women planted in vases lettuce, barley, and fennel, and exposed these plants upon the terraces of the houses. Soon, faded and withered, these plants were the image of the dead god. In the sanctuary clouds of incense rose around the death-bed where, upon carpets "softer than sleep," lay the *simulacrum* of Adonis, embalmed in myrrh, and pungent perfumes and aromatic herbs of enervating odor. Later, they lowered the god into a sepulchral chamber. On the seventh day Adonis rose again. Then burst forth those accents of delirious joy which in the Orient follow "hard upon" groans and sobs. Every woman, not merely the hired weepers for Adonis, must sacrifice her hair to the god, or for a whole day abandon herself to strangers, and consecrate to Baalath the price of the sanctified prostitution.

As the god of spring, Adonis had a second *fête* to which the month of May was consecrated. The devouring ardor of June, month which among the Arameans was called *haziran*, or month of the wild boar, was killing the sun of the young year which they wept in July under the name of Tammuz. This month in the Syrian and Hebrew calendar bore the name of the god, which is, as we know, of Chaldeo-Assyrian origin. It was this feast of Tammuz which was celebrated at Jerusalem and in all Palestine, as in Syria and Phœnicia, and which penetrated even to Babylonia. It is to the myth of Adonis, or Tammuz, killed by a wild boar in the forests of Lebanon, that the prohibition, still in force among the Israelites, must be referred. That which would seem to prove that this prohibition is not the result of a hygienic necessity, but the effect of a mythological idea, is that we find the same custom among all the peoples where the worship of Adonis penetrated, whatever may be the soil and the climate; among the Phœnicians and Syrians as among the Arabs; among the Sabians as in the island of Cyprus.

III.

The good goddess Asherah, the Baalath of Baal, less tearful than the spouse of Adonis, was neither less tender nor less voluptuous. Every year made fruitful by the celestial lover, she exhales the joy, the serenity, the profound peace of the mother-goddesses of the Aryan race, of our Demeter, for instance. And, in fact, whether as divinity assessor of the god of light, of warmth, and of life, or as spouse of Baal, Asherah is no other than Nature waking from the heavy sleep of winter. Under the warm rays of April she awakes; she hears the rustling of innumerable germs, the seeds of things which move in her bosom; and while her body, bathed in the luminous air, covers itself with a new vegetation, she causes the fish to breed in the viscous water of the havens, and heightens the ardor of the doves whose nests people the black cypresses. Like Isis, this goddess might be called "Myrionymos." At Nineveh she was Belit; at Askalon, Derketo. Hence, women recovering from childbirth, lepers, etc., brought doves and pigeons to the temple. Hence the ancient worship of fish, very popular in all Syria, has maintained itself to our times in the village of Deschon, and in a little musselman mosque near Tripoli.

Identical at bottom with the Astarte of the Phœnicians, the Tanit, or Rabat-Tanit, of Carthage, the Allat (Allāhet) of the Arabs, the Baaltis of Byblos, the Syrian goddess of Hieropolis, and the Mylitta (Zarpanit) of Assyria, Asherah must, nevertheless, be distinguished from all her divine sisters. Among peoples so devoid of plastic imagination and artistic sense, the gods remained always in the condition of vague, indetermined forms. No precision in the contour, no sensible determination, nothing that recalls the life and personality of the Homeric gods.

The Semitic divinities resembled rather those gods of the infancy of the Aryan race, those divinities without substance of the Vedas, in which Varuna, Indra, Agni are confounded with each other, and in which the god invoked—Indra, Savitri, or Roudra—is always the highest and most powerful of the gods. We may also compare them to the Greek Titans; to Okeanos, Helios, Gea; or, better still, to the divine abstractions of the Romans,—Fides, Virtus, etc. It is very difficult to distinguish with precision the diverse divinities of the Semitic pantheon. In the Bible, as we have seen, El, Baal, Molech, and Jehovah are frequently confounded, one with another. There are, however, at least three distinct gods, though from the distinctions we discern, so to say, only differences in the same thing, modifications, delicate approximations, often subtle, but not arbitrary, and resting, as in the case of Ashera, upon solid historical and geographical arguments.

This goddess, whose worship in the kingdoms of Judah and of Israel was associated with that of Baal, and even with that of Jehovah (Deut. xiv., 21; II. Kings xxi., 7; xxiii., 15; xvii., 18), belonged originally to the Canaanite tribes of the South, but not at all to Phœnicia or the country of the Philistines. Banned by the pietistic kings Hezekiah and Josiah, she had, nevertheless, altars and worshippers everywhere, even in the temple of Jerusalem down to the captivity of Babylon, since Jeremiah speaks of her, and in Deuteronomy, a century after Isaiah, the setting up of her symbol near the altar of Jehovah was forbidden. As we do not read her name in any classic author, we may conclude that the worship of Ashera had almost entirely disappeared before the Hellenic period in the Orient.

Astarte (Ashtoreth), who was never popular among the Hebrews, is known only from Greek writers. We find the Astarte of the Phœnicians in the plural name of the double Istar of Assyria, the Istar of Arbēes, and that of Nineveh; the warlike character of the first corresponds very well to the Astarte of Phœnicia; the voluptuous character of the second to the good goddess Ashera of Palestine. These two faces of the feminine divinity of the Semites appear also in Anat, goddess assessor of Anu, who enters into a great number of the proper names of Palestine, and whose two aspects, corresponding to the two sides of her divine rôle, we may study upon the Egyptian pillars of the nineteenth dynasty. Here she is represented naked, full face, like the Zarpanit of Babylon, standing upon a lion passant, with one or two serpents in the left hand, and a bouquet of lotus in the right; there she is clothed, helmeted, armed with lance, buckler, and battle-axe.

The books of Samuel and of the Kings tell us clearly that Astarte is a foreign divinity worshipped by the Phœnicians and the Philistines. Although the name of Astarte, either alone or associated with Baal, appears early in the Bible (Judges x., 8), it is nowhere mentioned in the Pentateuch. The goddess, however, was known from a remote antiquity upon the shores of Syria and to the east of the Jordan, where we find the village of Ashteroth-Karnaim, two-horned Astarte, mentioned in Genesis. A passage in Sanchoniathon represents Astarte with the head of a bull or a cow. No doubt, originally she was a celestial rather than a telluric divinity like Ashera. In Phœnicia and the Phœnician colonies, the horns of Astarte typified the waxing of the moon. Thence the names of Luna, Selene, celestial Aphrodite, which have been given her by Greek and Latin writers. It was Solomon who introduced officially, as it were, the worship of Astarte at Jerusalem, and till the time of Josiah the goddess had a temple in that city. It is she assuredly whom Jeremiah calls the queen of the heavens, "*mele cheth ha-schaimaim*." The prophet depicts the children gathering wood, the fathers lighting the fire, and the women kneading the dough to make the cakes of the sacrifice which they offered, with libations and incense, to the goddess. What were "the blessings of the moon" which the Israelites still recite from the sixth to the seventh day of each new moon, in the evening at moonrise, but a relic of this old nature-worship? They repeat thrice, "Let that be a good omen for us and for all Israel." In addressing this prayer to the new moon, the Israelite stretches out his hands towards it, and, with eyes fixed upon the heavenly crescent, adds: "May fear and terror fall upon my enemies! May they become motionless as stones! Selah! Selah! Selah!"

From I. Samuel xxxi., 10, we see that the Philistines, who also worshipped this goddess, deposited in her temple the arms and spoils of the conquered. This warlike character is one of the features which may serve to distinguish Astarte from Ashera. It was in the temple of Astarte, perhaps at Askalon, where was the oldest temple of the goddess, that the arms of Saul were placed, while, according to the chronicle, the head of the hero was sent to the temple of Dagon. This strange god, whose name clearly indicates his character and form (dog, fish), had famous temples, served by a great number of priests at Ashdod, Gaza, Askalon, etc. The names of places, Kephar-Dagon, Beth-Dagon, prove that his worship was widely diffused in Palestine in the time of the Judges. It is now known that this god is, with Marduk, one of the secondary forms of the Demiurge Bel of Babylon. Dagon's head was crowned with the tiara; both hands were free, not attached to the body, which from the trunk to the lower extremity represented the tail of a fish. This god is found upon the Phœnician medals, the bass-reliefs of Nineveh, and the Babylonian cylinders. The assessor goddess Derketo had the same form. They are Semitic divinities of very great antiquity, whose nature could not well be determined till after an immediate study of the monuments of Nineveh and Babylon.

As to Ashera, we only know her from some He-

brew texts of the Bible. Her symbol was set up under the shade of green trees, upon high hills, beside the pillar of Baal. As a telluric divinity manifesting her power, especially in vegetation, she was adored in woods and forests. The worship of trees disappeared very late in Syria. If the books of the Kings and the Chronicles scarcely speak of it, it is not so in the older books of the Judges, of Samuel, and Genesis. Every tree, every sacred wood was in ancient days a place of sacrifice. When Abraham came to establish himself under the oaks of Mamre, he built there an altar. The grove which the patriarch planted at Beersheba, where Isaac erected an altar, had become in the time of the prophet Amos one of the most renowned centres of idolatrous worship. In the time of Joshua the holy ark was under the oaks and the terebinths of Sichem. It was under a tree "which was near the ark of Jehovah" that the hero set up a stone, saying to the people: "Behold, this stone shall serve as a witness, for it has heard all the words of Jehovah that he has spoken with us" (Josh. xxiv., 32). The famous black stone of the Kaaba of the anti-Islamites also had eyes and ears. In the time of the Judges, it was under the oaks of Sichem (Shechem) that the Sichemites gathered themselves together to deliberate upon public affairs. There was there a road called the road of Elon-Meonim,—"oaks of the soothsayers." The prophetess Deborah delivers her oracles under a palm-tree. The murmur of the trees serves as an oracle to David. The largest, tallest trees, the evergreens, have been worshipped as gods. A great number of Semitic myths are attached to vegetables. The pomegranate, remarkable for the richness of its seed, was consecrated to Adonis and Aphrodite. The almond which, when all Nature seems lifeless, is first to come forth from the sleep of winter, the amygdala (that is, "the great mother") has given birth to a host of Semitic legends. That among the cedars and cypresses of Lebanon some may have been worshipped for their great age or their beauty, is apparent from some passages of Isaiah and Habakkuk (Is. xiv., 8; xxvii., 24; Heb. ii., 27).

Upon the site of the sacred groves, near the venerated trees, were erected the sanctuaries of the divinities which successively have been worshipped in those places from Ashera, Baal, and Jehovah, to St. George, Mary, and Christ. In the Lebanon a chapel has always replaced a ruined temple. A century-old carob tree, a little wood of oaks or laurel, ordinarily shade these ruins. Sozomenus speaks of a pagan festival that in the time of Constantine was celebrated under the oaks of Mamre. It was a sort of fair to which crowds came, where oxen, rams, and sheep were sacrificed, with libations and incense.

In spite of Judaism, Christianity, and Islamism, the veneration for trees has continued in Palestine. Every traveller has seen these isolated trees to which the inhabitants offer a veritable worship. It is not rare in this country to find them covered with rags and shreds of cloth. These rags have been suspended to the branches by Arabs or Syrians to drive away fever, or to obtain the cure of certain maladies.

In Palestine the woods belonged to the worship of Ashera. That explains why, in mentioning this worship, the Bible often speaks of verdant trees, of trees with thick foliage, of oaks, poplars, terebinths, under the shade of which the priestesses of Ashera observed the voluptuous rites of the good goddess (II. Kings xvi., 4; Jer. ii., 20; iii., 16; Ezek. xx., 28; Hosea iv., 13). These sanctuaries of Ashera were charming places, shady thickets often watered by a flowing stream, mysterious asylums from which issued no sound save the cooing of the doves sacred to the goddess. The symbol of Ashera, a simple stake, a trunk of a tree despoiled of its leaves and branches, was the emblem of generative power. It was also consecrated, as the symbol of the fertility of Nature, to all the sister goddesses of Ashera, to Astarte, to the Syrian goddess, to her of Cyprus, etc. Ashera is the Istar of Nineveh, the voluptuous Istar, called also Asurit, "the lucky," "good fortune." Upon the *stela* of Mera we read Astar-Kamos. Istar has been identified with the Athtar of the Hymyaritic inscriptions (II. Kings xvi., 4; Jer. ii., 20; iii., 16-18; Ezek. xx., 28; vi., 13; Hos. iv., 13). According to M. Merx, Ashera can signify only "the bringer of good luck," the goddess who gives happiness.

The symbol of Ashera was not rarer in Palestine than was that of her divine sisters in Phœnicia, in Syria, in Egypt, and among nearly all the peoples of the earth. These symbolic stakes later became idols, as among the Latins; they were placed in gardens and vineyards. Jeremiah and Isaiah, like Horace, scoff at these "gods of the gardens." Those used as objects of worship were always of wood; hence the words, "to cut," "to tear up," "to burn," constantly recurring in the Bible when the destruction of the *Acherem* is spoken of. The size of these idols must often have been considerable. Of the cut wood of an Ashera, which ten men had helped him cast down, Gideon constructed an altar upon which he offered a holocaust of an ox; but later, under the kings of Judah and Israel, the symbol of Ashera certainly became an object of common reverence to be found in every house. So in the provinces of France we see on the highway and in the public squares pieces of wood that serve as altars for the processions of Corpus Christi and gigantic crosses; while under the porch of the church the vendors of religious trumpery sell for a few sous little Christs of wood or metal. The rich women of Israel, the wives of the *bourgeois* of Jerusalem, carried upon their persons symbols of Ashera in gold or silver, a kind of "medals of the Virgin" of those days, which were at the same time ornaments and objects of devotion (Ezek. xvi., 17). This worship has generally been the affair of women, as witnesses the history of the queen Maacha (I. Kings xv., 13; II. Chron. xv., 16). The son of this

queen, a pietistic king of Judah, Asa, cut to pieces and burned in the valley of Kedron the idol which this pious princess had caused to be made for Ashera. In the spring, as with us on rogation-days, long processions of priests and *hierodules* walked in the field where the wheat was beginning to form shrines of Adonis, represented by a symbol of the same kind.

After human sacrifices, consecrated prostitution is the essential characteristic of the primitive religion of the Beni-Israel. The same was true of the other families of the Semitic races; but we speak only of the Jews and Syrians. Truly it is not without reason that in Deuteronomy (xxiii., 17), a book of edifying piety, written some years before the captivity of Babylon, prostitution is forbidden to the sons and daughters of Israel.

Goddess of the fertilized earth, Ashera was also of conception. François Lenormant remarks that the Mylitta of Herodotus reproduces very exactly the epithet *Mulidit*, "the generatrix," borne by the great Nature-goddess of Assyria, Belit, mother of all gods and of all beings. Considered as Mulidit, Belit, in the religion of Babylonia, was confounded with Zarpanit, or Zirbanit, the producer of germs, associated as spouse with Bel-Marduk. Upon the Babylonian cylinders Zarpanit is represented naked, full face, both hands upon the breast. This goddess, to whom was consecrated the tents of the girls, in Babylonia is also invoked as presiding over childbirth, and her prerogative as Lucina has made Diodorus Siculus identify her with Here. In the inscriptions discovered at Babylon among the ruins of the temple of the goddess, we read a prayer (translated by Oppert), which fully confirms this character. In the same inscription we find the singular of the word which in the Bible designates the tents of which we speak. The sanctuary of Zarpanit was a sort of caravansary, a large building furnished with cells. Cells of the same kind, serving the same purpose, existed at Jerusalem in the very temple of Jehovah, where Ashera had her symbol, and was worshipped. Josiah demolished the houses of the prostitutes which were in the temple of Jehovah, where the women wove tents for Ashera (II. Kings xxvii., 7).

The prostitutes were of both sexes. The men were called *kedeschim*, the women *kedeschoth*; that is, "set apart, devoted, consecrated." From Deuteronomy we learn that both brought to the treasury of the temple of Jehovah the proceeds of their prostitution. That paid in part the expenses of the worship at Jerusalem, as at Byblos, Carthage, Paphos, Hieropolis. These expenses must have been enormous, if we may judge from the sumptuous character of the religious ceremonies, and the almost infinite number of priests of all ranks, and slaves of both sexes. At Comana, in Cappadocia, Strabo saw not less than six thousand of them. In Armenia and the neighboring countries, where the worship of Anaitis, the Babylonian Anat, wife of Anu, ascending towards the North with the influence of the Chaldeo-Assyrian civilization, had reached a development as considerable as at Comana in Cappadocia, at Comana in Pontus, and at Zela, the goddess possessed around her temple a vast territory, cultivated by numerous *hierodules*,—consecrated slaves or serfs of the goddess. The worship of Anaitis was accompanied by prostitutions similar to those of Babylon.

There were different classes of priests. At the head of the hierarchy a high priest, next in rank to the king, as at Comana in Cappadocia, which office was often hereditary, as among the Hebrews, in Phœnicia, at Paphos; next came the priests and *theopores*,—the divinely inspired; then those who, like the Levites of Israel, fulfilled inferior functions in the temple, the singers, the players upon the flute, harp, etc.; those who cut down and split the wood for the pyres upon which the flesh of the victims was burned; those who brought water for the lustrations; finally, the *nethinim*, or slaves, of the temple. The priests of every important sanctuary possessed as their own one or several cities, with a considerable domain, whose population, laborers, or shepherds were vassals of the temple. We know that the Levites could reside in a great number of cities situated in the territory of the tribes of Israel, with the right of pasturage outside the walls of each of these cities. They possessed forty-two cities, and six cities of refuge. They also levied tithes of the fruits of the fields and gardens, and of domestic animals.

Among the priests some lived in the temple; others worked here and there in the fields and cities, taking service where they found it (Jud. xvii., 18). For in ancient days every head of a family who could maintain one or several priests in his family did not fail to do so. Micah bought one, a Bethlehemite of Judah, for ten pieces of silver a year. Micah had under his roof an idol of brass, doubtless a bull, an ephod, and teraphim (I. Sam. xix., 13-18; Jud. xvii., 3-6; xviii., 17-20; Zech. x., 2; I. Sam. xv., 22, 23; II. Kings xxiii., 24; Ezra xxi., 19), so that to the people of the country his house was a house of the gods,—Beth-Elohim. But the bands of *hierodules* were composed above all of *kedeschim*. Several times expelled from the kingdom of Judah by pietistic princes, like Asa and Josaphat, they were still there in great numbers in the last days of the kings, since in Deuteronomy they are pointed out as living in the temple itself, at Jerusalem. The Sacred Book gives to these devotees of Ashera the significant name of "dogs." These consecrated *cinéti* wore women's garments of brilliant colors; about the head they wore a turban of linen or yellow silk; they painted the face and put antimony around the eyes. Who does not know the myth of Hercules and Omphale? Who does not know that the union of Adonis and Astarte was figured by hermaphrodite representations? The Aphrodite of Cyprus had a beard upon the chin. Hence the prohibition in Deut. xxii., 5: "A woman shall not wear that which pertaineth

unto a man; neither shall a man put on a woman's garment."

These *kedeschim* went through the cities and villages, preceded by trumpeters and flute-players. With arms naked to the shoulder, they brandished knives, whips garnished with little bones—a sort of scourge,—and danced in the streets to the sound of a savage music of flutes, rattles, citherns, fifes, cymbals, and tabors. Reaching the court of a farm-house, or a public square, they filled the air with cries, and, with head thrown back and neck twisted, cut their arms with the knives. The most infuriated of the band, dripping with blood, began to prophesy (I. Kings xviii., 28). The whole ended with alms-begging, by which the *kedeschim* collected figs, oil, cheese, and bits of money. The female slaves, the *kedeschoth*, also roamed through the country playing the psaltery, cymbals, and double flute. The Syrian women of antiquity had the reputation of being good musicians. These *bayaderes* seem to have been very numerous in the cities of Phœnicia and Judea. Isaiah xxiii., 16, has preserved for us a fragment of a popular song of which they were the subject: "Take an harp, go about the city, thou harlot that hast been forgotten; make sweet melody, sing many songs, that thou mayest be remembered."

We have tried to demonstrate that the primitive religion of the children of Israel, like that of Chaldeæ and Assyria, was a naturalistic religion, in which the sidereal element dominated. And yet we have said nothing of the worship of the stars and constellations of the zodiac in "celestial mansions," which the people of Jehovah adored upon the terraces of the houses and in the courts of the temple of Jerusalem, as they were worshipped on the shores of the Euphrates and Tigris. Among the divinities which in the Chaldeo-Assyrian religious system are placed below Bel, we find the god of fate, Menn, associated with the goddess of fortune, Gad, of whom Isaiah speaks; Bau, who is evidently the chaos of Genesis; Ueu, the Esau of the mythological epoch of the Bible; Kimmur, the god of the constellation of the serpent, or rather of the Pleiades of the book of Job, etc. We have said nothing of the sacred rivers which, like the Adonis of Gebel, and the Bélus of St. Jean d'Acre, bore the name of a divinity. Bathing seven times in the waters of Jordan cured of leprosy (II. Kings v., 10; xli., 14). We have said nothing of Lake Méron, and the other lakes consecrated to the goddesses of Aekalon and Hierapolis; nor of the venerated source of the Jordan, and the other fountains, equally holy, of Palestine. We have recalled that sacrifices were offered upon the hills and mountains, and that all the famous temples of the Semites were built upon high places; but we have not spoken of Moriah, of Tabor, of Horeb, of all those holy mountains where Jehovah revealed himself in fire to his worshippers. He dwelt forever upon the mountain of Bashan (Ps. lxxviii., 17). He showed himself in all his majesty to the eyes of the man in the thicket of Cape Theou-Protopon—Phaniel or Phaniel—face of El. A ramification of snowy Hermon is called the mountain of Baal-Hermon (Judges iii., 8), and was still in the fourth century of the Christian era revered as a god by the Syro-Phœnician people. In Jewish tradition this mountain became a sort of Brocken where, as upon Walpurgis-Nacht, angels were united to the daughters of men. The Hebrews certainly worshipped Lebanon as a god. Carmel, where in the first century of our era there still existed a celebrated oracle, was, says Tacitus, both a mountain and a god (I. Kings xviii., 32; Micah vii., 14).

Finally, after having studied the divinities of the heavens, the rivers, the lakes, the springs, and the mountains, it would still be necessary to learn what were those divinities of the plains and the forests, those satyrs, of which we read in Isaiah, bounding here and there in the desert, calling to and meeting each other in the solitudes (Isaiah xlii., 21; xxxiv., 14). The Hebrews were familiar with the spectres of the morning, the demons of noon-day, and the swarms of malevolent spirits of the night. The Babylonian and Phœnician divinities among the Jews, and, later, among the first Christians, often became demons. François Lenormant informs us upon this subject that, in the magic formulas of the silver leaf of Jewish origin in the Campana collection of the Louvre, the serpent-shaped demons are called *barbar*, an Accadian appellation of the god Marduk (the planet Jupiter). The Hebrews have in their demonology a strange and truly Semitic monster, Lilit, originally one of the wives of the Assyrian god Samas, the sun, in which we see the night, a sort of ghoul, a nocturnal larva which takes the form and dress of a young bride; a demon of lewdness and cruelty, who cunningly kills children; and leads astray in the desert the belated traveller, watches him in the darkness when sleep overcomes him, enfolds him in its spectral arms, and drinks his life in a kiss of fire.

The deciphering of the cuneiform inscriptions, and the study of the monuments of Chaldeæ, Assyria, and Phœnicia, would offer us many other subjects of profound meditation, if we should interrogate those sciences upon the oldest cosmogonic myths of the Semitic peoples. The two recitals of the creation in the Hebrew Genesis, the tradition of the deluge, the construction of the Tower of Babel, the notion of the "god-law" Thouro, or Thora, the ten antediluvian patriarchs identical with the ten antediluvian kings of Babylon, whose sidereal and zodiacal character cannot be mistaken,—are so many questions of Oriental archaeology whose last elements are reducible to the Chaldeo-Assyrian theology and mythology.

The mythology of the Semites, less rich certainly than that of the Aryans, is, nevertheless, one of those studies of infinite importance, without which we can scarcely comprehend the historic development of the peoples of the Occident. The old nations of Asia

have not merely given us our actual religions. Did not the Greeks who have civilized us owe their civilization to Phœnicia, Assyria, and Egypt? If to us there is an abyss between the monuments of Asiatic art and the grand, ideal art of the Hellenes; if a science empirical and without general ideas cannot be compared with the scientific conceptions of the world of a Democritus or an Aristotle; if the astronomical tables and medical prescriptions leave us very far from the *Treatise upon Heaven*, the *Physics*, and the *History of Animals*,—nevertheless these works of Greek genius and all the ulterior progress of Western civilization presuppose a slow and laborious initiation, during which the Hellenes must have learned to read, to write, to reckon, to measure, to make astronomical observations. Egypt and Chaldeæ had an advance of several thousand years over Greece. Thus it is always towards these ancient civilizations of the Orient we must go back, when to understand what is we must know what has been.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

AGGRESSIVE SABBATARIANISM.

TO THE PRESIDENT AND BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE ZOOLOGICAL SOCIETY:

Gentlemen,—The "Circular" recently addressed to you by the Sabbatarians of Philadelphia, in the name of the Methodist and Presbyterian clergy, together with a number of religious societies, asking you to discontinue your public exhibitions in the Zoological Garden on Sundays, contains statements which are not only incorrect in themselves, but would, if acted on as they desire, be injurious to the rights of other people. I propose very briefly to review them.

I. Under the first head it is boldly alleged that "such exhibitions are in open violation of God's most sacred law concerning the Sabbath."

This is a terrible charge to bring against a set of respectable and conscientious men such as those who compose the Zoological Society; and it becomes an arrogant assumption, when it is remembered that it is made in the face and teeth of both the teachings and practice of Jesus Christ and his Apostles, as they are recorded in the New Testament. It ignores the fact altogether, and by ignoring it attempts to impress a falsehood on the public mind, that all the Church Fathers of the sixteenth century, illustrious for their knowledge of the Scriptures, and especially John Calvin and Martin Luther, taught that the Christian religion, as distinguished from Judaism, knows no "Sabbath" of a single day in the week, but that every day is holy unto the Lord. Who but bigoted ecclesiastics, believing that the end sanctifies the means, could so misrepresent the doctrines of the New Testament, ignore the facts of history, and so arrogate to themselves wisdom and authority superior to all the rest of the world? The "Circular" alleges under the same head that "the Fourth Commandment [of the Decalogue] is of universal and perpetual obligation, and has never been abrogated." But the Sabbatarians themselves, knowingly and notoriously, trample upon the law of the Sabbath as contained in the Fourth Commandment, every week of their lives. For the law says expressly that "the seventh day is the Sabbath," whereas they have annulled it by changing it to the first day of the week without the least warrant of authority whatever.

The Sabbath law, moreover, when it was in force upon the Jews, required, in explicit terms, that no work should be done by man or beast on the Sabbath,—"In it thou shalt do no manner of work." But the Sabbatarians in the "Circular" have the presumption, in defiance of the clear text and spirit of the law, to except what they call "works of necessity and mercy," and proceed to kindle fires in their habitations on the Sabbath, cook victuals, travel in carriages, by steam and horse-power, and do many other things for which they would have been put to death had they lived in Israel when this Sabbath law was in force. Yet, in the face of their own transgressions of the law, they have the hardihood to ask you to shut the gates of your Zoological Garden against students of Natural History, who may wish to go there on Sunday to acquaint themselves with God in the works of his hands, in preference to accepting the bribe of good music, and listening to the commonplaces and inanities of the pulpit.

II. The Sabbatarians allege, in the second place, that "your Sabbath exhibitions are in violation of the laws of Pennsylvania."

How is it, then, that church-trains, street-cars, ferry-boats, bridge-companies, to say nothing of bridge-building, Monday newspapers, which do all their work on Sunday, all pay and receive money for service rendered without being called to account for breaking the State law? How comes it, too, that the Sabbatarian church-members to so great an extent all over the Commonwealth hold stock in companies of all kinds that make money by violating the law, while their religious sensibilities are terribly shocked at an orderly crowd of people visiting the Zoological Garden for study and recreation on a bright Sunday morning? Verily, the men who can line their pockets with bank-bills gotten by violating "the laws of God and man" on a large scale, and yet condemn you for opening your doors to all comers on Sunday, are related in spirit to that distinguished class of strict religionists who were so ticklish in their tastes that they strained out an infinitesimal gnat from their cup of water, while they had mouths big enough to swallow down a camel, hump, hoofs, and all!

III. The Sabbatarians, in their *Encyclical Letter and Syllabus Errorum* say, in the third place, that they "believe your Society has no more right to open its garden for gain on the Lord's day, than any merchant or mechanic has to open his place of business for gain," etc.

This truism only has the effect to show the empti-

ness of the argument set forth. For if, as Jesus Christ so plainly taught, all days are alike holy under the New Testament dispensation, there is no more sin in a clothier selling a garment, or a butcher a joint of meat, on Sunday, than there is in visiting the Zoological Garden, or selling tickets for railroad travel on Sunday, and distributing the profits *pro rata* among those of the Sabbatarians who are stockholders in such companies.

IV. The "Circular" says, in the next place, that "such desecration of the Lord's day [in showing the animals], if imitated, would lead to the virtual abrogation of all religion."

What a presumptuous assertion is this that the sacred and precious sentiment of true religion, which, according to the teaching of Christ, consisted entirely in love to God and love to man, depends, for its existence on the earth, upon the observance of the first day of the week as a Sabbath, in the way and spirit practiced by the Sabbatarians! What an unprovoked insult these men offer to all the Jews, all the Seventh-day Baptists, and all the outsiders, who, disgusted with the emptiness and hypocrisy of the churches, prefer to worship in botanical and zoological gardens, and in the groves which are still God's temples!

Philadelphia has a population of 800,000 souls. It has 400 churches of all sects, Catholic and Protestant, which, if every seat were occupied, would only accommodate 300,000 persons. Here, then, are 500,000 of our people who could find no admittance into the churches if they wished to go! And yet, when the laboring classes, who, during all the week are creating wealth for their employers, rise from their beds on Sunday morning, wash off the grime of toil, and take their wives and children to the Zoological Garden to enjoy instruction and recreation in each others' society, and in the fresh, free air of heaven, these Sabbatarians, in defiance of the clear doctrine of the New Testament, would chase them back again to their homes, for there is no room for them in the churches! Verily, the tender mercies of these men are cruel.

V. The "Circular," in the fifth place, alleges that "your example, if followed, would soon rob the laboring man of his needed day of rest."

What a dishonest and shameless misrepresentation of fact is this! By closing their churches against 500,000 of the people of Philadelphia; by shutting the gates of the Zoological Garden and the International Exhibition against them on the only day they can conveniently visit them; by closing other places of improvement in knowledge and taste,—these anti-Christian Sabbatarians themselves insult and degrade the masses, throw obstacles in the way of their progress, and by breaking their spirit would soon rob them of their day of rest, and prepare them to become hewers of wood and drawers of water to the lordly and unscrupulous rich. For history teaches us that, if the masses of mankind are treated as brutes, they will soon degenerate into brutes in their feelings and ways.

VI. The Sabbatarians in their authoritative "Circular" say they "regard your Sabbath exhibitions as exceedingly demoralizing to the community at large, old and young, by tempting the masses to forsake their places of worship," etc.

But is there any tendency to immorality in the act of visiting the Zoological Garden on Sunday, and studying the animals that are kept there for exhibition? Or, if such a visitor, after leaving the grounds, gets drunk, and becomes criminal, could the Pharisees justly blame the garden and the animals for it? According to this argument, joining the Church and going the round of religious ceremonies on the Sabbath would be a preventive of, or a cure for, demoralization of all kinds. Whereas it is a notorious fact that a large number of the Credit Mobilier bribe-takers, the Freedman's Bank thieves, defaulters, and ring-masters, who plunder the public money by the million, are members of the Church in full communion, and good and regular standing, and distinguished "Christian" statesmen! Indeed, membership in the Church, and zeal in observing its ceremonies, seem to be the leverage which the tribe of scoundrels know so well how to use in gaining the confidence of the credulous that they may the more effectually rob them of their money. Witness our distinguished brother Winslow, and the rest of his class of thieves and liars. Some of them when detected in their roguery, and exposed before all Israel and the sun, instead of imitating the decency of their illustrious predecessor, the Rev. Judas Iscariot, who took a rope and went out and hanged himself, send round for the prayers of the Church that their fall may be specially sanctified to their future use, to the glory of God, and the peace and welfare of our beloved Zion.

VII. The seventh charge against the Directors of the Zoological Society is that "such exhibitions as they give on Sunday encourage the masses to disregard God's right to one-seventh part of our time."

What an anthropomorphic idea of God we have here! What a low and ignoble conception of him who filleth immensity with his presence, that, like a greedy old curmudgeon, he comes chaffering into court with a disputed claim to one-seventh part of his creatures' time, which he feels afraid he shall be robbed of! This is the view of the character of God as given to the world by the Sunday School Union, the American Tract Society, and the Methodist and Presbyterian clergymen of the city of Philadelphia in the seventy-sixth year of the nineteenth century after Christ! Is such a God any more worthy of worship than the Chinese Joss? No wonder the men who worship such a being, and require others to do so, wind up their imbecile paragraph by a laughable attempt to hurl against their fellow-citizens who reject their grovelling conceptions "the just and awful judgments of God."

VIII. The eighth and last reason in the "Circular"

for urging the Directors to close the Zoological Garden on Sunday is, that they "wish to show the gathered nations during the Centennial Year what Christianity has done for us in the way of establishing civil and religious liberty," etc.

If the Directors of the Zoological Garden, and the Centennial Commissioners of the Exhibition shall, in obedience to a handful of Sabbatarians, remarkable only for their bigotry and audacity, shut their gates respectively on Sunday, it will indeed be a showing that the Church, in defiance of the teachings and example of Christ and his Apostles, as recorded in the New Testament, has succeeded in a hundred years after the founding of a free government, in subjecting the American people to a spiritual vassalage which would not be tolerated for an hour any where else on earth!

A. B. B.

A LETTER FROM GLASGOW.

GLASGOW, 9th April, 1876.

DEAR INDEX:—

The second triennial school-board election is now in progress all over Scotland, and proves the engrossing theme of interest. The first election, which took place three years ago when I was with you in America, followed immediately on the passing of the Scotch Education Act. Previous to that, the only public schools we had in Scotland were the parish schools, in connection with, and under the supervision of, the Established Church; and, like it, endowed out of a rate levied on the land-owners in the parish. The Act disestablished the connection between the Church and the school, placed the latter under the control of a board to be elected by the inhabitants of each town or district, provided for its maintenance by a special rate, and rendered education compulsory. The great defect in the act is that it does not restrict the education to be imparted in the public school to purely secular subjects. Unwilling, probably, to incur the odium of such an enactment, Parliament left it to each school-board to decide whether religious instruction, and what kind of religious instruction, should find a place in the schools under its charge; and thus entailed on every parish in the country a little theological war at three-year intervals,—a state of matters which is likely to last for many years to come.

In Glasgow we have just elected our second board; but, before I proceed to speak of it, I shall recur to the election of the first board, so as to put a connected view of the subject before your readers. Before doing so, however, I may premise that the constituency consists of every man and woman of full age who owns or occupies a house of the annual value of £4 sterling (\$20), which is in effect equivalent to universal suffrage. As there are fifteen candidates to be elected, each elector has fifteen votes, which he can dispose of as he pleases, giving one vote each to fifteen candidates, or fifteen votes to one candidate, or dividing them among any other number to suit himself. Should a voter, however, chance to record more than fifteen votes, his paper is vitiated. This is styled the cumulative system of voting, and is admirably adapted to secure the representation of minorities.

Being a new thing three years ago, the first election elicited a far greater amount of enthusiasm than the present one. The churches, of course, came to the front with a multiplicity of candidates pledged to uphold "Use and Wont," i. e., Bible and Catechism instruction for half an hour or an hour every morning, opening the schools, and even the meetings of the board, with prayer, and so on. Every individual who had an educational hobby to ride sought to get himself put in nomination. The Scotch Education League, a body since defunct, representing the more cultured minds, notably patronized by the University professors, put forward seven or eight candidates in favor of religious, but opposed to sectarian or dogmatic instruction. These were willing to retain the Bible, but objected to any comments on the lesson read, and altogether excluded the Catechism. The Catholics nominated three members, and in opposition to them the Orangemen were asked to record their votes on behalf of their hired lecturer or missionary, a fellow named Long, whose business it is to hold open-air meetings, at which he denounces Catholicism, and on occasions Secularism (the nearest thing we have here to Free Religion) also. Only the other day this fellow was taken to the Police Court for impudently interrupting a Secularist lecturer in one of our public parks, and, I am sorry to say, such is the force of religious bigotry here, dismissed without even so much as a reprimand. Lastly, the Secularists nominated Rev. John Page Hopps, the Unitarian minister, a well-known, active, public-spirited citizen, highly esteemed by his own party, and hated worse than sin by all respectable Presbyterians. Altogether some sixty or seventy candidates were nominated, of whom a large number withdrew; but still thirty-eight went to the poll to contest the fifteen seats. In the result, the Orangemen came out at the top of the poll with 108,000 votes, considerably more than double the number given to any other candidate. Then followed the three Roman Catholics. Next came six Presbyterians, Bible and Catechism men. Then Mr. Hopps, followed by an advocate of religious as opposed to sectarian instruction. Another Presbyterian, a second unsectarian advocate, and lastly a Presbyterian again. The board thus consisted of nine "Use and Wont" advocates, and an opposition of six,—three Roman Catholics, two unsectarian religious advocates, and one secularist. Many a lively contest was waged by Mr. Hopps, the opposition champion, and not altogether fruitlessly, as will be seen when I come to speak of the second election.

The publication of the voting at the first election revealed the total want of organization among several

of the parties. The Orangemen had wasted more than three-fourths of their votes; the Catholics might have returned four, or even five, instead of three; the Education League, by running seven or eight instead of three or four, had also returned fewer representatives than they might if they had concentrated their strength. The lesson, thus taught, was not thrown away.

As the time for the second election drew nigh, a self-elected committee, whose names were withheld from the public, set forth in an advertisement in the public prints that, desirous of avoiding the expense to the rate-payers of a contested election, they had been constituted to secure the return of ten gentlemen upholding "Use and Wont," which they impudently stated would preserve the complexion of the first board intact. Their ground for this unvarnished statement was this: one of the unsectarian religious instruction advocates happened to be a Free Church minister, and, as he was retiring from the board, they insidiously replaced him by another Free Churchman, who, however, was an advocate not only of religious, but of dogmatic instruction as well. Roused by this, and miscalculating the increase of the secularist vote, or, perhaps, unwilling to return to the board without a supporter, Mr. Hopps appeared with a colleague, a member of his own congregation. This selection was unfortunate, although perhaps unavoidable, as it gave their opponents the opportunity of taunting them as representatives of Unitarians exclusively, whereas I know personally that many members of the Baptist and other Christian denominations voted for these gentlemen. Again two advocates of unsectarian religious instruction turned up; and finally two more bigoted adherents of the "Use and Wont" party appeared, calling upon the Orangemen for a share of their support. I have omitted to state that the Catholics, with unexampled, and to me inexplicable, moderation, only put forward three candidates, although it must have been plain to them, as to every one else, that they had clearly power to return four. The issue of the contest was that the three Catholics, ten out of the twelve "Use and Wont" men, and the two unsectarian religious advocates were returned,—the two secularists being left at the foot of the poll, although the voting showed that in three years they had gained 14,000 additional votes, and could have placed Mr. Hopps, had he run alone, well up in the list of successful candidates. The various parties had learned also from the first election to economize their strength; for, whereas on that occasion the highest candidate polled 108,000 votes, and the lowest only 433, at this second election the highest candidate had only 52,000, and the lowest 14,400. Although "cast down," I imagine the secularists, on the whole, do not feel themselves, as the Tory journal here would gladly make them believe themselves, "destroyed."

I cannot bring this letter to a close without mentioning one or two of the incidents of the election, which are far from cheering. The first is that a very large proportion of the voters could neither read nor write. The majority of these were Catholics, yet a considerable minority were Protestants, and many, Scotch Protestants to boot. Several of these manifested a curious misapprehension as to the meaning of the ballot act. For while they frankly stated for whom they wished their votes to be recorded, they resolutely refused to give their own names,—some of them preferring even to retire without voting than violate, as they supposed, the secrecy insured by the ballot. One old lady, unable to read or write, when asked by the polling officer for whom she wished to vote, told him to "dae as he thoct best himself." A stalwart Irishman, who had been fortifying himself for the discharge of his arduous duty by imbibing a considerable quantity of his native whiskey, after being in one of the compartments for half an hour, declared to the official that he could not see the names of his men on the paper "at all, at all." He wished to vote for "Long and another fellow," whose name he forgot; nor was it found possible to suggest to him from the whole list of candidates the name he was in search of. Another Irishman, being asked to spell his name, gave it as F. i. n. When told by the official that it was "Phin," he very good-naturedly replied, "Shure you may please yourself about it. There's mighty little difference betwixt a P and a F when all's said and done." At one polling-station, of which there were altogether twenty-two throughout the city, no less than thirty-nine illiterates presented themselves in unbroken succession. When it is added to this that a very large number of the respectable classes abstained from voting, less than half the electors having availed themselves of their privileges, the election might seem somewhat of a sham; and yet, I believe, it is very fairly representative of the religious parties in the city.

Another noteworthy feature of the contest is that, as yet, in Scotland, the press is no match for the pulpit in the matter of education at least. Our two most influential papers pleaded the cause of the secularist candidates, and yet these were left, at the bidding of the pulpit, at the foot of the poll. It is to be hoped that this may not be the case when another election comes round three years hence, and at all events it is some comfort to know that we are to-day by 14,000 votes stronger than at the last election.

Magna est veritas, et prevalebit!

Cordially yours,

JAMES BOYD.

AN INQUIRING Frenchman, landing from the boat at Dover, deciphered, with the aid of his pocket dictionary, an inscription to this effect: "By order of the corporation,—only ten files (cabs) allowed to stand here." He immediately entered in his notebook a remark, which may be translated as follows: "The municipal police are frightfully rigid in England. The assembling of files even is forbidden."

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

THE "SWORD OF BUNCOMBE HILL."

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED TO THE "NEW AGE."

I.

"The Press is false!" cried the editor wroth,
"And has traded its soul for a penny;
If you ask the De'il what his bargain is worth,
He will pensively sigh—'Not any!'
The Press on the other side goes by,
The heartless and venal crew!
All the rest of the editors truckle; but I—
I alone am the Editor True!"

CHORUS.

So the editor he climbed up a tree,
(You can hear the echoes still!)
And lustily sang, till the welkin rang,
The "Sword of Buncombe Hill!"
The "Sword of Buncombe Hill,"
The "Sword of Buncombe Hill,"
He truly sang, till the welkin rang,
The "Sword of Buncombe Hill!"

II.

"The Press is cold-blooded! With ice in its veins,
It stares at the wrongs of Labor,
And thinks of its patrons, and reckons its gains,
And cares not a red for its neighbor.
It prates of its wicked 'demand and supply,'
And dreams of its new corner-lot;
All virtuous heat for my hobby have I—
I alone am the Editor Hot!"

CHORUS.

So the editor he climbed up a tree,
(You can hear the echoes still!)
And lustily sang, till the welkin rang,
The "Sword of Buncombe Hill!"
The "Sword of Buncombe Hill,"
The "Sword of Buncombe Hill,"
He hotly sang, till the welkin rang,
The "Sword of Buncombe Hill!"

III.

"The Press is conceited—has got no taste!
Its self-puffery, Sir, is eternal;
But my modesty blooms like a rose in the waste,
And is well advertised in my journal.
I am praised to the skies, I would have you all know,
But to tell what is said would be hasty:
The roofs would fly off, if I chose, Sir, to crow—
I alone am the Editor Tasty!"

CHORUS.

So the editor he climbed up a tree,
(You can hear the echoes still!)
And lustily sang, till the welkin rang,
The "Sword of Buncombe Hill!"
The "Sword of Buncombe Hill,"
The "Sword of Buncombe Hill,"
He tastily sang, till the welkin rang,
The "Sword of Buncombe Hill!"

IV.

"The Press is ignorant! Day by day
It dispenses its watery chowder;
To be sure, I haven't got much to say,
But I say it all the louder.
The Press is silent—has much to lose;
Whenever it speaks, it lies;
But Wisdom walks in my humble shoes—
I alone am the Editor Wise!"

CHORUS.

So the editor he climbed up a tree,
(You can hear the echoes still!)
And lustily sang, till the welkin rang,
The "Sword of Buncombe Hill!"
The "Sword of Buncombe Hill,"
The "Sword of Buncombe Hill,"
He wisely sang, till the welkin rang,
The "Sword of Buncombe Hill!"

V.

"The Press is cowardly! Whew! At a crack
It runs like a frightened rabbit;
Its liver's as white as its ink is black;
'Tis all the effect of habit!
It dares not say that its soul is its own:
Reason why? Its soul it has sold.
But hurrah for My Courage! For I alone—
I alone am the Editor Bold!"

CHORUS.

So the editor he climbed up a tree,
(You can hear the echoes still!)
And lustily sang, till the welkin rang,
The "Sword of Buncombe Hill!"
The "Sword of Buncombe Hill,"
The "Sword of Buncombe Hill,"
He fiercely sang, till the welkin rang,
With a cannon refrain and a big slam-bang,
The "Sword of Buncombe Hill!"

ASTERISK.

April 29, 1876.

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The Index.

BOSTON, MAY 4, 1876.

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SUNDAY SLAVERY.

The New York Evangelist is quoted as follows:—

"Judge Taft, our new Cincinnati Secretary of War, has entered upon the discharge of his office in such hot haste as to run right over the laws of God and man. He and General Sherman disregarded, not to say outraged, the feelings of nine-tenths of the respectable portion of this community by arriving here from Washington on Sunday morning last, and entering forthwith upon the formal inspection of the forts and military defenses of the harbor of New York. Now, we respectfully assure these prominent officials that they have, so far as their example goes, done both themselves and us a moral injury. On the very lowest view of the matter they are bound, in their official capacity, to do us and our wholesome laws and time-honored observances no harm, however great, as would appear, their personal contempt for what so many regard as most important and sacred. We respectfully suggest to them that their duties are no more pressing than those of many thousands of their fellow-citizens here in New York, who find time to show a decent outward respect for that peculiarly American institution, the Christian Sabbath."

Even the New York Independent characterizes the entirely proper course of Secretary Taft, in choosing such days to travel as best suited his own convenience or inclination, as "high-toned superiority to the laws of man and the convictions of the great mass of the people, as shown in his recent Sabbath-breaking visit to Fort Hamilton on a tour of inspection."

Analyze the offence here pretended to have been committed. If there is any "law of man" forbidding the Secretary of War or the General of the Army to attend to their duties in their own way, or forbidding any citizen or class of citizens to travel all day on every one of the fifty-two Sundays of the year, if they so choose, we should like to know it. Sunday trains are run on all the great lines of travel regularly; hosts of people make use of them; nobody, not even the authors of this insulting outcry, dares to interfere with them; nobody even complains, so far as we know, of the now well-established right and common practice of the American citizen to travel on these Sunday trains.

Why this violent umbrage, when Secretary Taft and General Sherman do the same?

Because it is arrogantly claimed that they are "bound in their official capacity" to observe the "Christian Sabbath." There you have it, in a nutshell. There you see the mischief of Sunday-Sabbath laws,—the spirit, though not the letter, of which would undoubtedly prohibit Sunday travelling. There you see a bitter but honest blurring out of the secret claim of Orthodoxy to own this government, to be proprietor of the American nation, to be the established religion of the country. This is a claim which roots itself deep in the innermost soul of Orthodox Christianity—a claim of a divine right to rule the world. But it is a claim stamped as false, insolent, insufferable, by the United States Constitution, every provision of which rests on the will of the people and a quiet ignoring even of the very existence of Christianity. It is a claim which, boldly stated and as boldly enforced, would raise an immense army in a week to defend the Constitution against the treason which thus aims to subvert the very foundations of the government. It is time for the nation to wake up, rub its eyes, and set its foot forever on a claim which is every whit as dangerous to its peace and prosperity as the now-exploded doctrine of "State Rights." The ambition at bottom is just as sleepless, just as insatiable, just as destructive of republican liberties and institutions. The United States must go on or go back; they cannot balance themselves forever on a tight-rope, or maintain forever the present unstable equilibrium of Titanic moral forces. Every man of deep insight and undaunted patriotism sees more and more clearly every day the absolute necessity of STATE SECULARIZATION to the perpetuation of the republic.

But there are thousands and millions of people who can never comprehend an abstraction, or see that a house is in any danger of falling till the first bricks come actually tumbling about their ears. It was so in 1861; it will be so again. Such people are more impressed by a single case of petty tyranny than by any possible demonstration of an "irrepress-

ble conflict" of principles. But this, too, is not far to seek.

The Boston Herald of April 24, 1876, contained an admirable article, conceived in the very best spirit of American institutions and couched in terse and vigorous English, under the caption of "A Christian Country." It stated some facts which we will briefly recapitulate.

"It is true that the Christians are most numerous in this country, hold all the offices, judicial, civil, and military; but under the Constitution they have not a single right the Jews are not as fully entitled to." After more of the same sort which we should be glad to quote, and may yet reprint, the writer explains that Mr. H. E. Dann, in a letter to the American Israelite dated March 16, 1876 (we are particular to repeat the year, for it is, as some are aware, the "Centennial Year" of American Independence), rehearsed a tale of persecution by the city of Boston, on account of his religion. It ought to make Boston itself go to Philadelphia to attend the Congress of Liberals this summer.

Mr. Dann is only a Jew, only a poor man with a family of eleven children to support, only a dealer in second-hand clothing on Salem Street, in this city. What religious rights has he that the city government should respect? If he has any, it does not respect them. For about twelve years this Jew without any rights has lived in Boston, and for the last eight of them he has kept his second-hand clothing store under a license from the Board of Aldermen. He declares he never had any trouble with the authorities in times past; they never oppressed him. The municipal regulations covering transactions in old clothes, junk, etc., provide that business can be done between certain hours on all week-days, and extend the time on Saturdays into the night. On applying early in March for a renewal of his license, he was informed by Mr. McCausland, the Superintendent of licenses in that line, that he could not receive it, because he kept his store open on Sundays. Following the account of Mr. Bigelow himself, the Alderman who had ultimate jurisdiction and to whom the matter was referred,—although the account of Mr. Dann makes the treatment he received much more harsh and intolerant,—Mr. Bigelow "did say that, as this was a Christian country, the keeping open of a store on Sunday was offensive to the people, and was, besides, contrary to the laws and usages of the country." Hence he refused the license, pleading the fact of the law as his justification.

But it is the law itself which is the persecutor; the circumstances attendant on the refusal of the license are comparatively unimportant. Mr. Dann has always kept Saturday (which is the best day for trade), as the Sabbath commanded by his own religion; he is required by this "Christian country" to keep a second Sabbath also, out of deference to the feelings of Christians, who are not required, as in equity they should be, to keep Saturday as a second Sabbath out of deference to his. Why should the Jew be made to keep two Sabbaths, and the Christian only one? Why should either be required by law to keep any Sabbath at all? The whole case is a miserable multiplication of wrongs—"Ossa on Pelion piled."

Mr. Dann still keeps his store open, but cannot buy second-hand clothing without a license, has no capital to buy new clothing, and can only sell what he has in stock. He says the refusal of his license deprives him of the means he had established for the support of his family of eleven children dependent upon him. But what does the Christian government of the Christian city of Boston care for a Jew's children? Let him "pass them through the fire to Moloch"; that will reduce his expenses, and enable him to begin again in some new business and earn enough in a week, which is cut down to five days in his case, to fill his own stomach. What right has a Jew to have any children at all, if he objects to pay deference to the Christian Sabbath, when the Christian is not expected to pay deference to the Jewish Sabbath? The "feelings" of the Christian public are so superlatively tender that the feelings of a Jewish father and his eleven children crying for bread are of no account whatever. "Let the carrion rot!" says Boston Christianity.

Alas, when will Christians learn to be satisfied with their own Bible rule—"to do justly and love mercy and walk humbly with their God,"—and forbear to lay the haughty hand of power on the equal rights of the weak? Or when will those who hold a better than the Christian faith "remember those in bonds as bound with them," and unite to make the tyrannies of power impossible in a land dedicated to the equal rights of ALL?

F. R. A. ANNUAL MEETING.

The ninth Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association is to be held in Boston as follows:—

Thursday evening, June 1st, 7½ o'clock, annual business meeting in Horticultural Hall, for the election of officers, reading of reports, and addresses on the practical aims and work of the Association.

Friday, June 2d, at 10 A. M. and 3 P. M., sessions in Beethoven Hall for essays and addresses. Morning subject: "Free Religion and the State." Afternoon subject: "Free Religion and the Church."

A social festival will be held in Horticultural Hall on Friday evening.

W. J. POTTER,
Secretary.

THE WANTS OF RADICALISM.

The following letter is printed in evidence that the criticism of Mr. Stevens is not in all quarters applauded:—

C—, April 23, 1876.

DEAR MR. FROTHINGHAM:—

Your striking article on "Concentration" in a late number of THE INDEX is so timely and suggestive that I cannot forbear expressing my general assent to your views as therein expressed. I have in my present position renewed opportunities for studying the different phases of radical religion, and there is much in it that discourages, even disgusts, me. Organization of radicals on some such platform as you suggest, and which seems to me quite definite and yet inclusive, would at least accomplish this one thing: it would show how much that calls itself radical is really so from conviction, and how much from indifference to all ideal causes, egotistic self-assertion, general love of destruction, and mental dyspepsia.

Two-thirds of the so-called radicalism I meet with is a mere cloak for apathy and selfishness. We are weakened by such rotten timber in our temple structures. There is, however, a nobler type, thoughtful, unselfish, courageous, earnest, which needs to be specially distinguished from the mass, rallied around a common centre, and organized on a simple basis for effective work in the cause of freethought and free-fellowship. How miserably weak our radical cause appears, when we compare the lavish giving of Orthodox believers with the stinted, petty contributions of our radicals to their most favorite objects! I know this is not to be used as a sufficient and satisfactory test of the power of radicalism in our day; still it is one test, and a very important one, as society is constituted to-day. I do not agree with Mr. Stevens in his reply to you. Let the dreamers, the indifferentes, the individualists, those who are mutually jealous of one another's thought or action, stay where they are; but let us have some centre to rally our young blood and enthusiasm around, some purpose to enlist sympathy and insure cooperation, or we (not our cause) shall die of stagnation. The radicals at the East, especially the young men, seem to me either helpless or hopeless. I wish you could come to our Western Conference (May 11 to 14th) at Louisville. You would be warmly welcomed. We are to have a visit from some of our Eastern conservative friends,—J. F. Clarke, E. E. Hale, etc., etc. Now if they can make the sacrifices to come and look after their Evangelical sheep out West, don't you think some of our radical brethren of experience and repute might come and give us the right hand of fellowship? Our Conference is overwhelmingly radical so far as the preachers are concerned, and the people follow our lead, even if not always convinced. I purpose to present resolutions indorsing the Free Religious Association tracts, and recommending them to our Western societies. Perhaps we can arrange to act as Western agents for them. Also a resolution of sympathy with the action of English Unitarians with regard to Parker's writings, etc.

While I agree substantially with your article just referred to, I cannot find in the antagonism and narrowness of THE INDEX the broad, sweet, optimistic organ that is needed for our work. I hope we shall be able to start a paper at the Western Conference of a "larger" character. The *Christian Register* is worse than THE INDEX. Cannot W. T. Clarke be put at the head of such a paper as we need? My work here grows in scope and interest.

Cheerily yours,

The writer, whose name is withheld out of a feeling of delicacy at printing what was not intended for publication, is a radical of pronounced opinions and fearless attitude, frank, ingenuous, manly, a hard worker, a young man, and yet of more experience than many older ones,—one of those to whom I turn with hearty hope for the future. His language is sharp, sharper than I should use; but its acerbity is due to the circumstance that he is a practical man, and not a closet thinker. His criticism on my closing remark touching THE INDEX calls for a word of explanation, but a single word. Both he and Mr. Stevens fall into the same error—a natural one, which I do not wonder at or complain of,—of supposing me to approve of THE INDEX as a whole, to extol it as a model paper, and claim support for it as it is. The editor of THE INDEX knows what I think, has known it for a long time, and agrees with me, that THE INDEX as it is falls short of being the paper we need,—is not what it might be, and would be, if the purposes of its best friends could be carried into

effect. The one feature of THE INDEX which I commended, the only feature visible to me at the time of writing, was its determination to do something, to talk to some definite point, instead of ventilating aimless and idle opinions on matters of no immediate moment. It means business,—and therefore claims the sympathy and support of those who mean business. That it is not all it ought to be, is too evident to be spoken. And the reason why it is not, is too evident to be spoken. It is the organ, actually, of a single intensely earnest and vital man, who, being under the necessity, the self-imposed necessity, of supplying material for its columns, furnishes such material as he can, puts himself into every number, and makes every number express himself. It was, however, his desire originally, and is his desire still, to present other aspects of the Free Religious Idea. His columns are open to earnest pens; he solicits able contributions on other questions than those he himself is engrossed by, and laments the backwardness of others which lays on him the duty and subjects him to the charge of making his paper the organ of a single idea. If the radicals would take the editor at his word, and by the quantity and quality of their contributions compel him to enlarge and widen his paper till it represented the Free Religious movement in all its vital phases, they would satisfy, I believe, his deepest desire.

We do need an "organ," with a complete array of stops, and a full supply of pipes. But to start a new one would be laborious and expensive. When a beginning has been made as in THE INDEX, why not carry forward and complete that? With the utmost respect for Dr. Clarke, admiration for his ability, loving veneration of his character, it does not seem to me that he is the man to conduct a Free Religious paper. He is doing work, excellent, indispensable work; but it is only indirectly the work of Free Religion. That movement is for younger men, who feel in their veins the blood of the new generation. The organ of Free Religion should be broad, comprehensive, inclusive at once and exclusive, sympathetic and analytic, hospitable and discerning, ideal and practical, with definite principles to start from, and definite objects to attain, wide in knowledge, keen in criticism, able to stop long enough to ponder without falling into a brown study, and to proceed without losing itself in thickets.

O. B. F.

SECULAR PROPAGANDISM IN ENGLAND.

In a previous communication I gave some account of a form of secular advocacy which my recovering health is likely to enable me to undertake. It was proposed to issue a periodical bearing the name of the *Secularist*. My hope was that a colleague I proposed to work with would facilitate the publication of papers which I thought important. When I found this was not likely to be the case, I left the paper (which had been set up by funds readily furnished by my friends) in the hands of my colleague. I less regretted the step, because articles began to appear in the paper assailing Mr. Bradlaugh. From the first I gave my friend to understand that I would be no party to this. It is quite possible to discuss any difference of opinion when it arises, without personal hostility to any one. Mutual criticism and friendly rivalry, I consider, may be beneficially displayed in the Freethought party. It is indeed useful to set the example of doing this in good taste and good feeling. Without criticism and emulation there is neither freedom nor progress.

In the propagandist experience I have had, it has often been necessary to change the method by means of advocacy. A new paper has often been the only method of continuing the same work under the varying circumstances which have arisen. People unacquainted with the nature of the conflict in which new opinion has to engage, count a change of warfare as a failure. It is merely a new resource such as a general has often to employ in the field. The variation is not to be judged by the tactics, but by the result. The secular principles, which for so many years I have endeavored to explain, have of late years acquired a national interest beyond my expectation. When I first suggested a secular advocacy, it was thought to be merely a new name for old freethinking; it was not understood as a restatement and recasting of principles won in debate, with a view to the better organization of forces of freethought. Since that time secular education has come to be heard of all over the land, and a large public have become interested in knowing what it means. My friends were well assured that when health was restored to me, I should devote myself to this work. Those who so readily gave guarantees to

promote the establishment of a journal for this purpose naturally expect me to go on with the work. Accordingly I have announced that, at an early date, I shall edit a paper for this purpose, to be entitled the *Secular Review*—a Journal of Daily Life,—in which I propose to review the nature of the increasing advocacy which bears this name. The duties and secular possibilities of daily life, as disclosed by reason and science, so far as they can be seen to rest on principles, clear, definite, and independent, are the objects of this new journal. Secularism and cooperation are the two rising ideas of the age—secularism the religion of duty, cooperation the new force of industry,—which attains competency without mendicancy, and effaces inequality by equalizing fortunes.

Thinkers, owning no allegiance save to truth, fought for, and won, the right to speak. Now the world asks, "What have they to say?" Secularism, is one answer to the question. Free inquiry went forth on its intrepid errand alone. The timorous, who never ventured out, now demand, "What has been found?" Secular principles, is the reply,—principles fruitful, guiding, advancing. Glad to learn truth of churches or priests, whenever it appears, secularism does not, and need not, depend upon them; it can rely upon itself. Inspired by realities, it moves by their strength, and walks by their light. It claims to be a new form of constructive freethought, which establishes agreements by discussion, seeks what to believe, not what to disbelieve; holds intelligent sincerity as sincere, and order as a condition of progress; exchanges authority for reason, denunciation for exposition; is independent without outrage, fearless without carelessness, and daring without irreverence.

The *Secular Review* will be no scavenger of the churches, collecting the defamation and narrowness of their unworthiest preachers, or their most imputative publications; but rather giving heed and currency to the noblest thought of their best representatives. Believing that opinions held without good grounds for them are held disastrously, if not criminally, it will not, as is commonly done, regard the adversary as an enemy. It will respect him as an assistant in the search for truth—honoring his motives when they are good, disregarding them when bad,—attending only to his arguments, praying they may be relevant, and grateful when they are strong.

It is my intention in this journal to review cooperation as a new form of social economy, and advocate a revival of labor exchanges,—destroyed by their premature success forty years ago. Replanned, they constitute a form of cooperation, popular, practical, and serviceable to thousands in all large towns, to whom the industrial form is unknown, irksome, or inapplicable.

Another object of the *Review* in question will be to vindicate secular education by freeing it from the perilous, hindering, and untrue assertion that it is atheistic. The editor of this *Review* (if I may speak of myself) originated the term secularism, and selected it as implying and expressing absolute separateness from atheism. The origin of Nature is an abstract, philosophical question, while the existence of the universe is indisputable, and the knowledge of its laws and uses is the lofty and enduring worship of the understanding, by the side of which all other worship, however ardent, is mean and capricious.

The *Secular Review* will not be of the school of the genteel successors of the old Tory Chartists; namely, the Tory Radicals, who, professing to serve the people, disparaged the greatest minister the people ever had, and aided in putting into power the foes of advancement, with the view of promoting progress. In politics it will be, as in most things, wilful, but not wayward, and, if possible, genial. The day of howling is over. The people have carried the bridge against those who opposed their advance, and need only common-sense to possess their fair share of the country. What confusion, what indecision, what supineness, what incompetence prevail among popular parties! To this day no politicians explain to the people the conditions of the ballot. Freethought is made the nightmare, instead of the light, of the churches. After twenty years of agitation, the fifty-two Sundays of the year are still the Dead Days of the working-people, when no work of art or genius can gladden their eyes. Society is encumbered by movements which do not move. Secularism is but a new futility, if it cannot help to alter this.

The *Secular Review* will aim to recast worn-out forms of propagandism, and, as an addition to the doctrine of the usefulness of piety, it will preach the piety of usefulness. There never was antagonism between the sincerity of freethought and the moral

aims of religion; and, now that persecution no longer blinds discernment, the contradiction should die, and the unity be stated and maintained. The rival of no paper, the antagonist of no person, the organ of principles rather than party, this journal will seek readers wherever men of thought and action are found. The total circulation of the three papers of approximating principles does not exceed 15,000. The *Secular Review*, adventurous by conviction, will look for readers among the 29,985,000 persons who otherwise make up the people of Great Britain.

So much may possibly be acceptable information to many of your readers who may desire to know on what principles we base Secular Propagandism in England.

Ever as ever, and hereafter (if it can be so arranged),
GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.
22 Essex St., Temple Bar, London.

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY R. C.

Of the men most frequently named for the Presidency, Mr. Tilden, of the Democrats, and Mr. Bristow, of the Republicans, seem to have gained most in public favor during the past week. The action of the Massachusetts Convention has undoubtedly increased the chances of the latter for the nomination, and the most notable speech of the Convention—that of Mr. James Freeman Clarke—was favorably received by the delegates, notwithstanding its direct presentation of the issue between the two wings of the Republican party, and its evident hits at the supporters of Mr. Blaine. Mr. Morton has secured the State of Arkansas, which sends a pledged delegation to Cincinnati; but notwithstanding this apparent gain, Morton, Conkling, Hayes, and Hartranft are generally regarded as out of the race, while many are ready to make the same affirmation with regard to Mr. Blaine. Indeed, the contest for the Republican nomination may yet be between the "Great Unknown"—the candidate most acceptable to the politicians when it becomes apparent that Blaine, Morton, or Conkling cannot be obtained,—and Mr. Bristow, whose name is daily received with increased favor by the Independents and by that large portion of the Republicans who are sincerely desirous of reform.

The action of the Independent Conference, to be held this month in New York, begins to be looked forward to with considerable interest by the politicians, to whom it becomes daily more apparent that, without the vote of the Independents, the Republican party will almost certainly lose the next election. Mr. Carl Schurz has written a letter explanatory of the objects of the Conference, and some of the most rigid of the Republican papers have given to this letter a degree of consideration and of approval which a few months ago would have been impossible. Very many men believe that at the last Presidential election they were obliged, in voting, to accept only a choice of evils, and that the coming election should possess a very different character. The party politicians would be very glad doubtless to have all voters obliged to choose between Morton and Hendricks, or Conkling and Davis, or Tilden and Blaine; but very many Republicans who cast their votes for Grant at the last election will not vote again for any man whose administration is likely to be a continuation of Grant's with only a change of name. That we may have something better than a presentation of this "choice of evils," is the primary object of the New York Conference.

The Investigating Committee have not made many important discoveries of late, and it is to be feared that some of the investigations are now prosecuted more for the sake of political capital than for the good of the public. The Republicans have turned the tables upon the Democrats by procuring the appointment of committees to investigate the conduct of several Democratic officials recently appointed; and one of the Investigating Committees made the ridiculous blunder of examining at great length a witness who brought serious charges against the President, but who was finally discovered to be insane. Some past actions of Mr. Bristow have been investigated, with most excellent results so far as that gentleman is concerned, but greatly to the humiliation of Mr. Cate, of Wisconsin, who initiated the investigation. Morton is now to be investigated, and possibly also Conkling and Blaine, so that if any one of these should become President it will not be necessary to "look him up" after election.

A member of Congress is reported to have said recently that he could congratulate himself heartily upon one thing; viz., that he had never made a fool of himself by delivering a speech on the currency. Senator Jones, of Nevada, certainly "made a fool of himself" by a huge speech upon the currency last week, and we are very much afraid that Mr. Banks intends to do the same thing this week. Of Mr. Jones' speech we need state only that it advocated the use of silver as a legal-tender, that it was lengthy, pretentious, and ridiculous, and that it completely destroyed the reputation gained for Mr. Jones by his hard-money speech of a year or two ago. General Banks, we are informed, has invented a scheme for a new currency, the main provisions of which, in brief, are as follows: Owners of bullion, upon depositing the same at mints or assay offices, are to receive in exchange deposit-notes, which are receivable for all dues to the United States, and are redeemable at any time in gold or silver bars. The object of the scheme

(which has been put into the form of a bill) is to avoid the expense of coinage, to maintain the value of gold and silver, and to provide a circulating medium "unlimited in quantity, and incapable of fluctuating in value,—a stable paper currency as good as gold." The comments which we are tempted to make upon this specious scheme would take more room than we can give to them just now, and we are obliged to content ourselves for the present, therefore, by referring it to "the august majesty of the people" for consideration.

As no one has appeared before the Committee of Three, appointed by the Advisory Council, to make charges against Mr. Beecher, the Examining Committee of Plymouth Church has requested that Committee to appoint the Commission of Five to make further investigations. Those, however, who believe that the Commission of Five would not be an impartial tribunal are requesting witnesses not to appear before it, but to await further action by the Andover Church. While this action and counteraction are going on, arrangements have been made to argue before the full bench at the General Term the application of Mr. Moulton for a re-opening of the suit of Mr. Beecher against himself, in order that the case may be carried to the Court of Appeals. In the mean time, however, Mr. Moulton has offered to waive all technicalities, and to have the question at issue between him and Mr. Beecher tried upon its merits, proposing to carry it before three referees, one to be chosen by each party, and a third by these two; or he is willing that the case be tried by a jury, to be chosen by President Woolsey, or by Mr. Robinson, one of Beecher's deacons; or that the case be tried before a jury of twelve men, six to be chosen by Shearman and Edward Beecher, and six by two men appointed by Moulton. In one or another of these three ways, surely, it would seem possible to get at "bottom facts." As we write, nothing has been heard from Mr. Beecher in reply to this offer, which, the *Nation* asserts, cannot be refused with impunity.

The Legislative Committee on Railways finished last week its investigation of the management of the Boston and Albany Railroad, and reported to the Legislature, or, more correctly, submitted three reports signed by different members of the Committee. The first report asserts that Mr. Kimball held stock in the road, contrary to law, while acting as a State Director; that his purchase of the gravel farm was, under the circumstances, a "dangerous" transaction; that as regards the Ware River matter, his action was indefensible, and that the same is true of the action of Chapin, who used his official position to further his personal interests. The other two reports agree with the first in all statements of fact, and differ only in being more decidedly condemnatory of the actions of Messrs. Chapin, Kimball, and Sargent. The three reports agree in the adoption of a resolution directing the Attorney-General of the State to take action for the recovery, on behalf of the Commonwealth, of its interest in any money or property in the hands of any officer, director, or agent of the road. The resolution was adopted, by very large majorities, by both Houses, together with a preamble stating that "the President and certain of the Directors of the Boston and Albany Railroad have been engaged in certain pecuniary transactions inconsistent with an honorable and faithful discharge of their trusts."

The above action of the Legislature is certainly to be commended, notwithstanding some natural regret at seeing the good name of Mr. Kimball (who is a member of the Legislature, and who made a lengthy speech in his own defence) thus called in question at the close of an active and in many respects useful life. He vehemently asserts his innocence of any intentional wrong, and while we may be willing to accept this assertion, it shows that the standard of conduct of many prominent men in business transactions and in the maintenance of official trusts, is not thoroughly honorable. If a man can be allowed to do the things done by Chapin and Kimball, and thereafter be commended (as Mr. Kimball's defence was commended by an influential journal) as "manly and straightforward," we should not be surprised at the length of the line of the Belknap and Babcocks, the Averys, Joyces, and Shepherds, who, after all, are doing only the same thing; namely, making use of official position to further personal interests. The absence of a delicate sense of honor throughout the community is shown by the facts that Chapin is still a member of Congress, and that he has been re-elected President of the railroad the true interests of which he so shamefully abused for his personal profit.

But little business of importance was finished last week by either House of Congress. The report of a conference committee on the Deficiency Bill was accepted by both Houses, in addition to which the only bill passing the Senate was one to facilitate the printing of public documents. The House passed the District of Columbia Tax Bill; concurred with the Senate amendments to the bill defining the tax on fermented and malt liquors; passed a mining bill, and a resolution requesting the President to take the steps necessary to obtain the release of E. O. M. Condon, a Fenian, from imprisonment in England. The Impeachment Trial proceeds with great slowness, but the important question of the Senate's jurisdiction has at last been reached, and will be debated this week. Speaker Kerr made a very important decision during a debate upon one of the appropriation bills—a decision which it is to be hoped will put a stop to the attempts often made to pass new measures by attaching them to appropriation bills. The decision, in the present instance, prevented the

transfer of the Indian Bureau from the Interior to the War Department. The House passed a resolution permitting the Speaker, whose health is quite poor, to appoint a substitute for ten days, the rules heretofore having limited the length of all such appointments to one day.

ENGLISH SKETCHES.

BY MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

LONDON, April 8, 1876.

Last night I betook myself to the Royal Institution, Albemarle Street, to hear E. B. Tylor, Esq., discourse upon "Oaths and Ordeals." The subject sounded interesting, and, anticipating a crush, I started early, only to be rewarded by an extensive view of empty benches, and a desert of green baize. Slowly dropped in visitor after visitor, and wandered gently towards some point of vantage; yet more slowly dribbled in a member from time to time, and with melancholy air of suppressed science sank on to one of the dignified benches reserved to the *habitués* of the Albemarle temple. As the minute-hand of the clock approached the fated hour, members and visitors entered in increasing numbers, and at the stroke of nine the hall was well filled, but not crowded. The audiences at the Royal Institution are very select, admission being only granted by ticket from a member, and, it being the custom of the place to go there "dressed," the auditorium is filled with gayly-robed human flowers, and brilliant opera-cloaks of scarlet, and mauve, and white, gold-embroidered, lend an unusual air of brightness to a scientific lecture-hall. The gayety, however, was confined to the opera-cloaks; solemn faces gloomed above them, as befitted the subject-matter of the evening. Mr. Justice Brett was there to listen to the history of the oaths he hears so much of in his daily life; Professor Tyndall was there, in the seat of honor, facing the lecturer as president for the evening, and beside him the lady to whom he has lately sworn an oath of fidelity; Monseur D. Conway was there, "a child taking notes" with evident malevolent intent; and at my own side was Charles Bradlaugh, looking critically grave, with private views of his own upon the subject of oaths, and with a glance now and then at his near neighbor, that same Mr. Justice Brett, with whom he has tilted in court of law, breaking lance, amid suppressed buzz of applause from barrister-crowd around.

The lecture was disappointing as a whole. Some curious tales were told of ancient custom, but there was lack of insight into the root-ideas of some of the customs touched upon, and scarce allowance enough made for possible physical agencies at work in some ancient ordeals. The most interesting part of the whole thing was the fact that the non-belief of the lecturer in spiritual influences was evident throughout, and that, though he drew distinctions between magic and religion, he yet conveyed the impression that they had much in common. He gave many instances of the ancient ordeals; the walking over red-hot ploughshares by Queen Emma, which performance he sneered at, more than hinting that the lady's feet—or feet—were safe enough, the ploughshares being more likely red-painted than red-hot. As to licking a white-heated iron poker, nothing was easier; he had done it himself, and, provided the tongue were moist, no harm would be experienced. (N. B. I would not recommend American friends to put themselves through this ordeal; especially if they happen to be public speakers.) The magic water, harmless to the innocent, but death-bearing to the wicked, probably drew its efficacy from the superstition of the drinkers, while some drug-potions were injurious or innocuous according to the strength of the dose, and the officiating trier could regulate the effect according to his private ideas or desires.

Dealing with oaths, the lecturer divided them into three classes: those which imprecated a curse on the forswearer; those of "conditional favor," "so help me God as I keep my word; and those of "judgment," condemning the soul to punishment hereafter in case of perjury. Historically, they might also be divided into three: the "mundane," the "mixed," and the "post-mundane"; the first being the one common to all savage nations, and the last usual among the more civilized. The old expression "by my halldom" was explained, as all oaths of the post-mundane class—i. e., where the penalties succeeding to the breach were beyond the grave,—were, and are, sworn on a halldom—synonymous with the German *Heilighthum*,—a sacred thing: either a shrine containing relics, or an altar, or Bible, or Testament. Several instances of the "mundane" oath, whose penalties fall on the offender in this world, were given. Among the Astiaks the oath was sworn on a bear's head, and the swearer delivered himself over to the bear if he broke his oath, and might be torn in pieces, devoured by the sacred animal,—a proceeding surely unbearable. Or the oath might be sworn on the sword, which would smite the perjurer, or holding lance, arrow, stone, thunderbolt, or other lethal weapon. The essence of the oath throughout was that the words spoken on oath should be words spoken under a penalty, if the words were false. The post-mundane penalties were imprecated as civilization advanced, and it was remarked that the sacred bear, or the thunderbolt, or the sword, had a bad habit of slaying innocent and guilty indiscriminately. One may suppose—though Mr. Tylor did not put it so—that the post-mundane penalties, being unknown and unknowable, might be asserted, without fear of contradiction, to fall always on the right head. Arguing from analogy, the belief seems open to attack, as no reason is advanced why God's method should be different beyond the grave to that which he prefers to use on this side of it. If he often strikes the wrong people here, why not there? If the evil

are often triumphant here, why not there? If the good often suffer here, why not there? If God be powerful and loving now, he has done the best he can for his children already. Is there any reason to suppose either that his power or his love will increase, so that he may do better for them hereafter?

Mr. Tylor expressed himself strongly as against the administration of oaths to children, the giving of possibly valuable evidence by a child being now dependent upon that child's knowledge of some dubious theological dogmas. He pointed out that many a sharp, intelligent child might be able to give evidence, and, from its training, might know nothing about these beliefs. So far as I understood Mr. Tylor, though he sorely lacked clearness of expression on this point, he looked forward to a time when the judicial oath may be unnecessary, and may well be done away with. If by this he only meant that the oath resting on religion should be abolished, I should, of course, entirely agree with him; but it appears to me that "truth under penalties" should be enforced in every court of law. A declaration that truth shall be spoken in the evidence given, which declaration shall, if broken, carry with it all the penalties of perjury, seems a rightful part of the administration of justice; for society, which gives advantages to the witness, and which may inflict punishment on others because of his evidence, ought, in justice, to inflict punishment on him if he speak falsely. A simple promise to speak truth, with heavy penalties attached to the breach of it, appears to be a process which would be fair to members of every creed; and as civilization advances, and brings with it increasing heresy, as States learn to leave their members undisturbed as to faith, provided that their citizen-duties are fully and righteously discharged, some such formula will be necessary instead of the present oath, and the right of affirmation which non-believers may now claim will become the regular and appointed method of procedure in judicial courts.

The lowering storm-clouds are rolling up rapidly round the Establishment from every side. The Public Worship Regulation Act of last session appears likely to have the most fatal consequences to the Church; for by giving an easy way of prosecuting offending clergymen, it puts a weapon into the hand of every spiteful dissenter in the parish. "Three aggrieved parishioners" are the moving agents, and these parishioners need not be communicants, nor members of the Church at all. If any person of influence, or of money, happen to have a grudge against the incumbent, he or she can easily find three aggrieved parishioners who will pose as prosecutors. The effect may be imagined. Prosecutions are threatened in every direction. No clergyman is safe; he may be beloved, revered, honored, but it only needs three persons in his parish willing to attack him, and he may be subjected to all the annoyance and worry of a legal prosecution, out of which he may emerge condemned or acquitted, according to the half-known provisions of a doubtful and disputed law. No wonder that the clerical journals are full of complaints and forebodings of coming trouble. The clergy suffering just now are of the ritualistic party, but the other school are quite as open to attack. The High Church are talking gravely of secession, of "forming a Unitate Church," or a "Free Episcopal Church." They have great wealth on their side, are very numerous, and very devoted. Take away the High Church, and the whole life and strength of the Establishment is gone. They are essentially the party of *work*, and are the only really difficult obstacle standing in the way of the advance of freethought. Practically they are Roman Catholic, with much of the strength of that only consistent Christianity. They lend culture, beauty, grace, and devotion to the Establishment, and, if they become its foes, the days of the State Church will be numbered. All forms of Protestantism tend towards Rationalism. Low Churchism, Orthodox Dissent, Broad Churchism, Unitarianism, Theism, are all steps in the ascending ladder whose top is lost in the white clouds of the heaven of truth; those who dare to begin to climb that ladder can find no sure resting-place on any rung thereof. If their heads be steady, and their limbs vigorous, and their muscles strong to effort, ever upwards must they travel, step after step. Taunts may strike them from those they leave behind; sneers may pursue them as steadily they go upwards; the snakes of slander may bite at their heels as they climb; loneliness and dreariness of heart may be theirs as still they press higher. But there is a reward for the searchers for Truth only tasted by those who seek her; there is sound of music from the choirs round her Throne, snatches of whose melody are caught from time to time; and at last, at last, when the strength is gone, and the days of the journey are over, I think that, as the climber sinks exhausted, and the clear eyes begin to fall, the sweet, glorious face of Truth will lean from the sky above him, on her soft lips a smile of welcome, in her pure eyes the immortal light which through life has guided her followers, and the weary will sink in her arms, as the tired child on the breast of the mother, and will sleep in peace on her bosom, while she will place his memory as a star amid the constellations which circle her Throne; and he will shine for evermore in her heaven, to guide to her home those still climbing below.

"PLEASE, SIR," said a little girl who was sweeping a crossing for a living, "you have given me a bad penny." "Never mind, little girl; you may keep it for your honesty."

AN INDIAN MAN said to a Bible agent: "I'm a Christian, but I'll be blamed if I don't have to grit my teeth when the Ohio River is on a level with the top of my corn."

Communications.

A VERDICT.

DECATUR, Ill., April 17, 1876.

MY DEAR ABBOT:—

I have just been reading the last number of THE INDEX, and feel moved to make a suggestion or two.

1st. I like "R. C.," who has charge of the department of "Current Events," very much. He is one of the best hands you have ever had on the paper. My advice would be to keep him by all means, and give him all the room he wants.

2d. I like Mr. Elder's article on "Woman's Suffrage." So far as he has got, I agree with him entirely, and think your paragraph by way of reply very inadequate. "Justice without regard to consequences" is a very fallacious cry. You might as well talk of charity without regard to consequences. For in the great majority of cases—this one in particular—it is only by a consideration of consequences that we can determine what is justice or charity. Such questions cannot be settled by *a priori* appeals to our inner consciousness. Experience and a careful study of the probable effects are alone adequate to a proper solution. If I thought woman suffrage would increase the general welfare, I would favor it. As I believe it would not do so, I do not favor it. My own tendency is towards a restriction of the suffrage, not to its extension. But in any event let the appeal be made to experience, and not to some "inner light" which is probably only another name for personal feeling or private prejudice.

Yours,
ROBERT MOORE.
1221 St. Ange Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.

THE POISON AT WORK.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—A journal which is really independent enough to utter any important truth that presses for utterance is, in all times and in all countries, if for nothing more than the mere maintenance of liberties already won by the human race, an invaluable possession. One cannot help regarding such a journal as especially valuable at this time and in this country, though it is true we are apt to exaggerate the relative importance of our own perils, and to underrate those of other countries and other times.

But the men who can believe that there is any abatement in the virulence, or any relaxation in the tenacity, with which the Orthodox pietists pursue their one object of conquering the human mind, must be possessed of a most unenviable credulity. Their efforts are by no means confined to persuasion. A year or two since an Orthodox writer, who chose to remain anonymous, but who, judging from certain unmistakable evidences, I concluded was a member of the faculty of the Orthodox Theological School at Meadville, in this State, undertook to defend the common school against the charge of fostering infidelity. The only point in this defence to which I wish to call attention was this: The writer declared without the least pretence at disguise that, if the common schools did not inculcate Orthodox Christianity, it was the fault of the Christians of the community, who, being everywhere in the majority, could in all cases secure the appointment of godly teachers, to the utter exclusion of every applicant tainted with a faulty theology. He added, by way of proving his assertion, that in Meadville, out of twenty-two teachers employed in the public schools, twenty were members of the various Orthodox churches. The remaining two were, I presume, regarded as in a hopeful state, a very fair inference, I think.

So far as I am informed, every normal school in the State has a chapel attached to it, in which there are regular chapel services conducted by some member of the faculty, and these services, as well as the Bible classes (at least in some cases), the students are, under certain penalties, compelled to attend.

As a specimen of pietistic trickery, I will just mention the fact that the Presbyterian faculty of Lincoln University, so called, lately made an effort to retain the State appropriation which they had enjoyed before the adoption of the new constitution, by assuming the title of "Normal School," though the most influential divine connected with the institution declared he would "rather die" than allow the department of Calvinistic theology to be suppressed. The Attorney-General of the Commonwealth decided against the Doctor of Divinity.

An attentive observer may everywhere see indisputable evidences (such as you recently advertised on, in the case of the New York Tribune,) of cringing on the part of the newspapers, as well as the great and small demagogues of the country to the priests and parsons. The Philadelphia Press, on the breaking out of the Moody-and-Sankey epidemic, explained the thing very sensibly, by comparing it to the vernal epidemic of hop-scotch among the boys, and has ended by giving quite sanctimonious accounts of the saving of souls through the labors of those famous persons. And the proprietor of that journal, Mr. or "Col." John W. Forney, has, in one of the numerous speeches which he has made since his return from his Centennial mission to Europe, especially singled out "the Roman Catholics" of that quarter of the world for eulogy, as having given him the most hearty aid in his disinterested and patriotic undertaking, adding, shrewdly, the clause, "like their fellows in this country." It is, perhaps, beside the subject to say that many of his readers would greatly have preferred that he should give to the public the explanation for which they have long been waiting, through which he promised to show reason why over-scrupulous people should no longer look upon him as unfitted for the position of national rep-

resentative. I hope, by the way, you will give your readers Mr. William Howitt's exposure of the Pope's lying pretence of poverty, made in connection with his paltry contribution to the Centennial Exhibition.

The city newspapers frequently give to the public such items of information as that on some fête-day specified, "the services in St. ———'s Roman Catholic Church will be unusually impressive," or, that "the Credo, Kyrie, and Benedictus will be especially good," or some other equally important fact, a course which is plainly intended to ingratiate them with the Irish papists, whose vote is very large,—another proof of their subservience to the Romish Church, whether these notices are written by Protestants who are personally indifferent to the display of ecclesiastical millinery, the incense-burning, and the astonishing operatic *bravuras*, or by Irish Fenians, of whom Mr. Latham some years ago alleged there were one or two, at least, on the editorial staff of every considerable newspaper in the country. These emissaries of popery, with a sagacity and pertinacity worthy of the most attentive consideration, and which are undoubtedly inspired by master-minds that work unseen, are everywhere insidiously engaged in perverting the minds of the thoughtless and unsuspecting. The most surprising feature in the whole thing is that any one should doubt the criminal designs of the Catholic Church, when they have been so undisguisedly and repeatedly avowed by the foremost Romish priests in America; unless, indeed, it is the frankness of these avowals, seemingly so inconsistent with the otherwise insidious procedure of these ecclesiastics.

HOWARD WORCESTER GILBERT.
CHESTER COUNTY, Penn., March 18, 1876.

I FIND, on returning, a very profound excitement pervading scientific and religious circles concerning the action of Earl Russell with reference to the children of his son, the late Viscount Amberley. The late viscount and his lady were of well-known freethinking opinions, and the viscount, by his last will, confided the education of his two sons to Mr. Douglas Spalding. Earl Russell demanded that the provisions of the will should be set aside on the ground that Mr. Spalding, being a freethinker, was not prepared to bring up the children "in some recognized form of religion," and, very unexpectedly, the earl turns out to have at least a show of law on his side. If this be good law it is questionable whether a freethinker may not be deprived of the educational control of his children, even while he is living. One by one the old disabilities on freethinkers have been disappearing, and when recently Parliament enacted that atheists shall be admitted to plead and testify in all courts without regard to their opinions, it was thought that the heretics had lost their grievance. But this Russell case has inaugurated a new agitation, of which we shall hear enough. Curiously enough the removal of Earl Russell's grandchildren from the educational direction chosen by their father comes at the same time with another case of human sacrifice by the fanatical sect called the "Peculiar People." The child of Frederick Watts died, as medical witnesses proved, simply through lack of that medical care which the Peculiar People forbid, in accordance with certain Scriptural provisions. Frederick was acquitted because of the sincerity of his fanaticism, as large numbers of his co-religionists have been whose children have died through lack of the medical care freely placed by the government within reach of all. So it appears that a man may sacrifice the life of his child to a religious creed, but he cannot bring up his child, however carefully, without one. Such, at least, is said to be that antiquarian law of which the most antiquarian of earls has availed himself in this case. However, that this is the law appears to rest thus far only on the opinion of the counsel consulted by Mr. Spalding, who naturally objects to testing the case before the courts for the public good if there be doubt of success. The secularists are considering the question of contesting the matter; but I do not know if any determination has been reached. On the whole, it looks as if American citizenship may continue for a time to possess some advantages. I have just learned that Earl Russell, having got possession of his grandsons, made a vigorous attempt to control the offspring of Lord Amberley's intellect. He employed the law to suppress a work which his son had completed, and which had been placed in the hands of Messrs. Trübner & Co. for publication. However, the earl seems to have found the limits of English patriarchalism. The work will appear in a few weeks, and its popularity will, no doubt, be enhanced by the course which the earl has taken.—M. D. Conway, in the Cincinnati Commercial.

THE EMPEROR of Brazil is described as being one of the most unassuming monarchs living. He is tall, erect, and of rather large frame, with a handsome head well set on a pair of broad shoulders. His face is large, but not too full, and the lower part of it is covered by a thick gray beard. His eyes are intelligent and sympathetic, and there is in the general expression of his face a certain unassuming kindness which at once impresses itself upon one's memory and affections. In a few words, he may be said to look like what he is—a simple, pleasant gentleman of more than ordinary intelligence, and with a large fund of common sense. His wife is also said to be of a kindly nature, and her influence is always exerted for good.

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WILLIAM H. SPENCER, Sparta, Wis.

Mrs. E. D. CHENEY, Jamaica Plain, Mass.

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WM. J. POTTER Sec. F. R. A.

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FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT.

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PUBLISHER, BOOKSELLER, AND IMPORTER,
139 Eighth St., New York.

THE WEEKLY SUN.

1876. NEW YORK. 1876.

Eighteen hundred and seventy-six is the Centennial year. It is also the year in which an Opposition House of Representatives, the first since the war, will be in power at Washington; and the year of the twenty-third election of a President of the United States. All of these events are sure to be of great interest and importance, especially the two latter; and all of them, and everything connected with them, will be fully and freshly reported and expounded in *The Sun*.The Opposition House of Representatives, taking up the line of inquiry opened years ago by *The Sun*, will sternly and diligently investigate the corruptions and misdeeds of GRANT'S administration, and will, it is to be hoped, lay the foundation for a new and better period in our national history. Of all this *The Sun* will contain complete and accurate accounts, furnishing its readers with early and trustworthy information upon these absorbing topics.The twenty-third Presidential election, with the preparations for it, will be memorable as deciding upon GRANT'S aspirations for a third term of power and plunder, and still more as deciding who shall be the candidate of the party of Reform, and as electing that candidate. Concerning all these subjects, those who read *The Sun* will have the constant means of being thoroughly well informed.The *Weekly Sun*, which has attained a circulation of over eighty thousand copies, already has its readers in every State and Territory, and we trust that the year 1876 will see their numbers doubled. It will continue to be a thorough newspaper. All the general news of the day will be found in it, condensed when unimportant, at full length when of moment; and always, we trust, treated in a clear, interesting, and instructive manner.It is our aim to make the *Weekly Sun* the best family newspaper in the world, and we shall continue to give in its columns a large amount of miscellaneous reading, such as stories, tales, poems, scientific intelligence, and agricultural information, for which we are not able to make room in our daily edition. The agricultural department especially is one of its prominent features. The fashions are also regularly reported in its columns; and so are the markets of every kind.The *Weekly Sun*, eight pages with fifty-six broad columns, is only \$1.20 a year, postage prepaid. As this price barely repays the cost of the paper, no discount can be made from this rate to Clubs, Agents, Postmasters, or anyone.The *Daily Sun*, a large, four-page newspaper of twenty-eight columns, gives all the news for two cents a copy. Subscription, postage prepaid, 55c. a month, or \$6.50 a year. Sunday edition extra, \$1.20 per year. We have no travelling agents.

Address THE SUN, New York City.

THE CENTENNIAL

CONGRESS OF LIBERALS!

AN APPEAL TO ALL

Who believe that the United States should be

Absolutely Secularized,

And who favor the movement to carry out the principle of

STATE SECULARIZATION,

As indicated in the "Demands of Liberalism."

605 WALNUT ST., PHILADELPHIA, }
March 1, 1876. }

To the Liberal Leagues and the Liberal Public of the United States:—

The General Centennial Committee, appointed at a convention held in this city last September for the purpose of making all necessary arrangements for a General Centennial Congress of Liberals next summer, have decided to call said Congress to convene at Philadelphia, Saturday, July 1, 1876,—further particulars to be hereafter announced.

Each organized Liberal League will be entitled to send five delegates as special representatives—three in addition to its President and Secretary. But all individual Liberals who sympathize with the general objects and aims of the Liberal Leagues will be equally entitled and welcomed to seats and votes in the Congress.

REPORT PROMPTLY!

In order to lessen as much as possible the expenses of the delegates, each League is requested to elect them as soon as possible, and to report their names to the undersigned through its Secretary. All Liberals, delegates, or individuals who desire and intend to participate in the Convention are requested also to forward personally and immediately their names and full post-office addresses to the undersigned, that he may be enabled to make the most favorable terms possible for their accommodation. If notified early, he hopes to secure for them a considerable reduction in railroad fares, and to provide boarding-places at perhaps half the usual rates of the season.

Donations Solicited!

The Centennial Committee on Finance having through their Chairman transferred their duties to the General Centennial Committee, the undersigned has been appointed to attend to the financial department, and hereby appeals to the Liberals of the country for voluntary contributions to the amount of One Thousand Dollars. This amount will be needed to make the Congress a complete success, though the utmost possible will be done with whatever is contributed. The officers of the union of Liberal German societies propose to raise the same amount for their convention, and have already raised \$800 of it. The Young Men's Christian Association here have already spent this year nearly \$100,000 in preparation for the Centennial, in the interest of Orthodox superstition; it would be a pity if all the friends of "Liberty and Light" could not do a hundredth part as much for the cause of national development and free humanity! The money will all be wanted (and much more could be advantageously expended) in providing suitable halls and headquarters, advertising the Congress liberally in advance in the chief dailies of the country, defraying the necessary expenses of desired and invited speakers, paying *verbatim* reporters, publishing a complete pamphlet report of the proceedings, etc., etc. What is done must be done speedily, since the arrangements should be completed, as far as practicable, by the first of May.

All sums donated will be duly acknowledged in THE INDEX, and a full report of all expenditures will be sent for publication in the same paper. Remittances should be sent to the undersigned, 605 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. Will not all friends of the movement respond heartily and at once?

DAMON Y. KILGORE,

Acting Treasurer.

I believe that Mr. Kilgore is a gentleman of unimpeachable personal integrity, and that all money remitted to him as above will be faithfully and economically devoted to the legitimate uses of the Congress.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT,

Chairman of the General Centennial Committee.

At the preliminary Convention held at Philadelphia on Sept. 17, 18, and 19, 1875, for the purpose of making arrangements for the Centennial Congress of Liberals, the following were appointed a

General Centennial Committee:

FRANCIS E. ABBOT,
DAMON Y. KILGORE,
ALEXANDER LOOS,
ISAAC REEN,
BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD,
H. S. WILLIAMS,

with power to increase their number to fifteen. The completion and success of the arrangements must depend on the liberality of the friends of the movement, who are respectfully and earnestly solicited to contribute the necessary funds.

The Index.

Three Dollars a Year.

LIBERTY AND LIGHT.

Single Copies Seven Cents.

VOLUME 7.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, MAY 11, 1876.

WHOLE No. 333.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fairs shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

Therefore, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF —.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in —, and thereby to effect the total separation of Church and State in fact as well as in theory.

Also to send delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League, when organized, and to cooperate heartily with all the liberals of the country in furtherance of the above-named object.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be ex-officio delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

ion. No person shall ever in any State be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious practices shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

WHEN we cast an eye on the great pile of still unanswered letters on our table, selected for reply from the daily mails on account of their special importance, all we can do is to plead the inexorable necessities of our work. If only there were thirty hours in a day—!

THE ST. LOUIS *Republican* will get into hot water with the *Woman's Journal*, if it continues to write in this reckless and reprehensible manner: "Herbert Spencer says that the gold ring now worn by married women is the sign of the iron ring that was worn about the neck or ankle in the olden times, and indicates the submission of the wearer. Herbert Spencer is an impracticable dreamer. The gold ring a woman wears now is simply indicative of the ring her husband must join in order to foot the bills."

REV. E. W. MUNDY, the eloquent liberal preacher of Syracuse, N. Y., has got ahead of THE INDEX, which is satisfied to advocate the Secularization of the State, while he has just printed a sermon on "The Secularization of God"! What he means is that secular government, education, and life are worthless, unless they are all controlled by the Divine principles of truthfulness, honesty, justice, purity, kindness. In this THE INDEX heartily agrees, whether men call such principles "Divine" or not.

THE PROPOSAL in the New York Legislature to provide pensions for teachers who shall have served a certain length of time in the public schools is an admirable one. The school service is as dignified, as honorable, as useful, as either the army or the navy. Let education be more and more recognized as the broad foundation of the Republic; and let the veterans who have worn themselves out in educating the future citizens of the nation not be turned out to pasture like broken-down horses. The increased outlay would be more than made good in the increased excellence of the school system and administration. We hasten to express our hearty approbation of this most just and judicious measure.

THOMAS CARLYLE is not in love with democracy. He is said to have uttered recently a characteristic growl as follows: "America is a great country, but no system can last which would give Jesus and Judas precisely the same vote on public affairs." But no system can last which undertakes to enfranchise all the Jesuses and to disfranchise all the Judases. The practical difficulty comes up in deciding "who is who"; and although the Church, if permitted, would eagerly undertake to separate sheep from goats at the ballot-box, the State has learned by bitter experience that it is safer to run the risks of letting the Jesuses and Judases both vote, than to let the Church govern the State by picking out the political Jesuses who are to do all the governing.

MRS. BESANT, writing in the *National Reformer*, (Charles Bradlaugh's very ably edited journal), quotes this delicious advertisement from the *Christian*: "The attention of Christian workers is called to an issue of illustrated texts on calico (fast colors) for quilts, screens, chair-dollies, etc. They are intended to bring the word of God in an attractive manner before the poor, the sick, the soldier, the sailor, and others. The large texts are in two varieties, the small in twelve, and in ten combinations of color.

They are sold in packets, containing a complete set of two large and twelve small. Price, post-paid, 3s. 6d. the set, sufficient for two counterpanes." Mrs. Besant comments on this advertisement in her own droll and sprightly manner: "Fancy a counterpane all over cheerful texts! 'It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.' 'Our God is a consuming fire.' 'They shall be tormented forever and ever in the presence of the Lamb,' and so on. If a pious Christian were visited by an atheist, what an opportunity for pious rebuke! But the idea might be utilized. On the towel might be printed, 'Wash you, make you clean'; on the cosmetic box, 'Ye shall be white as snow'; on the blanket, 'Be ye warmed.' Many a really graceful hint might thus be made to the careless visitor."

THE NEW YORK *Evening Post* (a paper usually not given to random or malicious assertions) says in its issue of April 20: "When asked—as they often very naturally are asked,—How do Messrs. Moody and Sankey manage to live? who pays their washing bills? and whence come their means of subsistence? the Executive Committee reply as follows: Mr. Moody is constantly receiving from friends in this country and from friends in Europe, from men and women living in almost every locality that he has ever visited, voluntary gifts of money—thank-offerings, so to speak—for the good which these persons believe that Mr. Moody has done them, expressions of their affection and gratitude. It is not known how much money Mr. Moody has obtained from this prolific source. It is not known even that Mr. Moody has kept an account of it himself. Sometimes he has been known to return to a donor the amount of the contribution, because the manner or the measure of the gift did not please him. But such known instances are few. Mr. Moody alone—if indeed he is able—can tell the financial gain that this revival and his other revivals have brought to him. The secret just now is his own. But the opinion is freely expressed—not by the Executive Committee, but by other gentlemen,—that during the last year Mr. Moody's income has not been less than the least of the incomes of our other metropolitan preachers."

THE DECISION of the English authorities with regard to Viscount Amberley's testamentary provision for the education of his children could not have been made, we believe, in this country, and shows that England needs a Liberal League even more than the United States. We quote from a London despatch to the *Cincinnati Commercial*: "The proceedings of Earl Russell with regard to the will of his son, the late Viscount Amberley, have produced a widespread excitement. Mr. David Spalding is a gentleman and a scholar who had for some time resided with the Amberleys, and was their most intimate friend. Viscount Amberley, in his will, named Mr. Spalding as the sole custodian of the education of his children. When the will came before the Master of the Rolls for the testamentary nominations to be confirmed, Earl Russell objected to the carrying out of this portion of the will, on the ground that Mr. Spalding was an atheist. Mr. Spalding is not technically an atheist, but admitted a sufficient amount of heresy to warrant Earl Russell's plea that he would not bring up the children in any recognized form of religion. Mr. Spalding consulted eminent counsel, who informed him that the case of the poet Shelley, who while alive was deprived of the custody of his own children on similar grounds, is still the law of England, and that if he (Spalding) fought the case, he would be simply saddled with the costs. The late Viscount left to Mr. Spalding the sum of £300 annually for the education of his children, and Earl Russell agreed that this money should be regularly paid. I am informed that Mr. Spalding signed a paper renouncing his right to act as educator of the children."

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[FOR THE INDEX.]

Spiritual Illumination.

BY DAVID H. CLARK.

It is common to believe in intellectual progress, to believe that the crude and irrational imaginations which once dominated the human mind, and bewildered it, especially in religion, have become well-nigh extinct. And yet every really thoughtful and observant person is continually reminded of the power which the old ideas and spirit still retain. Conceptions and practices which we had begun to consider almost, if not entirely, discarded as things of a by-gone age, from time to time reappear, and with signs of unsuspected vitality, even in the very centres of the foremost intelligence.

The perpetuation of revivalism, as illustrated in the career of Moody and Sankey, and those of their class, affords an example in point. It is not strange that the uneducated and uncritical masses of our great cities, and particularly those disheartened and discouraged by hard experience, should flock to these men, or that the clergy of the sensational and superficial sort should become their coworkers. But when we see those distinguished for learning and culture lending countenance and cooperation to the work of fanaticism, it becomes evident that long strides of progress are yet to be made before mankind shall have wholly passed beyond such vestiges of the ages of superstition.

I have fallen into this train of reflection by recalling a notice of a Sunday-school convention in Springfield, Mass., a few months since. According to the report, one of the speakers, a somewhat famous representative of the cause, who had come all the way from Chicago to address the meeting, contributed the following specimen for its edification: "He took the ground to start with, that conversion is the first essential in the superintendence of a Sunday-school; that nineteen-twentieths of the Bible was written for God's accepted children; that none but they can understand it; and that no scholarship, or any other qualification, can take the place of conversion. The necessity that superintendents should be witnesses for the gospel in every relation of life was dwelt upon, and the fact that it is not so much the work of believers to defend as to illustrate the gospel."

This conception of a special spiritual illumination, or supernatural endowment, as the result of Christian regeneration and faith, has always existed in the Church; nor is it yet cast aside, as the words just quoted clearly show. It is, nevertheless, simply and solely a relic of superstition, and its enunciation in a public assembly of average intelligence sounds strangely, when the tendency to rational and scientific modes of thought is as marked as at present, and demonstrates how much unreasonableness and absurdity Christianity includes even to-day.

It has always been a persuasion of the disciples of all religions that there were some special advantages, material or spiritual, or both, attendant upon their peculiar faith and devotion. The Brahmins, or priests of India, the sacred or highest caste, are sup-

posed to be endowed with a knowledge or wisdom beyond that of ordinary mortals. Those who have read and committed by heart the Vedas, we are told, are called "twice born," in allusion to the new spiritual birth they are considered to have thus attained. Buddhism held out assurances of a similar illumination, but with this difference: that, instead of the realization of a single order of society, it was something within the reach of every soul who fulfilled the prescriptions of its religion. The priests of Chaldaea, Egypt, and Persia were regarded as possessed of this exceptional gift in an extraordinary degree. They were enabled to perform, by virtue of it, acts of magic and divine fate, according to the predetermining influences of the stars. Indeed, it has always been common for all people in the ruder and less enlightened stages of development to conceive of any remarkable skill or wisdom as the sign of supernatural power or inspiration. Such are those who are known as medicine men, sorcerers, wise men, among barbarous tribes; soothsayers, seers and saints, teachers and philosophers, in ancient and modern time.

Although this spiritual illumination, or gift of seeing into nature and destiny, was more or less ascribed to all extraordinary persons, and especially those associated with religion, officially or otherwise, it was to a large extent an occasional and capricious visitation. It was particularly conveyed through dreams and visions. The conception of this mode of communication was very general among the Jews. There are numerous illustrations of the kind scattered through the Old Testament and the New. It is related that "God spake to Israel in visions," and also said: "If there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make myself known unto him in a vision, and will speak to him in a dream." The announcement of the birth of Jesus, and the subsequent warning of danger, and advice to his parents to flee with him into Egypt, were also made in the same way. The vision to the Apostles upon the mountain, and to Zacharias in the temple; the vision of angels to those that visited the sepulchre, and of the great sheet let down from heaven, and of Paul and others, are familiar.

The trance was still another medium of such communications. Epilepsy, catalepsy, and kindred nervous diseases, were also regarded as manifestations of the working of the divine afflatus. The prophets, the Hebrew prophets in particular, were supposed to be the especial recipients of spiritual illumination. The literal meaning of the word prophet, or the word from which it is derived, according to Dean Stanley, is "to boil or bubble over," and is taken from the metaphor of a fountain bursting forth from the heart of man, into which God has poured divine waters. Its actual meaning is to pour forth excited utterances, as from its occasional use in the sense of raving. Even to this day, in the East, the ideas of a prophet and madman are closely connected. Indeed, it was affirmed by Plato that no one in possession of his senses ever obtained the gift of divination.

It is easy to imagine that, when the power of supernatural illumination was so generally believed in, and was held in so high esteem, there would naturally be a desire to induce those states of body and mind favorable to it. A very general conception in respect to the process through which this end might be attained was the practice of rigid austerities and asceticism. It was thought that the more completely the spiritual part was enabled to subdue the material, the more effectually it became liberated from its earthly relations through self-mortification and privation, the more it would put itself into union with the divine intelligence, and become the subject of spiritual perceptions exceptional to the common life of man. It was thus that the person who acquired the most contempt for the ordinary enjoyments and comforts of life, who subjected himself to the severest inflictions, and withdrew most completely from the world, was the special favorite and heir of heaven. They were divine men and saints. Such were the hermits and various ascetics of Pagan and Christian times. In addition to the means in use to which I have alluded, others were resorted to. It was common to employ for this purpose various narcotics or exhilarating drugs and beverages, and the inhalation of carbonic and sulphurous vapors. These were often administered, or partaken, in some wild and gloomy cavern, where the associations and influences of the place were calculated to work upon the imagination, and excite strange hallucinations and phantasies.—"The gaseous exhalations of these grim regions occasioning a delirium, or dreams and visions, which received such an interpretation as the dictates of imposture or credulity and superstition might suggest."

This conception of an extraordinary or supernatural spiritual illumination to which it is possible for the soul to attain has been the source of numerous special religious movements, or phases of philosophy. It gave rise to a class of religious philosophers who sprang up at Alexandria just before the advent of Christianity. They maintained that, as God is an infinite being, and as the human mind is finite, it is impossible for it to comprehend God except through an abnormal condition of spirit. This they termed "ecstasy." "In this ecstasy," said Plotinus, the leader of this school, "the soul becomes loosened from its material prison, separated from individual consciousness, and absorbed in the infinite intelligence from which it emanated. In this ecstasy it contemplates real existence; it identifies itself with that which it contemplates. This may be attained through the influence of rapturous and inspiring music, profound and intent thought, the spiritual elevation of pure love, and devotion, or prayer."

It is evident that similar conceptions to those that have been indicated were involved in Christianity when it arose. Jesus and the Apostles speak of "the

gift of God" as though it were a supernatural dispensation. "The pure in heart," we are told, "see God"; meaning, I am disposed to think, in the minds of those addressed, "seeing" him in a more palpable and actual sense than we are accustomed to give to the words. So Paul affirms that the carnal or natural mind is at enmity with God, and that spiritual things are spiritually discerned; indicating unquestionably that man is by nature incapable of divine perceptions which ensued on becoming a disciple of the new religion. This idea of spiritual illumination upon which I have dwelt was much emphasized in the primitive Church. Whatever functions were performed were through special supernatural aid or communication. It was thus one received the word of wisdom; another the word of knowledge; another the working of miracles; another the gift of prophecy; another discerning of tongues; another divers kind of tongues, etc. The tradition of the descent of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost, which enabled those present "to speak with other tongues as the spirit gave them utterance," is testimony to the same effect.

It was maintained by some of the Christian fathers that the Scriptures contain two meanings, one which is obvious to the ordinary mind, and another interior or hidden; and that the latter, the essential one to salvation, can be discovered and understood only through a divine inspiration. It was this theory that justified the chaining of the Bible to the altars of the churches in the Middle Ages, it being assumed that it was hazardous for the common people to read it on account of the danger of falling into errors and misapprehensions in regard to its contents,—the priests alone possessing the illumination requisite for its true interpretation. This conception of divine illumination appears still later under another aspect as a conspicuous doctrine, in the theories and notions of a class of religionists known as the mystics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was a distinguishing one of George Fox, as it has been of the sect of which he was the founder. It was held by him that through rigid temperance, and a renunciation of the distracting cares and interests of life, it was possible for the soul to obtain visions of the actual presence of deity. The doctrine of a supernatural discernment imparted from on high, as a consequent of Christian regeneration, has been a very convenient one for the defence of those dogmas of the creeds which reason rejects. If they were pronounced irrational, the common reply has been that they are mysteries; that spiritual things are spiritually discerned.

But the theory of such an inspiration or illumination, which is still held to a large extent, fails before every test of verification. It is proved to be false, when applied to the Scriptures in support of the traditional view of their origin. It is proved so, when applied to the various religious conceptions which the Church has cherished and promulgated for the truth. If it were a fact that Christians are the recipients of such an endowment as is claimed, should we not have a right to look for a greater uniformity of opinion and intellectual agreement among them? Nor is the assumption better sustained when considered with reference to moral guidance, since not only do Christians differ in regard to their views of what is right and wrong, but in practical obedience of the law of duty,—are, not unfrequently, as delinquent as those who make no pretence to their professed illumination.

Turning aside, then, in conclusion, from all such erroneous views of spiritual illumination as we have indicated, there still remains a genuine attainment of its nature (possible to every living soul) of an even more exalted and ennobling character,—a condition of the spirit which is reached, not through any abnormal processes, not through a renunciation of any of the duties or comforts which belong to a human being, the emaciation of the body, nervous disorders, or exciting prescriptions. These, though they may give rise to unwonted experiences and strange illusions, impair the physical and spiritual welfare, and unfit them to fulfil the real ends of existence. There is a light which may enlighten every one who is born into the world, a light which flickers and fades, or glows into an effulgent and lambent flame, according as we obey or disobey the laws of our being,—the light which proceeds from sound physical health, a cultivated, and well regulated mind and heart; a light which outshines that which superstition imparts, "as daylight does a lamp."

It is an illumination that is quickened and rendered brighter and brighter by the practice of good deeds, the spirit of self-sacrifice, the pursuit of truth, an independent, manly, or womanly life. Such an one, in the words of a great sage of antiquity, "is like one who takes a lighted torch into a dark house; the darkness is dissipated. Persevere in the search after wisdom, and obtain knowledge and truth; error and delusion rooted out, what perfect illumination there will be!"

THE *Pall Mall Gazette*, in giving an account of a university boat-race, in which four crews of Cambridge were engaged, lately, makes the following remarks, which sound very oddly, not to say profanely—the boats being called after the colleges to which their crews belonged: "Jesus beat Trinity by a second in the first heat, and would have won by more but for wild steering. Caius were faster than Lady Margaret; but ran into the bank twice, and so lost. The final heat was easily won by Jesus. The pick of the new men who performed were Fairbairn, stroke of Jesus, and Dale, three in Lady Margaret. The first-named has a good deal of style, and works well. The second is a very powerful man, rows hard, in fair form, and ought to make a university oar. The other three men of Jesus—Hockin, Gurdon, and Branker—all are fair."—*Independent*.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

THE CONNECTICUT BLUE LAWS.

BY IRA E. FORBES.

Among the sins charged against the Connecticut colonies is that of having originated the so-called "Blue Law Code." For nearly a century this charge has been renewed from time to time, and as often disproved. Still a multitude of intelligent people talk of the "Blue Laws" as though they actually existed, and in consequence look upon the early settlers of Connecticut as having been the most bigoted and intolerant set of men that the world has ever been guilty of producing. But if the alleged code which has caused so much trouble has really had an existence, this conclusion would be just and proper. In fact, it would be difficult to conceive of any other under the circumstances in question.

The first mention of the Blue Laws is by Rev. Samuel Andrews Peters, an Episcopal clergyman of Hebron, who published a *History of Connecticut* in England in 1781. In the preface to his history, Mr. Peters asserts that the reason for the obscurity in which the Connecticutans had up to his time been involved was to be found among their own *sinister views and purposes*. Prudence dictated, he continues, that their deficiency in point of right to the soil they occupied, their *wanton and barbarous persecutions*, illegal practices, and daring usurpations had better be concealed than exposed to public view. Dr. Mather and David Neal, the historian of New England, he says, were popular writers, but suppressed what are called in New England *unnecessary truths*. Even Governor Hutchinson loved fame, and feared giving offence to the colonists. Consequently he published only a part of the truth.

But Mr. Peters claims for himself strict impartiality, having neither the fear nor favor of man before his eyes in writing his history. His only object in the work, he says, was to dissipate the cloud of obscurity which overhung the colonists, and bring to light the knavery which was practised among them, but which had been long concealed and denied. He protests that he followed the line of truth freely, unbiassed by partiality or prejudice. But before one pins his faith to these fair professions, he should know something about the author of them.

Mr. Peters, at the outbreak of the Revolution, was so bitter an opponent of the American party, and so pronounced in his hostility, that he found it safer to flee from the country than to remain in it. Had he lived in our day, he would doubtless have been a copperhead of the copperheads. His Toryism knew no bounds, and whatever savored of loyalty to America met with his violent execration. Nearly twenty years after the war for Independence he returned to New York, where he published *The Life of Rev. Hugh Peters*, his great-uncle. In 1817, he journeyed to the Falls of St. Anthony, where he claimed extensive land estates. Afterwards he made his way back to New York, where he died in poverty and obscurity. He is the original of Parson Peter in Trumbull's celebrated novel, *M'Fingal*. Mr. Peters had descended from good stock, but had, unfortunately, inherited the defects and grovelling instincts of his family. Hugh Peters, one of his great-uncles, was a cotemporary of Rev. Drs. Mather and Cotton, of Salem, Mass., and was unquestionably a man of low passions and purposes. In his biography of him, the Connecticut historian says that Mather and Cotton feared his ability as a rival, and successfully inaugurated a plot to get him back to England. But, be that as it may, he returned to his native land, where he took part in the Cromwellian War, and, at the restoration of Charles II., was gibbeted by the latter at Charing Cross, for his participation in the great Protector's revolt.

Another great-uncle of Mr. Peters was Rev. Thomas Peters, who settled at Saybrook, and there established a school which subsequently constituted the germ of Yale College. Mr. Peters, in his history, says nothing of note of the intermediate families, and it is probable that they lived and died in comparative obscurity.

Before speaking of the Blue Laws particularly, it will be interesting to give two or three examples of Rev. Mr. Peters' veracity. Writing of the Connecticut River, he says it is four miles wide at its mouth. At a point two hundred miles from the Sound, he continues, there is a narrow passage in the river only five yards in width, through which the entire stream is forced. On either side, as he expresses it, are shelving mountains of solid rock, whose tops intercept the clouds. Through this chasm are compelled to pass all the waters, which in times of floods bury the northern country to such a depth that ships-of-war could float about easily. People who can bear the sight—the groans, the trembling and surly motion of the water, the trees and the ice whirled through the awful passage,—view with astonishment one of the greatest phenomena in Nature. Here, water is consolidated without frost, by pressure, by swiftness, between the pinching, sturdy rocks, to such a degree, that an iron crow-bar can be forced into it. Here, iron, lead, and cork have one common weight. Here, steady as time, and harder than marble, the stream passes, irresistible, if not swift, as lightning. The passage is four hundred yards in length, and in low water timber and trees strike on one side of the rocks, and, though of the largest size, are rent in one moment into shivers, and splintered like a broom, to the amazement of the spectators. The only person, he adds, who ever made the passage was an Indian squaw in a birch canoe.

It should be remembered that this was written less than one hundred years ago, and by a man who pretended to write the history of Connecticut! Speaking of New Haven, Mr. Peters says it is composed of

three hundred squares, with streets twenty yards in width. Forty of these squares were in his day closely built up and densely populated. Once more he says that a Deacon Potter, of New Haven, was executed, and buried with his beasts, because of a capital charge brought against him by his young wife, who desired to marry another man. The charge was that Deacon Potter did not render his wife due benevolence, and was an apostate! A man who could deliberately concoct such fabrications, and claim for them the dignity of historical facts, was certainly qualified for originating the alleged Blue Laws. He must have reached that stage where a vindictive imagination was of more consequence to him than truth. Such a man as this was Mr. Peters. He must have known the falsity of his statements, and they were made evidently for the purpose of avenging his supposed wrongs. As before the war there were men at the South who believed that Yankees had horres, so in England, a century ago, there were men who would believe anything mean and devilish of the American colonists. Mr. Peters knew where his scandalous wares would sell. But, happily, he is the only man who, claiming to be an historian, has ever alleged the existence in Connecticut of a genuine code known as the Blue Laws, as described by himself.

According to him, these laws provided that no man should be a freeman, or give a vote, except he had been converted and was a member in full communion of one of the churches of the "Dominion." No man should hold office who was not sound in the faith; and whoever should vote for such a person should be fined £1 for the first offence, and should be disfranchised for the second. Quakers and dissenters were not allowed to vote at all. It was even provided that neither food nor lodging should be granted to a Quaker, Adamite, or other heretic. No one was allowed to read the Book of Common Prayer, keep Christmas, or saints' days, make mince-pies, dance, play cards, or play on any instrument of music, except the drum, trumpet, and Jews-harp. Adultery was to be punished by death. All priests were banished, and were to be executed in case of their return. They could be seized by anyone without warrant, and brought to trial. No one was allowed to travel, cook victuals, make beds, sweep house, cut, pare, or shave on the Sabbath. No woman was to kiss her child on the Sabbath or fasting-day. The Sabbath was to begin at sunset Saturday. No man was to court a maid in person, or by letter, without first obtaining the consent of her parents. For the first offence he was fined £5; for the second £10; and for the third should be imprisoned during the pleasure of the Court. Married persons were to live together, or be imprisoned.

Mr. Peters admits, however, that the women of Connecticut were strictly virtuous, but to be compared to prudes, he says, rather than to the European lady. They were not permitted to read plays, could not converse about whist, quadrille, or operas, but would freely talk upon subjects of history, geography, and the mathematics. They were great casuists and polemical divines, and also efficient students of Greek and Latin. Perhaps, in his opinion, they might have been sweet and lovable, had their male masters exerted a less barbarous tyranny over them.

Yet it must be confessed that the severity of character demanded in the Connecticut colonies laid the people open to the harshest criticism and ridicule. Surely it afforded Mr. Peters the best of opportunities to assault them, and heap upon them invective and misrepresentations of the vilest character. Their laws, as recorded by Samuel M. Smucker, who, by the way, is a correct authority in the matter, show them to have had but a *modicum* of the milk of human kindness in their make-up. Capital punishment was resorted to for offences, not of a trivial character, certainly, but yet of that degree of venality which should never have been punished by death. Prominent among these crimes were *idolatry*, witchcraft, blasphemy, bestiality, sodomy, adultery, rape, man-stealing, *wilful insubordination to parental authority*, and refusal to be chastened by parents. The justification of this code was found in the Scriptures of the Old Testament, the spirit and purpose of the Gospel being wholly ignored in the formation and adoption of the system. The barbarity of going back to the Jewish code for laws has never been satisfactorily explained, and never can be. Yet, in spite of these stringent restrictions, crime prevailed to an alarming extent in the colonies, and could not be rooted out. The people were not better or purer than the less rigid settlers of Maryland and Virginia. On the whole the latter, if anything, were the most exemplary. No reform can be built up successfully through a system of capital punishments. The Connecticut colonists made fools of themselves by attempting to rule men in the seventeenth century by laws which might have been well enough in the times of Moses and Aaron. Such want of common sense and common humanity cannot be overlooked or forgiven. It was not in any degree a Christian *régime* which the colonists originally established. Rather it was a Jewish hierarchy. One looks in vain for generosity or brotherly love in it.

Had Mr. Peters intended his Blue Law scheme as a satire it would have proved a *chef d'œuvre*. But it was not as a satirist that he wrote. His aim was to make the world believe the worst things possible of the Connecticut colonists, and it is clear that he met with considerable success. Among other laws which actually existed in the early history of Connecticut was one providing that no man should take tobacco publicly in the street, or barn-yards, or upon training-days, nor should he do so upon the highways, or in any open places, under a penalty of sixpence. Another law prohibited the sale of wine and strong drink by retail, except by dealers under authority of

the court. This, by the way, was the first license-law established in the country.

The decisions of the courts, particularly of New Haven, were amusing in the extreme. Jacob M. Murline and Sarah Tuttle, a couple of unmarried young people, who cared more for love than for law, were fined for kissing each other, without having obtained permission for doing so from the girl's parents. The court which rendered the decision was held May 1, 1660. On February 5, 1639, Captain Isalah Turner was fined £5 for being drunk on the Lord's day. On January 1, 1643, Goodman Hunt's wife was banished from the town for allowing William Harding, a wild young fellow, to kiss her. December 3, 1651, this same William Harding was sentenced to be whipped, fined £10, and banished from the plantation, for misdemeanors with young women. "Sinful dalliance and folly," as the language of the times has it, was punishable with whipping.

The code which prevailed in the colonies was compiled by Roger Ludlow, and adopted at Hartford in 1639. Some changes were made in it subsequently, when it was permanently established and became known as the "Blue Laws," or Code of 1650. It remained in operation till 1836, when Governor Andros was appointed governor of New England by James II., and ruled the colonies by statute dictated by authority of the British monarch. Cruel, harsh, and unchristian as were many of the enactments of the first settlers of Connecticut, they were not guilty of conceiving a system so bitter and execrable as the Blue Laws of Rev. Mr. Peters' own construction. The latter never had an existence, except in the brain of Peters, who hated the Connecticut colonies with all his heart. His pen was envenomed, and he gave full license to his hatred. With all their faults, the people whom he attacked were better than the average of men. They feared wrong-doing, though often guilty of it. Sin was monstrous in their sight, and their aim was to set up a community where the fear of God should predominate, and where his commandments and laws, as originally revealed to the Jews, should be obeyed. Their principal fault was that they sought truth in the Hebrew Scriptures to the neglect of the Gospel. Justice tempered with mercy was a matter of which, either in civil or social life, they knew but little.

REV. MR. ELDER ON "WOMAN AND POLITICS."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

You deserve the thanks of every woman who has ventured to demand for herself and her sex the rights of suffrage, for publishing in full Rev. E. S. Elder's carefully prepared paper against that movement. It is best for us to know what obstacles we have to overcome in what we have undertaken.

Although I think most of Mr. Elder's points have been met and answered over and over again by abler pens than mine, yet I cannot resist the temptation to answer some of them briefly from a woman's point of view. He seems to be under the enviable hallucination that "whatever is, is right," as far as woman is concerned; that everything has been done for her that she could reasonably ask for.

All, I think, that women wish to claim in politics is "equality before the law." I wonder if Mr. Elder would designate as "just" a law which would give to a man, on the death of his wife, only a life-interest in one-third part of their mutual property.

It is true that women are no more generous in the matter of wages than men, though the majority of them are far more limited in their ability to evince such generosity than are men. It is true, also, that men, with a wider acquaintance with the laws of demand and supply, would more speedily recognize a need to raise wages; but that is because women have not hitherto been brought face to face with these questions; and since the ballot must necessarily bring these labor questions before women for their consideration, the sooner it is granted them, it seems to me, the better will it be for the interests of the community.

"There are nearly 34,000 women," says Mr. Elder, "whose property is taxed in Massachusetts. It is doubtful if 2,000 of these feel themselves aggrieved by the operation of the law." Assuming this statement to be true, is that any argument for "taxation without representation"? Are we never to have any reform until every person to whom injustice is done protests in words against that injustice? Is a wrong to be forever tolerated so long as any portion of the wronged do not understand the wrong done them, or do not dare to utter a protest against it? We sometimes, in the history of the world, have need to be awakened to the injustices we tolerate because we have become used to them, if not for our own present good, yet because of the fetters we are forging for those who have never consented to wear them,—the generations yet unborn. Indeed, there are authenticated stories of those who have sacrificed a lifetime of assured ease and happiness because of the generous pity they have held for unborn men and women to whose good they have sacrificed their own, and who of course have "never felt themselves aggrieved."

I do not reply to Mr. Elder's arguments against the idea of woman's power to purify the ballot. I do not ask for it on any such ground as that; I ask for it only as a bar to be removed from the way of woman's equality with man. I do not think woman is, morally, one atom better than man, nor do I even say she is his intellectual peer; I confess, why, that she is by no means that yet, and that is why I demand that one important step be taken to bring her up to his intellectual level by removing all degrading restrictions to her pursuit of knowledge, such as the denial of the franchise undoubtedly is.

"The actual question," says Mr. Elder, "is this: Is there any reason for believing that the 370,000

women who would become voters in Massachusetts, would in any respect excel the 351,000 men voters?" Now the actual question is nothing of the sort. The actual question is this: by what law of equity do the 351,000 male voters of Massachusetts possess the power positively to forbid the 370,000 women of Massachusetts to vote, if they, one or all, so desire? I am afraid that it is not from any supreme unselfish desire "to do the State some service" that women ask the ballot, any more than it is from any supreme unselfish motive that the foreigner who comes to participate in the benefits of a new and free country hastens, as soon as possible, to become a voter and a participant in making its laws.

Mr. Elder "assumes" a great deal too much, it seems to me, when he assumes that "the interests of women are identical with those of men, and consequently that the interests and rights of all individuals would be as truly represented by all men as by all men and all women together." He might as well assume, on the broad ground of a common humanity, that the interests of one man are identical with the interests of all other men, so that in reality there should be for convenience and expedition in public business the "one man power."

"The persuasive eloquence, the ability and self-sacrificing persistency of the advocates of suffrage, have not yet succeeded in making the women of America, of New England, of Massachusetts even, conscious of their suffering, or confident that by a vote they can improve their condition." I wonder what the Rev. Mr. Elder expects women to do to show that they are "conscious of their suffering." Does he in these days of "moral suasion" expect to see women rise up *en masse*, and, taking arms, demand their rights at the point of the bayonet from their fathers, husbands, sons, and brothers? Does he not understand the full meaning of the yearly procession of petitions—petitions heavily freighted with the signatures of Massachusetts women,—which finds its way into the Massachusetts Legislature, and reaches the ears and eyes, if not the heart and brain, of our male lawmakers? What does he think is the meaning of this mighty agitation of the question,—an agitation so real and so tempestuous that it has waked him up to defend his sex from the accusation of injustice? Why, does he think, do "women in America, and New England, and Massachusetts even," carry on journals devoted to presenting this question in every available form before the public, often at great pecuniary loss to themselves? Why do quiet, home-loving women, like the Smith sisters of Connecticut, feel called upon to brave public opinion, and sacrifice all that they hold dear in the way of home associations, in order to protest against the injustice they feel so keenly? Why do cultured and refined women, like Mrs. Howe and Mrs. Stanton, with many others as well-known, leave the home life that is so dear to all women to impress upon the public mind the injustice which is so patent to them? And in the face of all this, and much more, Mr. Elder would have us believe that "the women of New England have scarcely dreamed that their interests were not protected, their rights were not secured." Whence then arises this commotion? Was it ever before known in the history of reform that any effort was made at all commensurate with the woman's suffrage movement, before ever the aggrieved party was aware of any grievance to be complained of? As a woman, let me say to Mr. Elder, that in this reform, as in all others of like nature, the burden of injustice was borne uncomplainingly until the pain it gave forced from the sufferer a cry of revolt and protest.

We confess that men, thinking, philanthropic men, since they first recognized the purport of that cry of protest, have been our best helpers in this cause, and that the *unthinking* women who have found for themselves gentle and generous masters, have proved the heaviest stumbling-blocks in the way of that vast number of women for whom enfranchisement is most needed; against whose brutal masters the law gives no controlling or retaliatory power.

Mr. Elder boasts of the privileges which the law already gives, which *man*, unhelped by feminine interference, has graciously granted to woman for her protection. How have those privileges been won? By the agitation of just this question; by man's awaking to a sense of his own injustice, and conceding as his munificent *gifts* what ought never to have been withheld.

He thinks to throw a sop to the educated women who see the vital necessity of equality before the law for women, by urging that their vote will be neutralized by a low grade of womanhood with equal political privileges. I think woman suffragists understand this fully, and will vote (when they are allowed to) unanimously for a higher standard of intelligence in the legal voters of both sexes.

Mr. Elder sweeps away all question as to the propriety of woman's voting with one tremendous fiat: "There is no need of it," he says. And so the question is settled,—in his mind. Women may protest until the end of time against the injustice of being held to be the creatures of man, may beg forever in anguished tones for the power to express their will as men do, through the ballot,—Mr. Elder and his companions in logic cry, "There is no need of you; we are sufficient unto ourselves!"

All that he advances against woman's voting is equally pertinent against male suffrage, it appears to me. Is he ready to limit and restrict that for the same reasons that he wishes to forbid women voting?

"A jury of men will render a verdict more favorable to a woman than would be rendered by a jury of women," he affirms, intimating that we are to depend on generosity instead of justice. To the independent mind, a crust earned by hard labor is sweeter than the choicest viands bestowed by charity.

He appeals to the motherhood of women, as if a

mother's duties would be neglected by a just appreciation of the public needs, or a half hour's absence at the polls once or twice a year. Women who have learned to have sympathies wide enough to take in all the human race, and to desire to work with them for a common good, are not going to make any less loving wives or mothers. The home circle that has a discriminating intelligence at the helm is going to be a better school for men as well as women than it now is, and men will not so soon learn to patronize all their intellectual inferiors their mothers and sisters.

After all the objections Mr. Elder has marshalled together, we are a little surprised to be told at the last that his "most fundamental objection to the woman's suffrage movement, is that it is a phase of that unquestioning faith in and superstitious worship of the ballot that may properly be named secular revivalism." Let us assure Mr. Elder that we have not that faith in the ballot that he ascribes to us, for we are not blind to what it has been in the hands of his sex; but we do claim it as belonging as much to us, be it for good or evil, as to our brother who arrogates to himself its sole possession.

One cannot repress a little smile at the enthusiasm manifested by Mr. Elder in pressing upon our attention, as a sort of balm for our mortified vanity in being denied entrance into the noble arena of political life, the glorious field of disinterested and unrewarded work to be done for humanity. He fondly fancies, as did Dr. Bushnell, that this unrewarded, unnoticed, yet needed work is the proper sphere of the highest womanhood. Self-abnegation is a good thing no doubt; but then it is one of those virtues which we women do not wish wholly to monopolize to the exclusion of our male friends. "Intelligence, moral insight, moral feeling, and loyalty to high ideals"—can't survive on a milk-and-water diet of vague praise for unrecognized and unremunerated labor. They need more substantial recognition on which to thrive. We women are all Eves in our longing for the forbidden fruit of politics, which looks so tempting in our brothers' hands, and which they seem to relish so much. Mr. Elder and his kind stand under that forbidden tree, plucking all its richest, ripest specimens for their own delectation, but crying out gravely and warningly to us not to attempt to partake with them: "For in the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." The first Eve did not die on the day she ate the fruit, nor shall we.

SARA A. UNDERWOOD.

SPRINGFIELD, Mass.

SECULARIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT; THE ARGUMENT DRAWN FROM THE CONSTITUTION.

MY DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

I have read with deep interest in THE INDEX of the 20th instant the resolutions of the Boston Liberal League, adopted at their late meeting, and the speeches of Mr. Savage, yourself, and Mr. Seaver, upon the secular character of the government. But I am surprised beyond measure that neither in the resolutions nor speeches was there the remotest allusion to what the Religious Amendment party consider the strongest argument against their cause,—the complete secular character of the Constitution as shown by the ratification of the Treaty with Tripoli, which occurred during the administration of Washington. Will you allow me to say a word or two on that point?

In his last annual Message to Congress, President Grant proposes that all church property should be taxed. The grand principle in the light of which we must discuss such a proposition is found in Article VI., Section 2, of the Constitution of the United States, where it is declared that—"This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the Supreme Law of the land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitutions or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

Now, if we wish to know what relation the Constitution and government of the United States sustain to the Church, or to any kind of religion, we have only to look at the Treaty ratified with Tripoli, one of the Barbary powers, which in religion was Mohammedan. The President of the United States at that time was George Washington, who had previously acted as presiding officer of the Convention which formed the Constitution under which the national government had begun its career in 1789. The Treaty with Tripoli, after being fully examined and approved by the Cabinet, was sent to the Senate; and, having been discussed by that body in all its parts, was then ratified, and became a part of the Supreme Law of the land. As the government of Tripoli was Mohammedan, it was naturally jealous and watchful in its treaty stipulations with a power that was not Mohammedan, lest in their commercial intercourse difficulty would grow out of the subject of religion. To remove all apprehensions of this kind, the declaration is solemnly made in the XI. Article of the Treaty by the United States as one of the high contracting powers, that "the government of the United States is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion." Could language be more plain and explicit?

Now, I take the ground, which every constitutional lawyer will admit to be tenable, that this provision of the Treaty with Tripoli is a part of the Constitution, and the Supreme Law of the land; and that all these State and municipal prohibitions and requirements which look as if this were a religious government, if a case involving the question could be

carried up to the Supreme Court of the United States, would be adjudged unconstitutional and void.

The antagonism between the State constitutions and laws on the one side, and the doctrine of the National Constitution on the other, in regard to this subject of religion, is explained in this wise. The general government was formed in 1787 out of the thirteen States; but these States were settled and organized long prior to that date by emigrants who came chiefly from the British Isles, where the Westminster Confession of Faith and the Solemn League and Covenant had exercised iron sway, and shaped the opinions of the people. As Mr. Savage in his speech hinted, the people of Europe could not then, nor cannot now, conceive of a government existing at all unless closely associated with the Church. They cannot rid themselves of the delusion that, if the State does not do something to support the Church, either by giving funds, or enforcing by law upon all the people some of the dogmas and rules she deems it all-important should be believed and observed, everything like religion would go to the dogs, and society would go back again into barbarism; forgetting that the highest-toned morality and the most worthy conceptions of God have existed, and do now exist, in times and lands, when and where the Bible was unknown. When, therefore, Scotch, English, and Irish emigrants sought a home in this country, then a wilderness, they naturally brought these European ideas with them, and impressed them on the State constitutions and laws where they settled. The present Sabbath laws of Pennsylvania date back to the days of Penn; and those of Massachusetts to the days of the Pilgrims.

But when the government of the United States was organized out of the materials composing the old thirteen colonies, it was a new creation altogether. The National Constitution, overriding the constitutions and laws of the States, made the national government a purely secular corporation, ignoring the very existence of a God, abolishing all judicial oaths, ignoring a future state of existence, or religion of any kind; not because the framers were atheists, but because they all believed that a civil government had nothing in the world to do with religion of any kind, except to protect every man in his religious belief, whatever it might be. This peculiarity of our Constitution did not express the mere opinion of the framers of it, for an opinion can be formed and entertained on *ex parte* testimony; but it was a conviction, which is a state of mind following an examination of both sides of a question. They saw how this doctrine of a union between Church and State in Europe had, to use a Scriptural phrase, led the Church a-whoring after false gods, and how the State (Spain for instance) had become diseased and enfeebled by its fornications with her; and they resolved to proclaim an eternal separation between them in this country for the honor and welfare of both. And this American doctrine, although some bat-eyed people do not see it, is the very palladium of true religion, because it recognizes the fact that religion is a matter which concerns the individual, and not the civil government; and makes every church a free and independent institution, instead of being forced, as the Church in Europe is, into an unnatural relation, where she is sure to commit spiritual adultery.

The Continental Congress, in breaking away from their allegiance to the British Crown, and founding a new government in this Western World, declared, in the immortal Act they committed on the 4th of July, 1776, that they took this step to secure the rights of human nature in general, and not their own in particular. As the human family is divided into many antagonistic faiths, how could they do anything else than what they afterwards did, in making the government a mere secular institution, thus giving liberty and respect to the religious opinions of all who might dwell upon the soil? In the Treaty with Tripoli they redeemed the pledge given in the Declaration, by proclaiming it and making it the Supreme Law of the land, that in no sense is the government of the United States founded on the Christian religion. And yet those Bourbons, the Religious Amendment men, are so insane that they would mar the Constitution by Europeanizing it with those hateful features which the people of Europe themselves are sick of, and would gladly reform away, if the task were not so herculean. And that large class of persons whose enlightened judgments will not allow them to keep close company with the Bourbons to the bitter end, still, like Peter, "follow afar off," by pleading for the continuation of Sabbath laws, the Bible in the schools, and the exemption of church property from taxation. What is worse still, the Judaizing Sabbatarians of Philadelphia, with an effrontery worthy of the old Spanish Inquisitors, demand that their will, which they say is the will of God, shall settle the question whether or not the gates of the International Exhibition shall be shut against the world on the first day of the week, which, in defiance of the teaching of the New Testament, they claim is the Sabbath.

I see by THE INDEX that you propose to hold a Congress of Liberals in Philadelphia next July. Do not consider it presuming, if one so humble as I should propose that steps be there taken to have a case brought before the Supreme Court of the United States involving the question whether the doctrine in the Treaty with Tripoli, that "in no sense is the government of the United States founded upon the Christian religion," is not, according to Article VI., Section 2 of the Constitution, the Supreme Law of the land; and that, therefore, the Bible in the schools, exemption of church property from taxation, Sabbath laws, judicial oaths, and all the other remains of the old European system now in vogue in some States, are null and void, and were so from the moment the National Constitution was adopted by the States respectively in 1790. This would wind up

the whole discussion which is now agitating the country by singing the doxology in *short metre*,—Gloria to God in the Highest, and in the United States peace and good will to men!

A. B. BRADFORD.

ENON VALLEY, Pa., April 25, 1876.

NEW YORK LETTER.

NEW YORK, April 25, 1876.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

At Tiffany & Co.'s magnificent store, which, in the variety and extent of its exquisite wares, is said far to exceed anything of the kind in Europe, is to be seen a drawing of the "Bryant Testimonial Vase," which is now in process of execution at this establishment. The idea of a testimonial of some kind, for the eightieth birthday of Mr. Bryant, was first suggested, I am told, by Dr. Osgood. The proposal was readily responded to by many of the poet's admiring countrymen, and funds were raised for carrying it out. Competitive models were asked for, and the preference among those presented was awarded to the one by Mr. Whitehouse, the artistic designer at Tiffany's, and he has already been engaged on the work for many months.

The vase is of silver, and about thirty-nine inches in height. It is of a simple, classic form, whose outline is unbroken by the ornamentation drawn from nature with which it is covered, and which is intended to symbolize Mr. Bryant's life and character. On the base which supports it is the lyre for verse, crossed pens for prose, and broken shackles to indicate services in the cause of emancipation. The ornament around the lower part of the vase is of Indian corn with a band of cotton leaves, and at the foot is the water-lily. The apple branch forms a part of the fretwork. The handles are ornamented with the stalk, leaf, and grain of Indian corn, and the bud, flower, and boll of cotton. The primrose for youth, and the ivy for age, form a border above the handles. Around the neck of the vase is the line of the poet, "Truth, crushed to earth, shall rise again," with the fringed gentian between the beginning and the end. A series of bas-reliefs illustrate eras in the poet's life. In one, as a child, he is looking up to a bust of Homer to which his father points. In another, he is reclining under the trees of a wood. Between these two is his portrait, crowned with laurel. Above this is the lyre for verse, and, beneath, a printing-press. In a medallion, lower down, is the water-fowl. Suggestive of the humorous poem of "Robert of Lincoln," is the American Bob-o'-link. Poetry is symbolized by the eglantine, and immortality by the amaranth.

The cost of the vase, it is estimated, will not be far from \$5,000. It is to be finished for the Centennial Exhibition, and ultimately is to be placed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

In this Museum is now a colossal bust of Mr. Bryant, in bronze, by Launt Thompson. It was presented to the city for Central Park by Charles H. Ludington. But, as the Commissioners of the Park have decided to place no bust or statue of a person there during his lifetime, this bust is for the present lent to the Museum.

An organization of regular Comtists, I understand, still exists in this city; but they do not, as formerly, hold weekly meetings. The members are very much scattered, and they have no prominent speakers, so that they come together only occasionally, at a private house.

The elements for the organization of a society partly on the basis of Positivism, have, I am told, been in existence in this city for some time; and quite recently they have become united under the name of "The First Congregational Society of Humanity." According to their circular, "The design of this society is to promote human happiness, by increasing love, maintaining order, and securing progress. The instrument to be used is *Untrammelled Human Reason*; the foundation—ascertained, positive knowledge. It recognizes the existence of the Supreme Being, humanity, as the source, end, and aim of all human activities. It is from this great Being that we derive our existence, and for it all must work, and, if need be, die. All who are now outside of, and debarred from fellowship in, the old Church, by reason of having outgrown its superstitions and unscientific methods, will find a home in this Church, provided they have, or desire to possess, clean hands, pure hearts, and devotion to humanity." The prominent persons in this movement are Mr. G. L. Henderson and Mr. H. B. Brown. This society differs from regular Positivism, in setting aside the hierarchical idea, and adopting Congregationalism, as more consonant to the genius of our republican institutions. The communistic element enters somewhat into their organization, but in social matters they are strictly monogamous, and give great importance to the production and rearing of offspring under conditions best fitted to the elevation of the human race. The society holds regular meetings every Sunday in "Science Hall," 141 Eighth Street. This hall has been lately dedicated under the auspices of the "Religio-Scientific Society." The dedicatory address was by Charles Sothorn, his subject being "The Struggle between Theology and Science; or, Torquemada and Galileo"; in which, according to the reporter, "the speaker reviewed the religious ideas of the later times, and defended philosophy and freethought as having risen above the superstitions which hampered theology." This hall is designed especially for lectures on science, literature, politics, art, and reform. The building contains a large number of office and club-rooms, and is intended to be a centre for liberal literature and progressive thought.

A. H.

LETTER FROM GLASGOW.

GLASGOW, April 15, 1876.

DEAR INDEX:—

One of our local newspapers has lately set itself the task of ascertaining the actual church attendance in Glasgow on an ordinary Sunday. The bold conception has been, to all appearance, ably executed, with entire impartiality, and to the general satisfaction of all but a few whose churches did not show well in the list. As the city is large, it was divided into four districts, to be visited on four consecutive Sundays; but no intimation was given beforehand which district would be chosen on any particular day. Of course the last district visited had an advantage over the others in this respect, but that had no apparent effect on the result, as the first district which was selected, before any one was aware of the intention of the paper, showed up as well as any of those subsequently visited.

The mode pursued was to select that service, morning, afternoon, or evening, which, in the case of each church, was usually best attended, and the results before us are rather startling. It seems that we have altogether in Glasgow 255 Protestant churches—it was only the Protestant churches which were included in the census,—62 of which belong to the Established Church, 134 to dissenting Presbyterian bodies, and 59 to other denominations. The attendance at the Established churches numbered 28,458, at the other Presbyterian churches 59,911, and at those of other denominations 15,138, making in all 103,505; on which the editor in a leading article remarks as follows:—

"The number of persons counted in attendance at Protestant places of worship amounts to 103,505. Now, in proceeding to estimate the total numbers of those who can be reckoned church-goers in the city, and suburbs, allowance must be made in the first place for those who are detained at home by sickness and domestic duties. These will be amply covered by the 46,495, which raises the numbers to 150,000. Add to this other 50,000 for those who were present at a different service from that when the census was taken. To the 200,000 thus reached, we shall add 50,000 more for individuals who might be found attending public worship on other Sundays during the year. Young children (our enumeration included all children who were present in church), and persons engaged in working and being worked upon in halls and school-rooms at evening services, require still to be allowed for. Fortunately, or unfortunately rather, we can afford to be liberal. At the risk, therefore, of being thought to overrate the probable numbers, we shall, to include these classes, and to cover any omissions which may have been made under other heads, throw in another 50,000,—making in all 300,000. To this must be added 100,000 for the estimated number of Roman Catholics, with whose actual attendance at the services of their church we have nothing to do at present. Some 400,000 of the population is thus accounted for. Now our census extended over a much wider area than either that of "Parliamentary" or "Municipal" Glasgow. It covered almost exactly the ground taken in by the city chamberlain in his reports as 'the city, and connected and closely contiguous suburbs.' The population of this area in 1874 was estimated by him at 638,515. At the average yearly rate of increase for the last decennial period this must have risen in 1875 (for which his report is not yet published) to rather more than 650,000, and though the figures might be put higher for the present year, yet these are high enough for the present purpose. Deducting the number previously given, the estimate is thus reached, that the number of Protestants in Glasgow and its suburbs who cannot be reckoned as attendants on public worship is, in all probability at least, TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND."

And yet, spite of this, so strong a hold has Sabbatarianism on the community that not only have we no museums, libraries, picture-galleries, or other place of public resort open on a Sunday, but not a solitary trainway-car is to be found upon the streets. In view of the fact that there are a quarter of a million who don't seem to care for the churches, I thought it a good opportunity to suggest that they were numerous enough to demand some concession in the way of having our picture-galleries opened, or a course of science lectures instituted, so that they might be enabled to spend the day with more profit and pleasure than they can now, when they are cooped up within their own walls, if they desire to remain respectable. Accordingly I wrote to one of our papers, but the letter was not suffered to appear. Not daunted by this, I availed myself of a discussion that is now being carried on in Glasgow as to whether the inhabitants should tax themselves for the establishment of free public libraries and museums, to write to the editor of another liberal paper, remarking that one important question seemed to be totally overlooked by all parties to the discussion; namely, would the libraries be open on Sundays? But again, simple and harmless as the letter cannot but appear, it was suppressed. So long, then, as it is impossible to get the subject even broached in the most liberal local prints, there seems small chance of our relieving ourselves of this oppressive Sabbatarian nightmare.

I am, etc.,

JAMES BOYD.

IN ADVOCATING an inspection of conventual establishments in England, Sir T. Chambers said recently in Parliament: "The first case he would cite was at the Good Shepherd Convent, at Hammersmith. Certain persons whose houses overlooked the convent inclosure, saw a nun endeavoring to escape over a wall. They saw her seized by a man in the garb of a monk, who, with two women, dragged her back to the convent." This was March 18, 1875.

Efforts were made to obtain information, but they were of no avail. Why the nun strove to escape, or by what authority she was detained, has not been discovered. In another instance, Sir T. Chambers said two laborers, in January, 1875, saw a woman, very early in the morning, almost without clothing, escape from the Newhall Convent, in Essex. She ran nearly a mile up the railway line, and claimed their protection. She was pursued, taken out of the care of the men, and forced back to the convent. The statement made was that she was an Irish lady who was insane, and was sent back to her friends. But by what authority are insane persons to be dragged back into convents? What government can permit such mysterious occurrences to pass unquestioned? It seems that the subject of a general law for the inspection of convents is attracting a strong interest in England. In Italy, Sweden, Belgium, France, Spain, Austria, such a law already exists. It is only in England and the United States that cases like those cited by Sir T. Chambers could occur without legal inquiry.—*Harper's Weekly*, May 6, 1876.

Poetry.

WANTED—A MAN.

God give us men! A time like this demands
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith and ready hands.
Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
Men who possess opinions and a will;
Men who have honor; men who will not lie;
Men who can stand before a demagogue,
And damn his treacherous flatteries without winking;
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog
In public duty and in private thinking;
For, while the rabble with their thumb-worn creeds,
Their large professions, and their little deeds,
Mingle in selfish strife, lo! Freedom weeps,
Wrong rules the land, and waiting Justice sleeps.

—Dr. Holland, in the *Springfield Republican*, 1856.

ORIENTAL STUDIES.

BY JAMES REDPATH.

I.

JAIMINI.

Eternal as the Soul is Sound,
Nor Time nor Space its life can bound;
Once spoken, Words can never die—
They echo through Eternity.

II.

FROM THE UPANISHADS.

1.

No human soul expires.
As from the blazing fires
A thousand sparks are thrown,
In nature like their own,
So, thrown from the Eternal Spirit
Our souls its endless life inherit;
For aye the quenchless flame shall burn.
We do not die; we but return.

2.

As rivers lose their form and name,
Yet drop for drop are still the same—
Not lost, but lapped in sea,—
So shall the wise soul be
Not lost, but merged in the Divine,
Who knows the spirit is its shrine.

III.

BUDDHA'S COMPASSION.

1.

The famished tigress howled in vain;
No prey to stay the hunger-pain
Was seen on all the burning plain.

2.

The savage mother, worn and faint,
Heard, wild with woe, her cub's weak plaint,
Then leaped for joy. She saw a saint.

3.

For Buddha, pitying her despair,
Is hastening to the tiger's lair,
In answer to her awful prayer!

4.

"Take me and feed your young," he said,
Great Buddha's blood was fiercely shed,
Great Buddha's heart the tigress fed.

—Independent.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MAY 6.

Orray A. Taft, \$4.40; S. F. Schild, \$3.20; R. Fisher, \$7.40; J. C. Lukes, \$8.50; J. Bass, 50 cents; P. B. Sibbey, \$1.25; Cary Brothers, \$13.20; F. A. Angell, 50 cents; Jos. Knight, \$3.20; Chas. Hazeltine, \$2.95; Hugh McHugh, \$1.60; J. Richmond, \$1.10; W. J. D. Way, \$3.50; E. R. Potter, \$3.20; Frank Coffin, \$2.85; S. J. Mathews, \$3; —, 45 cents; F. E. Abbot, \$100; Harry Hoover, \$3.20; Mrs. W. A. Perkins, \$3.20; J. E. Follatt, \$3.20; Henry Pratt, \$3.20; M. H. Riddell, \$3.20; Wm. Sterns, \$3.20; F. Hyde, \$1; C. S. Palmer, \$3.20; Adam Wolfe, \$3.20; C. A. Hardy, \$3; R. E. Grimshaw, \$16.50; J. Danthy, \$1; F. H. Guilwitz, 20 cents; L. H. Smith, 25 cents; J. A. J. Perkins, 50 cents; T. Clapp, \$9; W. O. Mack, \$3.25; Spencer Strang, \$2.20.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

The Index.

BOSTON, MAY 11, 1876.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 1, TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street; J. T. FRY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, REV. CHARLES VORSEY (England), GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, Editorial Contributors.

CENTENNIAL CONGRESS OF LIBERALS.

CASH RECEIPTS.

Mar. 10.	Received of F. A. Angell, New York	\$5.00
" 13.	" M. Einstein, Titusville, Pa.	2.00
" 13.	" W. Barnsdall, "	2.00
" 13.	" E. Whitcher, Boston	5.00
" 13.	" J. Davison, Alfred Centre, N.Y.	1.00
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" 21.	" M. L. Hawley, Marathon, N.Y.	3.00
" 21.	" R. H. Ranney, Boston	6.00
" 21.	" F. E. Abbot, Boston	25.00
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" 25.	" A Friend	1.00
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" 25.	" Edw. Wigglesworth, Jr., Boston	15.00
April 1.	" T. W. Higginson, Newport, R.I.	3.00
" 1.	" Israel Betz, Oakville, Pa.	5.00
" 1.	" Mrs. M. P. Southworth, Cleveland, O.	5.00
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" 13.	" Jas. Eddy, Providence, R. I.	10.00
" 13.	" G. F. Reynolds (for "Liberals of Shelley, O.")	5.00
" 17.	" J. O. Bentley, Philadelphia	5.00
" 17.	" J. W. Sullot, Salem, Ohio	5.75
" 17.	" J. S. Bonsall, "	.90
" 17.	" M. Schlesinger, Albany	5.00
" 17.	" O. B. Frothingham, New York	25.00
" 25.	" Friends in Bristol Co., Mass.	90.00
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" 25.	" W. H. Crowell, "	5.00
" 25.	" J. F. Ruggles, Bronson, Mich.	1.00
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" 25.	" J. A. Heintzelman, Phila.	5.00
" 25.	" D. G. Crandon, Chelsea, Mass.	1.00
May 1.	" S. R. Koehler, Boston	3.00
" 1.	" Geo. McMahon, New York city	1.50
" 1.	" H. T. Marshall, Brockton, Mass.	5.00
" 1.	" C. A. Simpson, Saxonville, "	5.00
" 1.	" J. Copeland, Humboldt Basin, Oregon	5.00

\$475.45

DAMON Y. KILGORE, Acting Treasurer.
605 Walnut St., Philadelphia.

PAINE BUST SUBSCRIPTIONS.

CASH RECEIPTS.

F. A. Angell, New York	\$1.00
Ebenezer Haskell, Philadelphia	1.00
Friends in Boston	40.00
Carl H. Horsch, Dover, N.H.	2.50
T. W. Higginson, Newport, R.I.	2.00
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Chas. F. Steele, Brooklyn, N. Y.	10.00
Friends in Brooklyn, N. Y.	20.00
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John Carson, Troy Mills, Iowa	1.00
H. T. Marshall, Brockton, Mass.	1.00
H. C. Gray, Painesville, O., (collection)	5.50
J. Sedgbeer, "	.50
Through Banner of Light	15.50
" Boston Investigator	16.75
" New Age	5.50
M. Altman, New York city	20.00
F. A. Green, Boston	5.00
Friends in Boston	2.00

May 1.....\$250.88

CARRIE BURNHAM KILGORE, Ch. Com. Phil. L. L.
605 Walnut St., Philadelphia.

THIS WEEK'S report from Mr. Kilgore had not arrived on going to press.

THE "THOUSAND DOLLAR FUND":

SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF \$100 EACH FOR THE CENTENNIAL CONGRESS OF LIBERALS.

April 15.	A Friend in Boston (paid)	\$100.00
April 28.	Miss Marian Hovey, Boston (paid)	100.00
May 8.	Nath. O. Nash, Boston (paid)	100.00
		\$300.00

FRANCIS E. ABBOT, in trust.

NOTICE.

The Fifth Annual Meeting of the Stockholders of the Index Association will be held at No. 35 Monroe Street, Toledo, Ohio, on Saturday, June 3, 1876, at 2 P.M., in accordance with the articles of incorporation.

F. R. A. ANNUAL MEETING.

The ninth Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association is to be held in Boston as follows:—

Thursday evening, June 1st, 7½ o'clock, annual business meeting in Horticultural Hall, for the election of officers, reading of reports, and addresses on the practical aims and work of the Association.

Friday, June 2d, at 10 A. M. and 3 P. M., sessions in Beethoven Hall for essays and addresses. Morning subject: "Free Religion and the State." Afternoon subject: "Free Religion and the Church."

A social festival will be held in Horticultural Hall on Friday evening.

W. J. POTTER, Secretary.

WANTED—A NEW SUMMER.

By the terms of the bill which has just passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 139 to 94 for the transfer of the Indian Bureau to the War Department, and which goes into effect on July 1, it is provided that "all religious sects are to have equal rights in the Indian Reservations." This is the language of the *Nation*, which we presume to have copied it from the bill itself, at least substantially. Moreover, "officers will be detailed from the army to take charge of Indian affairs, and the commanding officers of departments will be *ex officio* at the head of Indian administration within their departments." Consequently, on the very day appointed for the assembling of the Centennial Congress of Liberals at Philadelphia, it will become a regular duty of the War Department, acting through the various department commanders and with the army at its back, to see to it that "all religious sects have equal rights in the Indian Reservations."

This sounds very well on first hearing. The protection of "equal rights" is conceded so generally to be a duty of the government, and the proposition to protect the "equal rights of all religious sects" is apparently so much a matter of course, that probably few people will notice the very significant substitution of "all religious sects" for *all individual citizens*. Yet the difference is immense. It means that "religious sects," as such, are to be legally recognized as parties entitled to the fullest protection from the government of the United States. It means that the army is to stand ready to see that the Baptists, as a sect, enjoy the same religious rights as the Methodists, as a sect; that the Presbyterians, as a sect, enjoy the same religious rights as the Episcopalians, as a sect; and so on. But it does not mean that the individual liberals of all sorts,—the rationalists, sceptics, heretics, spiritualists, materialists, theists, pantheists, atheists, and so forth,—shall all enjoy the same religious rights as the Baptists or the Methodists, the Presbyterians or the Episcopalians, the Catholics, the Swedenborgians, or the Quakers. It has never yet dawned upon the Congressional mind that an atheist has precisely the same religious rights as the most pious Protestant or Catholic in the land, and that the only way by which the government can possibly respect the religious rights of all individual citizens is to ignore utterly the very existence of "all religious sects" as such; to banish the Church from politics altogether; and to take cognizance only of individuals as possessed of religious rights to be protected. There are no "sect rights," equal or unequal, which the government should recognize in the least. The moment that the government of the United States undertakes to protect anywhere the "equal rights of all religious sects," it will be straightway entangled in a new, embarrassing, and most perilous manner with the Church.

If a correct description, therefore, of this new law is given by the *Nation*, it will create patriotic concern in all who perceive the necessary outcome of the policy thus begun. This is a very bad provision, which may not be productive of any immediate mischief, but yet constitutes one of these unheeded, insidious measures by which constitutional liberties are

gradually lost. It is not a step forward, but a very long step backward. When President Grant turned over the care of our Indian tribes to the religious sects as such, for the avowed purpose (as expressed in the circular of Secretary Delano) of "Christianizing" them, he did a very bad thing with undoubtedly very good intentions, established a precedent sure to be a potent weapon for evil in the coming struggle over the politico-religious question, and cemented a very un-American alliance between the Church and the State which is now casting its black shadow even over Congressional legislation. Such work as this has all got to be undone, now that it is too late to prevent it; and it will be undone without fail, unless America is faced towards the past. Nothing could be more destructive of religious liberty than to accustom the people to this substitution of the "equal rights of all religious sects" for the equal rights of all individual citizens; for such a substitution is the decay of the American idea—the abandonment of that which constitutes the peculiar genius of American institutions.

The interests of religious liberty for the whole people—not merely for Protestants as against Catholics, or Christians as against Jews, Buddhists, freethinkers—require the presence in Congress of a statesman as learned, as eloquent, and above all as incorruptible and as heroically devoted to equal rights in religion, as Charles Sumner was to the cause of equal rights in citizenship. To-day, and probably for many a long to-morrow, it will be impossible anywhere to elect such a man to Congress on such an issue; yet he will be needed there more and more every day, to prevent, or at least to expose in season, such fatal betrayals of the American idea in legislation. We hope to see him there yet before we die.

CENTRIFUGAL AND CENTRIPETAL.

Freedom in thinking on religious subjects has reached a point that, even half a century ago, could not have been anticipated. In speculative matters freedom is, we may say, complete. A respectful hearing is granted to any and all opinions that are presented in a respectful way. Opinions that are presented in a disrespectful way, in the manner and with the tone of defiance, are listened to thoughtfully and gently, in consideration of the past injustice that has provoked the intemperance of dissent. The age of persecution for mere opinion's sake is over. The "infidel" has the comfort of his infidelity. The "atheist" may entertain his atheism in peace, and promulgate it with impunity. The excitement of the struggle for liberty, except in very remote places, has subsided. Parker died sixteen years ago, and now is called conservative by conservatives, who at the time of his death thought he had reached and passed the limit of allowable freedom. The Free Religious Association was organized nine years ago. It was then apprehended by some of the most ardent champions of spiritual liberty that the movement was premature, and would compromise liberty. They feared the formation of another sect which would embarrass progress, and solemnly admonished the advocates of association against the danger they incurred. The experience of nine years has falsified their prediction. The spirit of liberty had already gone so far that centralization has not been at any time imminent. The Free Religious Association has been perfectly true to its pledge, and without effort. It has not become a sect, nor is there the least reason to fear that it will be a sect. On the contrary, it has steadily applied its principle, as occasion demanded, without dispute, misgiving, or even question; and it has the satisfaction of seeing its principle adopted by people who were at first hostile to it, and of hearing it called commonplace, and a truism too well accepted to need associated advocacy.

Things being so, is it rash to conclude that the radicals may now safely combine and concentrate for certain special ends that cannot be attained otherwise? Can they not, even yet, trust themselves, or each other? Is their principle still so indefinite and precarious, that they cannot venture to approach each other within arm's length for fear of losing their individuality? How much longer, then, must we wait? What further attenuation must the centrifugal force be drawn out to?

If it were a question of concentrating for the purpose of forming a party—concentrating on beliefs or opinions,—that were quite another matter. That would be a disloyalty so active and palpable as to be self-convicted. No friend of liberty would think of that, or countenance it, even in appearance. Such a thing was never dreamed of. Precisely the contrary. The absolute accomplishment of liberty, making the

formation of a new party impossible, is the ground of belief that the time has come when a practical direction can be given to the principle which is now running to leaf, and waving rather uselessly in the wind. The centripetal force is required now to balance the other. If radicals do not yet feel able to combine for anything, their radicalism cannot be of good quality. May it not be that by long pursuance of the diffusive tendency they have become thin-blooded, weak, and visionary?

They are practical things that call for combination; things that many may unite in without in the least compromising their special shades of opinion, or arresting their speculative speed. One thing is the support of a thoroughly able, broad journal, that may adequately represent the liberal tendency in the country. Another is the establishment and support of a central office for publications, so that their best literature can be placed before the public in dignified and attractive shape. Another is the active encouragement of measures looking towards the abolition of ecclesiastical usages and laws in secular affairs,—in other words, to the entire separation of Church and State institutions; an end toward which the radical idea points with unmovable finger. We are not of those who charge radicals with indifference. Rather they seem absorbed by the fascinations of principles the practical issues whereof they have not fairly contemplated. Their radicalism is a luxury which has not lost its edge, and which they are never sated with. They repel the thought of turning from their banquet, and travelling many days "on the strength of their meat." But the use of food is to make blood; and the power of the blood is shown in the vigor of life. Radicals will be judged to be but half believers, if they do not before long justify their faith by works of more pliancy and moment than vindicating the liberty of their opinions. Even now, radicalism is falling into discredit through its practical inefficiency. It will be its own fault if it falls into discredit utterly and irredeemably.

O. B. F.

SCHOOLS IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

While I have been in Columbia I have made it a point to study somewhat the educational problem in this State. Here, as everywhere in the South, the crying need is more schools, more instruction. A better start, perhaps, has been given to the cause of public education in South Carolina since the war, through philanthropic help from the North, than in most other Southern States. Here have been found some of the finest teachers that the North sent into the field; and some of the best organized schools, that have set good models for after-workers, have been the natural consequence. But in spite of Freedmen's Commissions, and all other charitable aid from the North, and notwithstanding the home efforts that are now being made in the same direction, it is evident that what South Carolina wants most of all is the school-teacher and the spelling-book. She wants free schools for the whites and blacks alike.

The State has already organized a public school system; and most of the schools that were started by Northern philanthropy have now been adopted by the people, and are supported by public taxation. The seventh Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Education for the year 1875 now lies before me. It is a bulky pamphlet of 170 pages, and indicates that the machinery is set for a good educational work. But it is evident, on inspection, that through poverty, parental and public indifference, and the as yet somewhat disorganized state of society, the machinery is not doing half the work that it might do, and that needs to be done. The Report shows, for instance, that while there are in the State 239,264 children of the proper school age, there are in school only 110,416,—a good deal less than one-half. Of the white children a little more than one-half are shown to attend school; of the colored much less than half. There appears, however, to have been a considerable increase in the school attendance and in the number of schools over the preceding year. Again, the Report shows that the average time throughout the State during which the schools have been open, for the year 1875, is but four and one half months, when it should have been twice that. The time, however, is not averaged by the number of scholars in the schools; and it should be said that the large schools in the cities keep open longer than the schools in the sparsely-settled country districts. The State has a Normal School, well-organized, and under efficient teachers, but it only has as yet about forty pupils.

Considering how poor the people are, and how they

have been swindled by rascally office-holders, what they have done and are attempting to do for public education is highly commendable. But it reveals the immense deal of work that still needs to be done. And in this work the encouragement and aid of the North are still needed. Philanthropy can make no better investment of its funds than in Southern schools,—especially in such schools as the Normal and Industrial Institute at Hampton, Va., of which General Armstrong is the head. The North can now help the South in no better way than by helping to train teachers of character and ability for the public schools. The public school is to be peculiarly the safeguard of Southern society, politically and socially. One cannot go, as I have done, from the Legislature here to the penitentiary, and from the penitentiary to the public school, without feeling what a vast responsibility rests upon the latter for the future security of the State. Whatever Bishop McQuaid and others may say of the injury to morals from the public schools in the North, here, it is plain, the public school presents the only moral and civilizing influence that is now able to reach a large number of children. In the Howard School, of Columbia, the other day—a school of 700 colored pupils, most efficiently disciplined and taught under the principalship of a colored woman of fine intelligence and character, who has the aid of several good assistants, white and colored,—I rejoiced not only in the mental training these hundreds of children were getting, but quite as much in the fact that many of them, for several hours of the day, are rescued from the evil influences of homes that are the abodes of barbarous ignorance and degradation, and for these hours are brought under the moral power of persons of culture and virtue.

But it is not book-education alone that is needed in the South. Industrial education is quite as much demanded. Said a wise old negro to a friend of mine, "I want my children to learn in the books, but I want 'em, too, to learn how to work, and not feel above it." And that was true philosophy—the philosophy of a public school system, needed in the North as well as in the South,—the training of the faculties to honorable and self-supporting labor as well as to book accomplishments.

W. J. F.

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY R. C.

The impeachment of Belknap proceeds slowly, and, as we write, the question of the jurisdiction of the Senate is under debate. With regard to the guilt of Belknap, there is, of course, but one opinion, and most persons, we suppose, would be glad to have him debarred from ever again holding office; but we very much doubt, nevertheless, the right of the Senate to try him under present circumstances. The fact that he is not now a civil officer of the United States cannot be disputed, nor can we be satisfied with the assertion that the arguments against the jurisdiction of the Senate are purely technical, as many maintain. The *Nation*, we observe, holds that "the notion that the Senate has no jurisdiction over persons who are out of office through resignation, is open to the serious objection that it renders the whole process (of impeachment) nugatory, inasmuch as any officer can thus escape it and immediately be reappointed to office." Our reply to this would be that it presupposes a collusion in rascality, on the part of leading officers of government, in the highest degree improbable. If Belknap can be tried by the Senate, why cannot Jefferson Davis be tried; and why may not notoriety-loving politicians initiate impeachment proceedings against any one of a long list of civil officers who went out of office fifteen years ago? General Grant's blunder in hastily accepting Belknap's resignation is not likely to be repeated, but will serve as a sufficient warning to future Presidents. On the whole, therefore, we are inclined to believe that if Belknap be handed over to the Criminal Court which has indicted him, it would be safer for the country to risk the possibility of having him again appointed to office rather than to establish a precedent which may become the parent of a great deal of mischief.

During the week, Mr. Blaine has gained the two delegations from Oregon and Maryland, and some of the delegates from Georgia and from Massachusetts. Newspaper calculations give Mr. Blaine a plurality of the delegates already chosen to the Cincinnati Convention, Mr. Morton coming next, then Mr. Conkling, and Mr. Bristow fourth. As every day makes plainer the fact that the Republicans can hope to win the next election only by retaining the votes of all who have ever been identified with the party—including most of the Independents,—the appeals of the party papers for harmony of action are becoming amusingly urgent, and they exhibit a remarkable facility for extolling Mr. Blaine in one column and Mr. Bristow in the next, maintaining the equal excellence of both men, and feeling assured that those who favor the nomination of Bristow should be willing to accept of Blaine in case the latter should receive the nomination, even as they (the party

papers) would be willing to accept of Bristow under like circumstances.

No one doubts that Mr. Blaine (provided he remain uninjured by the Little Rock and Fort Smith investigation), if nominated and elected, would make a respectable President,—that is, he would be personally popular, and he would avoid the worst blunders of Grant. The principal objections to Mr. Blaine are (1) that he is not and (2) cannot be a reformer. He has been identified with the present methods of administration for very many years, and has never shown the slightest disposition to reform them in any way. Even if he were now disposed to favor a reform of the civil service, his obligations to leading politicians would make any practical efforts impossible. Moreover, Mr. Blaine (3) is emphatically a politician, as distinguished from a statesman, and is now manipulating every party wire of which he can get a hold in order to secure his own nomination. In many minds, also, it is no slight objection against him that (4) he is, as Mr. David A. Wells would say, "a pig-iron protectionist."

Now, the time has come, in the opinion of very many of the best people of our country, for a thorough and persistent reform in our civil service, a reform which cannot be led by any such man as Blaine. The people who desire this reform would vote for Mr. Blaine only in case he should become the lesser of two evils between which they should feel themselves obliged to choose,—for instance, in case the Democrats should nominate a soft-money man. But if the Democrats should nominate a man like Tilden, and there should be a reasonable prospect that the party would be led by such men as Tilden, Hewett, Gordon, Wells, and Gaston, no one can doubt that a large, independent vote would be cast for the Democratic nominee. The Republican leaders should understand, therefore, that the success of the party in the next election depends, in all probability, upon the character of the man who is nominated at Cincinnati. The nomination of Morton or Conkling would certainly be followed by defeat. The nomination of Blaine would be attended by great danger, and would probably be followed by defeat, unless the Democrats should be guilty of gross stupidity. The nomination of Bristow, or of some man who represents the same principles with which the name of Mr. Bristow has become identified, can alone be made with perfect safety.

The English government has not yet decided to return Winslow, the Boston forger, nor has he yet been released, although it is probable that he would have been set free before now had not our government urgently remonstrated, although English law now forbids the surrender of a criminal unless the country sending for him shall agree not to try him for any other cause than that for which he is surrendered. Yet it should be remembered that this law was not passed until sometime after our present treaty with England had gone into effect, and treaty provisions cannot be modified by one country without the consent of the other. It is of great importance that a rascal like Winslow should not escape legal punishment, and we think, therefore, that the English government has made a mistake in bringing up this matter at the present time. We trust that further negotiations may bring about an amicable settlement of the difficulty, a difficulty, let us admit, for which we are somewhat to blame in that we tried a criminal recently for smuggling, after having failed to convict him of another crime—forgery, we believe,—for which he had been surrendered.

General Grant sent a very peculiar message to the House last Thursday. The House had passed a resolution—for what purpose, we do not know,—asking the President if he had performed any official acts away from Washington, and if so, requesting him to mention the acts and the place or places in which they had been performed. General Grant, very properly, in our opinion, declined to give the desired information, on the ground that the House has no right to require him to give an account of the discharge of his executive duties; and, further, that the information desired could be of no assistance in legislation. Appended to the message was a memorandum giving a statement of the absences from the seat of government of the various Presidents, and mentioning some of the acts performed by them while absent. From this memorandum it appears that Washington, besides other acts, issued the proclamation respecting the famous whiskey insurrection in Pennsylvania from Mt. Vernon, and that he was absent from the Capital at least 181 days. John Adams was absent 835 days in four years, and performed many official acts at Quincy, forwarding from that place, for instance, a commission for a Justice of the Supreme Court. Jefferson was absent 796 days in eight years. Jackson was absent 502 days, and signed the order for the removal of deposits from State banks at Boston. Later Presidents do not seem to have been absent so frequently, Taylor being away from Washington only 31 days; Fillmore, 60; Pierce, 57 days; and Buchanan, 57 days. No mention is made of the absences of Lincoln and Johnson.

The week, at Washington, has been a dull one. The Senate, besides attending to the trial of Belknap, managed to pass a single bill appropriating \$50,000 for supplies for the Apache Indians, and for the removal of certain other Indians from one agency to another. The Japanese Indemnity Fund Bill was debated at considerable length, but no definite action was taken, it being, apparently, very hard work for the Senate to decide that the United States should be honest enough to send back money unjustly received. The House rescinded a resolution of censure upon

John Young Brown, passed by the last House; and appropriated \$4,800 for the improvement of the ventilation of the Hall of Representatives. Both Houses accepted an invitation to be present at the opening of the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia, and decided to adjourn from the 9th to the 12th. Mr. Kerr's health has again failed, and Mr. Cox has been appointed Speaker *pro tem*.

In addition to the above proceedings of Congress, we are assured that the House did "a hard day's work" last Friday, passing on that day no less than sixty-seven private bills. Press-reports give us no information concerning these private bills, and it is safe to affirm, therefore, that they are of importance only to those whose names are mentioned in them, and to the particular members of Congress who "put them through." Of one thing, however, we may be certain; namely, that out of these sixty-seven private bills, not more than six or seven would under any circumstances have been presented by any member of Congress who has any regard for his national reputation. We wish it were possible to publish some account of the nature of every private bill, as well as the names of the Congressmen who dare to introduce them. Once in a great while, the introduction of a private bill may be justifiable; but if half-a-dozen private bills should be presented during a single session of Congress, five out of the six, at least, should be rejected.

One of the dangers of modern civilization was illustrated last week in the explosion of a railroad magazine on the Palisades of the Hudson River, above Jersey City. Not a vestige of the building or of its contents could be discovered after the explosion, and the solid rock upon which the building stood was excavated to a considerable depth. On the other side of the Hudson, the immense buildings in the lower part of New York City were shaken perceptibly, and people rushed to the windows of their houses, or into the streets, to ascertain the cause of the strange occurrence. No one in the city, of course, knew of the explosion at the Palisades, and it was generally believed that an earthquake had taken place. For the benefit of ministerial readers, we suggest that this incident might be used with telling effect in a sermon. The explosive materials of modern society are infinitely more dangerous than any known in former times, and need, consequently, far more careful handling. An application of the sermon might be made to free-lovers, socialists, and soft-money men, with a passing reference to prohibitionists, and to reformers in general.

ENGLISH SKETCHES.

BY MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

LONDON, April 15, 1876.

I think that, a few weeks ago, I spoke of a dispute going on in Bolton, Lancashire, about a tombstone erected in the nonconformist part of Bolton cemetery to the memory of John Hilton, a secularist. On this tombstone were engraved two lines, found among the papers of the dead man:—

"Let gods attend on things that gods must know;
Man's only care relates to things below."

And to this were added the words: "*Nescio Deos.*" A Roman Catholic and an Anglican priest, passing by, saw the inscription, and objected to it, and succeeded in bringing the matter before the Burial Board. A by-law that had never been enforced—to the effect that all inscriptions must be submitted for the approval of the Board before being engraved on the tombstones—was revived against the sons of the dead man, and they were ordered to erase the couplet. This they refused to do, and asked for assistance from the National Secular Society. The Executive of this society resolved to fight the case, if possible, and, to this end, procured an adjournment of the decision of the Burial Board, so as to give time to get council's opinion as to the possibility of carrying the matter into a court of law. A case was drawn up by the President and submitted to council, and the Burial Board adjourned their meeting until April 6. Council's opinion has gone against us, there being no case on which to fight, no legal "leg" to stand upon, in fact. The Burial Board on April 6 duly met and passed a resolution to erase the inscription, and this resolution came before the Town Council on April 12 for confirmation. An interesting debate took place upon it, the Mayor rising to intimate that he had received the following communication:—

"Copy of a resolution passed at a public meeting: 'That this meeting expresses its disapproval of the resolution of the Burial Board Committee of the Bolton Corporation passed on the 6th inst., concerning the erasure of the inscription over the grave of the late John Hilton, as an interference with the liberty of the subject and the right of free speech.'"

Mr. Bromley, in opposing the resolution that the action of the Burial Board should be confirmed, said, very justly:—

"To him, on reading the inscription, it was no offence whatever; it did not hurt, or offend his feelings. Indeed, he simply looked upon it as an expression of opinion which he strongly differed from himself, interpreted in the sense which many persons put upon it; yet at the same time as long as he asked for liberty for himself, he should endeavor as much as possible to grant the same liberty to every other burgess, and he trusted that council would endeavor to respect the rights of every burgess equally, especially in a public cemetery. They were all aware that the Cemetery had been made to supply the wants of the whole borough, irrespective of party, and it had been made with the public funds. Every burgess who was living at the time of its formation

had to pay some portion towards its formation, and until such time that it was a paying concern they had to support its being kept in order. The council recognized the various opinions which then existed, which existed now, and which it appeared would exist forever. They divided the Cemetery into three great portions. The Church of England had one portion, the Roman Catholics had another, and another portion was allotted to all those who did not conform with either of the others. In the consecrated ground they had certain rites of their own, which he had never heard of the Dissenters challenging, and the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England were understood to be proscribed. The dissenting ground, which was intended for all those who did not conform, was called unconsecrated, and was not confined to any particular sect or party of religionists; therefore he thought it belonged to the people entirely, and if they allowed one expression of opinion on a tombstone, he did not see how they could draw the line and refuse another. All that they had got to look at was that duty and order were observed, and obscenity was excluded from the graveyards."

Mr. Bromley was honest enough to see that, as he claimed liberty for himself, he must grant it to others, and there was no plea, except that of might, which could support the freedom of one that did not equally support the liberty of all. The very fact that a portion of the Cemetery is set apart for those who do not conform is a confession that their disagreement is recognized, and their right to that disagreement acknowledged. How inconsistent then is it to say, "You may disagree with us," and then to object to the Dissenter expressing his dissent! Mr. Bromley also very candidly said that he had known the late Mr. Hilton for many years; that he was a "good, honest, and upright man," and that it would be disgraceful to the council if they desecrated his grave. Mr. Brinslow also spoke against the erasure of the inscription, although he much objected to it personally, for he thought "it would be something fearful if the Churchmen were to quarrel with the Dissenters, the Catholics with the Protestants, and the Protestant Dissenters with what they termed the Atheists, as to the inscriptions on the tombstones." "If the Burial Board removed that inscription, they would have to investigate the whole of the other inscriptions in the cemetery, and that would be no light task, because there were scores of objectionable inscriptions, to his mind, in the cemetery, which would have to be studied and considered; if they voted against that particular inscription. Which is morally worse, atheism or idolatry? If they are 'much of a muchness,' then surely any inscription on a Roman Catholic tombstone appealing to Mary, mother of God, ought to be erased by a sternly Protestant Board, on the ground that prayers to a woman long since dead are manifestly idolatrous. The style of inscriptions would become an interesting record of the religious opinions of the majority of the Burial Board, varying according to the faith phases of the temporary majority."

Of course the majority of the town council were bigoted and intolerant; *cetera va sans dire* in a Christian land, and the resolution to erase the inscription was carried by a majority of twenty-seven against nine. The old protestations of reverence for liberty were duly repeated by the tyrannizers, "liberty" being, according to their ideas, the right of doing what they like best, and the right of forcing other people into accord with them. Liberty which is not in accord with their own ideas is "license," and must be sternly repressed; but it is a gross infringement of liberty if any one else interferes with their own free action.

Mr. Hilton steadily refuses to erase the inscription, and will leave the Board to carry out their own order; and he suggests that, if they begin upon the inscription on his father's tombstone, they must, in justice, erase others equally "objectionable." For instance, close by this grave is another, on the stone of which is engraved: "All his hopes and fears lie with him in the grave"; is not this quite as "un-Christian" as that on the late Mr. Hilton's tombstone? I suppose the Board will now send a mason to erase the inscription, and it is a curious question whether, in so doing, they will not render themselves liable to an action for trespass. At any rate, anything that can be done, will be done, to vindicate the right of those who support a cemetery to have a reasonable use of their own property. Hard as it may seem to the Christian, we sceptics must be buried somewhere. We must not bury ourselves in our back gardens—and we have not all got even back gardens,—and as we must dispose of ourselves somehow, and the cemetery is the only legal place, what can we do? If we were Christians, we might try to follow the example of Jesus and ascend into heaven with our "flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature"; but, being only materialists, we cannot accomplish this feat, and, finding ourselves on the earth, there we must stay. We sympathize with the Christians in their veneration, but scarcely see how to prevent it. Perhaps they might arrange with God that we should not die, and then we should not want any tombstones.

American friends of Mr. George Jacob Holyoake will be interested in learning that he is going to bring out a new weekly journal, entitled the *Secular Review*. Some money was lately subscribed by some friends of Mr. Holyoake to bring out a weekly paper, which was to have its own distinct place in secular journalism, working side by side with, not in opposition to, papers already established. Unfortunately, Mr. Holyoake admitted as co-editor a young man of considerable ability, but of a bitter and jealous nature, and, owing to Mr. Holyoake's temporary lack of eyesight, articles of an offensive character were in-

serted in the journal,—articles which Mr. Holyoake was the first to regret and to resent. He offered his coadjutor to carry on the paper alone, but the younger man elected to take it on his own shoulders. When subscriptions were first solicited, it was promised that, if either editor ceased to conduct the journal, the subscribers should be invited to elect another in his place. Some subscriptions have been paid in; one editor has passed away, but no election of a successor has been proposed. The broken agreement has naturally caused some bitter feeling. An appeal for further funds from the lone editor has fallen flat, and Mr. Holyoake is rightly and justly endeavoring to keep faith with those who promised funds on the strength of his honored name, by bringing out this new journal, to which his friends in Europe and in America will assuredly wish all success. Mr. Holyoake possesses a pen of delicate and artistic power, is a master of pure and graceful English, and has a brain of peculiar subtlety and precision. A place is marked out for him which no one else can fill so well, but the filling of which will do good service to the cause of civil and religious liberty with which his name is identified.

[We cannot resist the impulse to add a hearty amen to this graceful tribute to Mr. Holyoake—a man whose moral dignity is equal to his native literary genius, and who has by long years of faithful service earned the grateful regard of all true friends of mankind.—Ed.]

Communications.

A VOICE FROM SWITZERLAND.

SIR:—

How true it is that when we have been thinking very seriously on some subject, and wish we had sufficient ability to write out our thoughts, lo! in a short time we meet with a book, or pamphlet, or newspaper article which expresses all we wished to say much better and more forcibly than we could have done. I write this *apropos* of my change of religious views and my reading of THE INDEX. I have scarcely any fault to find with the paper; it has become a weekly necessity to me now, and I always find something in it sound, clever, able, and nutritive. Especially do I like your work, and the contributions of my friend, Mr. Potter, and of Mr. O. B. Frothingham. In THE INDEX of March 26, there is a communication from a Mr. Appleton, of Providence, on the "Knowable and Unknowable." I have no fault to find with the article as a whole; it is good and well written. But how long it takes really thoughtful and intelligent people to understand and truly sympathize with our great Emerson. Transcendentalist, dreamer about the unknowable, indeed! He is really the most practical man we have; he is a true philosopher, the man of thought of the age. If Mr. Appleton will read attentively the *Conduct of Life*, and the lecture on the "Progress of Culture" delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Cambridge in 1867, published in *Letters and Social Aims*, I am sure he will hardly speak again of Emerson "fumbling over his manuscripts for shapeless aphorisms," and not knowing what he means, or whether he means anything.

How truthfully and eloquently Mr. Emerson describes the character of THE INDEX in his "Progress of Culture"!

"We have been taught to tread familiarly on giddy heights of thought, and to wont ourselves to daring conjectures. The narrow sectarian cannot read astronomy with impunity. The creeds of his Church shrivel like dried leaves at the door of the observatory, and a new and healthful air regenerates the human mind, and imparts a sympathetic enlargement to its inventions and method. The cosmical west wind which, meteorologists tell us, constitutes, by the revolution of the globe, the upper current, is alone broad enough to carry to every city and suburb—to the farmer's house, the miner's shanty, and the fisher's boat—the inspirations of this new hope of mankind!"

I am writing these lines from the little town of Baden, about half an hour by rail from Zürich. The ruins of the old feudal castle of the Austrian family who had sway in Switzerland during the Middle Ages, overhang the modern town; and the principal street runs under a fine old tower with four turrets, bearing date of the close of the great fifteenth century, the period of the Renaissance. The picturesque ruins of the old stronghold look down upon the capacious modern school-house, and the rock upon which the castle is built is pierced by the tunnel of the railway which leads to Zürich. The close of the fifteenth century gave birth to many distinguished men, and a noble work they did in their confined sphere. But contrast the fifteenth with the nineteenth century! The feudal tower looks down on the flourishing school-house; the railway and telegraph pierce the living rock which the old robbers and tyrants selected for their safe retreats; the cheap post and electric wire carry the good news much faster and farther than the old lumbering diligence and lazy canal-boat.

When I was at Cambridge, I remember reading with great pleasure Stanley's *Life of Dr. Arnold*. From his life I went to his sermons, especially those delivered to the boys at Rugby school,—no doubt you remember them very well. One upon the "good householder who brings from his treasure things new and old" I have never forgotten,—I mean the lesson it taught. Let me beg of you, as an humble reader of THE INDEX, not to forget the vast debt we owe the past,—even the myths and mythology of the Bible.

In the last INDEX I received, there were two excellent letters on the subject of the recent overthrow of the devil by the civil courts in England. The decision was very just; but the devil of a sinful conscience is not dead by any means. Who ever emancipated himself more from the tyranny of the old creeds than poor Blanco White? And yet I remember his saying so forcibly: If men would only see the rewards and punishments of this life, the instant and delightful satisfaction following upon a good and virtuous action, and the distress, remorse, and often despair, following upon a wrong, sinful act; the heaven and hell are here, if anywhere. As Mr. Emerson says, "We see God face to face every hour." "Every day is Doomsday." "Absolve yourself to yourself." We need no priest; the old dogmas have their lesson for us, even the devil and his angels. Do not discard the old while teaching the new, for, after all, there is not much new under the sun. 'Tis the old story with a new formula, a new dress.

You may throw this into the waste-paper basket, but I have long wished to write you something, and tell you how sincerely your noble work is appreciated by one who is unknown to you.

I am very truly yours,

ATHERTON BLIGHT.

BADEN, Switzerland, April 12, 1876.

JAMES H. COTIER.

CHARLESTOWN, May 7, 1876.

MR. F. E. ABBOT:

Dear Friend,—As you have kindly offered your columns for an appeal to the generosity of people in the case of James H. Cotier, I will briefly state the facts in the case, hoping that all who remember the young man, and desire to aid him in his efforts toward a true manhood, will, at this critical moment of his life, help him as their means will permit.

The members of the Second Radical Club will remember this young man, who two years ago was before them on several occasions to tell the story of his wrongs. They may remember, also, that he met Warden Chamberlain, of the Massachusetts State Prison, at a special meeting of the Club. For nearly two years he has been steadily at work, learning the printer's trade in New York City. He has conducted himself in a manner which has won the respect and affection of his companions, and the fullest confidence of his employer.

But for nearly five weeks he has been an inmate of the Manhattan Eye and Ear Infirmary, having suffered a severe injury to one of his eyes. At first the physician thought he must lose the sight of the eye, and even the eye itself; but now hopes are entertained of saving the eye, though with greatly impaired sight. He is unable and unwilling to remain at the hospital, but the physician says a change would be dangerous. He has no means, and has thus far met his expenses through the kindness of friends. May I not hope that all who remember his frank, open countenance, his earnest spirit, his evident purpose to make himself a useful and honored citizen, will aid him at this time, that he may not only be enabled to receive all the medical treatment he needs, but be gladdened and encouraged to continue his life of honorable struggle until he can by his own individual efforts stand alone, and return the favors extended to him by aiding others who are unable to help themselves?

M. S. WETMORE.

[We second this appeal very earnestly. Mr. Cotier is personally known to us, and has commanded our great respect by his manly endurance of misfortunes enough to crush all hope out of most men, young or old. He is no mendicant, and has given every proof of his resolve to win his own way in the world; but disasters have rained upon him thick and fast, and now he sorely needs a succoring hand. It would not be wise to tell his story in detail to the general public; he shrinks from this with a pride that all must respect; and it is only because fate threatens to make him permanently helpless through blindness that he has reluctantly consented to this appeal. Whoever remits money for him to "Mrs. M. S. Wetmore, 31 Cross Street, Charlestown, Mass.," may be assured it will do good, and good alone.—ED.]

THE SECTARIAN CONSCIENCE AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

EDITOR INDEX:—

The question lately discussed in THE INDEX, as to whether our common schools should be secular or sectarian, seems to me to turn upon this point only: Is our government, as established by its founders, a purely secular government, or is it sectarian and secular mixed?

If it be a purely secular government, and, as such, good enough for legitimate Americans; and if under its protection perfect liberty of conscience is guaranteed to each and every individual in the nation,—then are not all religious sects which are attempting to inculcate their creeds into the Constitution of the nation, and of the separate States as well, open to an indictment for a traitorous attempt to construct "a Commonwealth within a Commonwealth"? If so, can these sectarians who are so invidiously and industriously "sapping and mining" the foundations of the government established by our fathers reasonably complain that, when caught in the act and compelled to desist, their equality of rights is infringed upon? Is it not a piece of high comedy, when they turn upon us with the whine: "Your boasted liberty is a myth!"—or, "Where now is your vaunted liberty of conscience?" "You forbid us do-

ing what our conscience dictates; and our conscience, we know, is right, for do we not get it directly from the Pope, or the General Assembly, or from Brigham Young? Who shall gainsay it? To them do we owe allegiance, and not to your beggarly secular government! Therefore, if you hinder us in our holy work of constructing a Commonwealth within your Commonwealth, and of subverting your government to the end that we may establish the Christ's vicar in the papal chair in Washington, or the Head of the General Assembly, or Brigham Young, and so substitute our *Syllabus* for your Constitution, you are violating our several consciences, and your boast of liberty of conscience is as the idle wind."

Now, Mr. Editor, it seems to me (one of "the unlettered sceptics of the West") that the above is a fair illustration of the logic used by these religious zealots and bigots—all of them—in their attempts to graft themselves into the State, and into the common schools, into our social life, nay, into our very homes! If it be so, then out upon them all! They are as those who, receiving protection and hospitality at one's hands, insidiously attempt to fire his domicile and to destroy its inmates, and should be treated accordingly. Even their "sincerity" should not shield them.

But "what is a party which is so contemptibly small as not to be able, when left to itself, to make a respectable ripple on the surface politic, going to do about it?" This question, I opine, can only be answered by "Boss Tweed," and he, just now, is "non-comatus in swampibus up a stumpibus."

Yours, for well-defined lines of separation between State and Church, T. W. ROBBINS.
{ MILLBROOK P. O., Mecosta Co., Mich.,
April 18, 1876.

A SUBSTITUTE FOR ORGANIZATIONS.

LANSING, Mich., April 10, 1876.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Almost every citizen who takes any interest in the public welfare desires the organization of societies in every locality for the advancement of what he considers true reforms. All the friends of "free religion," for instance, desire to see that list of "Liberal Leagues" in THE INDEX greatly enlarged. But I have thought for some time that organization might to a great extent be superseded. Organizations are difficult to start, more difficult to maintain, and are always attended with trouble, jealousies, bickerings, etc. I propose the following method as more practicable and convenient:—

Let every newspaper, especially every organ of a reform, call for a list of three correspondents (influential persons) *pro*, and three *contra*, on the various reforms of the day, in every town, village, and neighborhood, the names to be published in certain designated papers, or on sheets by a bureau, and a marked copy of the paper or sheet be sent to each person named in the list, for correction if needed.

With these persons correspondence may be had, and through them the masses may be reached by party leaders, lecturers, publishers, bureaus, and reform societies of all kinds. Any one, or several, without waiting for any body else, may immediately forward such a list, as I do below, for example:—

LANSING, MICH.

Prohibition of liquor traffic: For—James J. Mead, A. E. Young, John A. Elder; against—W. S. George, Dr. H. B. Shank, Dr. I. H. Bartholomew.

Hygienic medication: For—E. Summers, Mrs. W. L. Larned, Mrs. E. R. Merrifield; against—Dr. Geo. E. Ranney, Dr. J. B. Hull, Dr. I. Dever.

Marriage: For radical change — — — — —; against—J. B. Porter, Rev. Coles R. Wilkins, L. B. Potter.

Woman suffrage: For—Mrs. S. E. Emery, Dr. H. B. Baker, Mrs. S. F. Summers; against—Mrs. J. B. Porter, T. R. Cushing, N. B. Jones.

"Liberalism," or unbelief in supernaturalism: For—Geo. B. Richmond, Dr. H. B. Baker, E. Summers; against—the pastors of the various evangelical churches.

Complete secularization of the State: For—W. S. George, E. Summers, Rev. D. Crosby; against—Rev. T. C. Abbot, Rev. Charles Simpson, Prof. E. V. W. Brokaw.

More science in the common schools: For—E. Summers, W. S. George, J. W. Kling; against—Prof. E. V. W. Brokaw, Rev. J. E. Weed, O. B. Stebbins.

E. SUMMERS.

"WASH AND BE CLEAN."

By a majority of 109, the members of the Young Men's Gymnasium of Cincinnati have recently resolved not to wash on Sunday. They seem to have forgotten that cleanliness is next to godliness. They are much like the little girl whose mother was vainly urging her to get up and bathe. Said she, "Mother, you like to be clean and cold, but I like to be warm and dirty." And so the rooms of the Gymnasium are to be closed on Sunday, and the members can go elsewhere, or go unwashed. The majority who have so decided hardly desire a reputation for uncleanness; but there is great danger that they have hopelessly fastened upon themselves the title of "dirty Christians." T. P. W.

CINCINNATI, Ohio, April 12, 1876.

"How is it," asked Bishop Willberforce of one of his Roman Catholic servant-girls, "that you can feel so kindly towards me when you believe that I shall certainly be lost?" "Oh, no!" said she. "But how can I be saved," persisted the bishop, "when your Church teaches that there is no salvation for those out of its pale?" "You will be saved through invincible ignorance," was the reply.

Sanctuary of Superstition.

HIDING.—I never saw a sinner in my life that was not trying to hide away from God.—D. L. Moody, at New York, Feb. 20.

HEADS OF NO USE IN RELIGION.—As Spurgeon remarks, the Bible does not say you must have new heads, or that you must seek Him with your head; but it says you must have new hearts, and must seek Him with your heart. If it meant head, it would have said so.—D. L. Moody at the N. Y. Hippodrome, Feb. 23, 1876.

THE MIRACLES OF PRAYER.—I know not how sufficiently to represent to the reader the prevailing efficacy of genuine prayer. We know that it has stayed the pestilence, that it has caused the sun to stand still in the heavens, that it has parted the sea, opened the prison doors, healed the sick, and raised the dead to life again.—"The Christian," Nov., 1875.

THE MINISTERS TO BLAME.—If, then, the "law is our school-master to bring us to Christ," and "we love him because (we see) he first loved us," let us preach and believe more in "the damnation of hell." Let the love we have for Christ and our fellow-men induce us to persuade them by all possible means to be reconciled to God. Are not the ministers of the Gospel to blame for not giving this doctrine more prominence in their discourses? If they really believe in the teachings of the Bible in regard to this matter, could you keep them from preaching it? And would there not be many more awakened and converted if they should? And will not the blood of souls be on their garments unless they change, and preach, as did John the Baptist, about the unquenchable fire?—*Zion's Herald (Methodist)*, Boston, April 11, 1872.

FOREVER.—This then embodies the Scriptural doctrine of future punishment. It is not, as sometimes misrepresented, that men will be punished eternally for single faults committed in this life. Still less is it that though sincerely repentant and desirous of reform, eternal suffering will be inflicted on them. It is this: that as the tree falls so it shall lie; that as we choose so we shall live. He that has chosen the life of righteousness (in external conduct) and holiness (in heart) will be placed under circumstances which will insure him from ever falling under the dominion of sin. He that has chosen to be unjust (in external conduct) and filthy (in heart life) will be shut out from all the redemptive influences of this life, left to himself, shut up to his own choice, and so will abide in sin and consequent suffering forever.—*Illustrated Christian Weekly*, New York, March 23, 1872.

THE LORD'S PRAYER.—The Lord's Prayer has been made the subject of an elaborate and costly stone-engraving (size 22x26). It consists of the Lord's Prayer embellished with over one hundred symbols and emblems of the most fitting and appropriate character. These symbols and emblems are decorated with the finest and most exquisite work that it is possible for an artist to do. The artist, Hermann Claussen, whose name is known throughout the world, has faithfully and with seemingly supernatural imagination and skill, engraved the imaginary scenes of heaven in its resplendent beauty and glory. The angels, cherubs, and the throne of God itself, have been cut in figures of matchless grandeur and beauty. Each line of words across the engraving is varied in size and style, so that all the choicest and most fascinating styles of type are represented. Nothing like it has ever been produced, and probably never will. It has cost years of toil and a large sum of money to complete this work of art. We have spared neither money, labor, nor time in the completion of what we regard as the grandest piece of workmanship ever produced in this country. We have made extensive preparations by which we are prepared to furnish both Protestant and Catholic copies, in any quantity, to agents and dealers in any part of the world. This explanation will give you but a faint idea of the transcendent beauty and perfection of the design and execution of this engraving. It must be seen to enable you to realize what it is in its perfection.

A Word to Agents.—As there never has been anything of the kind sold in this country, the selling of it affords you a golden harvest indeed. It is the only new thing of any importance out for agents at the present time. A large number of agents are at work selling it now, and are reporting extraordinary large sales from every quarter. You cannot fail to succeed in selling it, as the moral sentiment of this engraving insures its success. This feature cannot be overestimated, as it alone destined the sale of it throughout all Christendom. Every Christian man or woman will have one, if they have the money to buy it with. One word with regard to the price. In consideration of the excessive hard times, we have put the retail price at 50 cents each, which is remarkably low, and brings it within the reach of almost every person. Although it was intended at first to charge \$2 per copy, this would only be a corresponding price with the average \$2 stone engraving. Agents do not fail to send for a sample copy of the engraving to canvass with. You can easily sell one thousand copies in six weeks in any county in the United States, on which you can make \$250 clear money. Prices to agents: sample by mail, 50 cents; one dozen by mail, \$3.50; 50 by express, \$13; 100 by express, \$25. Address all orders to J. Bride & Co., 767 and 769 Broadway, New York. Be sure and mention the *Independent* when you write.—*Advertisement in N. Y. Independent*, April 6, 1876.

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of the liberal advertising public is respectfully solicited for THE INDEX. The attempt will be honestly made to keep the advertising pages of THE INDEX in entire harmony with its general character and principles, and thus to furnish to the public an advertising medium which shall be not only profitable to its patrons, but also worthy of their most generous support. To this end, all improper or "blind" advertisements, all quack advertisements, and all advertisements believed to be fraudulent or unjust to any one, will be excluded from these columns. No cuts will be admitted.

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O. B. FROTHINGHAM, New York City.
 WILLIAM J. POTTER, New Bedford, Mass.
 WILLIAM H. SPENCER, Sparta, Wis.
 MRS. E. D. CHENEY, Jamaica Plain, Mass.
 REV. CHARLES VOYSEY, London, England.
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Almost every number contains a discourse or leading article, which alone is worth the price of one year's subscription.

Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America—that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country,—is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large." And later still: "I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest."

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WM. J. POTTER Sec. F. R. A.

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THE INDEX aims—

To increase general intelligence with respect to religion:

To foster a nobler spirit and quicken a higher purpose, both in society and in the individual:

To substitute knowledge for ignorance, right for wrong, truth for superstition, freedom for slavery, character for creed, catholicity for bigotry, love for hate, humanitarianism for sectarianism, devotion to universal ends for absorption in selfish schemes.

In brief, to hasten the day when Free Religion shall take the place of dogmatism and ecclesiasticism throughout the world, and when the welfare of humanity here and now shall be the aim of all private and public activities.

In addition to its general objects, the practical object to which THE INDEX is specially devoted is the ORGANIZATION OF THE LIBERALS OF THE COUNTRY, for the purpose of securing the more complete and consistent secularization of the political and educational institutions of the United States. The Church must give place to the Republic in the affections of the people. The last vestiges of ecclesiastical control must be wiped out of the Constitutions and Statutes of the several States in order to bring them into harmony with the National Constitution. To accomplish this object, the Liberals must make a united demand, and present an unbroken front, and the chief practical aim of THE INDEX will be henceforth to organize a great NATIONAL PARTY OF FREEDOM. Let every one who believes in this movement give it direct aid by helping to increase the circulation of THE INDEX.

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Fourth Proposition. Property is impossible, because it is Homelade.

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March 1, 1876.

To the Liberal Leagues and the Liberal Pub-
lic of the United States:—

The General Centennial Committee, appointed at a convention held in this city last September for the purpose of making all necessary arrangements for a General Centennial Congress of Liberals next summer, have decided to call said Congress to convene at Philadelphia, Saturday, July 1, 1876,—further particulars to be hereafter announced.

Each organized Liberal League will be entitled to send five delegates as special representatives—three in addition to its President and Secretary. But all individual Liberals who sympathize with the general objects and aims of the Liberal Leagues will be equally entitled and welcomed to seats and votes in the Congress.

REPORT PROMPTLY!

In order to lessen as much as possible the expenses of the delegates, each League is requested to elect them as soon as possible, and to report their names to the undersigned through its Secretary. All Liberals, delegates, or individuals who desire and intend to participate in the Convention are requested also to forward personally and immediately their names and full post-office addresses to the undersigned, that he may be enabled to make the most favorable terms possible for their accommodation. If notified early, he hopes to secure for them a considerable reduction in railroad fares, and to provide boarding-places at perhaps half the usual rates of the season.

Donations Solicited!

The Centennial Committee on Finance, having through their Chairman transferred their duties to the General Centennial Committee, the undersigned has been appointed to attend to the financial department, and hereby appeals to the Liberals of the country for voluntary contributions to the amount of One Thousand Dollars. This amount will be needed to make the Congress a complete success, though the utmost possible will be done with whatever is contributed. The officers of the union of Liberal German societies propose to raise the same amount for their convention, and have already raised \$600 of it. The Young Men's Christian Association here have already spent this year nearly \$100,000 in preparation for the Centennial, in the interest of Orthodox superstition; it would be a pity if all the friends of "Liberty and Light" could not do a hundredth part as much for the cause of national development and free humanity! The money will all be wanted (and much more could be advantageously expended) in providing suitable halls and headquarters, advertising the Congress liberally in advance in the chief dailies of the country, defraying the necessary expenses of desired and invited speakers, paying verbatim reporters, publishing a complete pamphlet report of the proceedings, etc., etc. What is done must be done speedily, since the arrangements should be completed, as far as practicable, by the first of May.

All sums donated will be duly acknowledged in THE INDEX, and a full report of all expenditures will be sent for publication in the same paper. Remittances should be sent to the undersigned, 605 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. Will not all friends of the movement respond heartily and at once?

DAMON Y. KILGORE,
Acting Treasurer.

I believe that Mr. Kilgore is a gentleman of unimpeachable personal integrity, and that all money remitted to him as above will be faithfully and economically devoted to the legitimate uses of the Congress.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT,
Chairman of the General Centennial Committee.

At the preliminary Convention held at Philadelphia on Sept. 17, 18, and 19, 1875, for the purpose of making arrangements for the Centennial Congress of Liberals, the following were appointed a

General Centennial Committee:

FRANCIS E. ABBOT,
DAMON Y. KILGORE,
ALEXANDER LOOS,
ISAAC RHEN,
BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD,
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with power to increase their number to fifteen. The completion and success of the arrangements must depend on the liberality of the friends of the movement, who are respectfully and earnestly solicited to contribute the necessary funds.

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VOLUME 7.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, MAY 18, 1876.

WHOLE No. 334.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fairs shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

Therefore, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF —.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in —, and thereby to effect the total separation of Church and State in fact as well as in theory.

Also to send delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League, when organized, and to cooperate heartily with all the liberals of the country in furtherance of the above-named object.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification for any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

No person shall ever in any State be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious practices shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION was successfully opened on May 10 at Philadelphia. It was a great occasion and will be fruitful of great good.

IF SECRETARY BRISTOW is not "sufficiently known" to be nominated at Cincinnati, could a better nomination be made than that of George William Curtis? Surely his character and career have been long enough before the world.

"FATHER PHELAN, editor of the *St. Louis Western Watchman*," says the *New York Telegram* of April 15, "has adopted the following motto: 'We will not allow our public schools made Catholic, but we will have our Catholic schools made public.'"

IN HIS PRAYER at the opening of the Centennial Exhibition of 1876, Bishop Simpson thanked God "for a Church unfettered by the trammels of State." At the Bicentennial Exhibition of 1876, let the people rejoice in a State unfettered by the trammels of Church.

MR. KILGORE writes from Philadelphia: "The decision to close the Exhibition on Sundays creates a powerful opposition here. Our Liberal League took action first, and raised \$84 to create a public sentiment in favor of its being opened. Several public meetings have been held, and I have no doubt the doors will be opened in spite of religious bigotry."

MR. CONWAY, comparing the setting aside of Lord Amberley's will, because he entrusted the education of his children to a freethinker, with the acquittal of one of the "Peculiar People" who let his child die through superstitious disregard of medical care, says pithily: "So it appears that a man may sacrifice the life of his child to a religious creed, but he cannot bring up his child, however carefully, without one."

A RELIGIOUS or "holy war" threatens to break out in Turkey. The Christians of Salonica endeavored forcibly to prevent the reception in the mosque of a young Christian girl who had been converted to Mahometanism; the Turks were incensed, took up arms, and assassinated the French and German consuls. The situation is very critical for the peace of Europe. Christians seek to convert Mahometans; why should they object, if Mahometans succeed in converting Christians? The idea of *equal rights in religion* seems to be totally foreign to Christianity.

THIS IS A pleasant and noble act to record: "On opening his letters one morning recently, Professor Huxley found in one of them a check for £1,000, sent by Mr. Thomasson, of Manchester, in the name of his lately deceased father, who was a great admirer of Professor Huxley, and highly appreciated his great achievements in furtherance of our knowledge of the science of life. Considering the little encouragement afforded to the study of pure science, this very practical and munificent method for the endowment of research is worthy of note, and we hope that the example may prove contagious."

THE REFUSAL of the Centennial Commission to open the Exhibition on Sundays is exciting a deep and strong indignation, and the victory of justice, common sense, and popular rights is probably near at hand. A large and enthusiastic meeting, at which Rev. Dr. Furness presided, was held at Philadelphia

on the evening of Saturday, May 13, to protest against the continuance of this oppressive Sabbatarianism. For once Orthodox bigotry has presumed too far on the submissiveness of American citizens to its usurpations. It will be defeated, and its defeat will be a most salutary and conspicuous one. To be compelled to give way now will be far more disastrous to its cause than to have yielded gracefully at the outset.

"SINCE Good Friday was made a legal holiday," said the *New York Tribune* of April 22, "this custom has extended rapidly outside of the Catholic and Episcopal churches, especially in the cities; even secular newspapers feel bound to urge upon their readers consideration of the birth, death, and resurrection of Christ—subjects which a few years ago were left wholly to the pulpit or religious journals." Yes, and it was to get the illicit and subtle influence of a "legal" holiday on the side of Orthodoxy that the change was made. The Orthodox are shrewd enough to know the value of having the prestige of law on their side; but the liberals in general have not yet discovered the necessity of having the laws always on the side of liberty and equal rights. They overlook trifles only to find them giants.

THE REMARKABLE appeal for Mr. Morse's "Paine Bust" which we copy elsewhere from the *St. Louis Republican* (written by our esteemed occasional contributor, Mr. Albert W. Kelsey) is signed by some of the most eminent citizens of St. Louis. Mr. Yeatman, President of the Western Sanitary Commission during the rebellion, is a Presbyterian, and all the more entitled to respect for the courage and love of justice evinced by his signature. Mr. Allen is the great Western bridge-builder. Judge Holmes was formerly a Professor in the Harvard Law School. Mr. Sonnenschein is one of the ablest Jewish Rabbis of the West. Mr. Learned and Mr. Snyder are Unitarian ministers of high reputation. Dr. Bernays is as well-known in Germany as in St. Louis. In short, "the list represents four clergymen, four eminent jurists, bank presidents and business men, and four journalists." We hope to see subscriptions pour in rapidly to carry out this tardy act of justice to a much maligned friend of human liberty.

IN HIS interesting "Open Letter to the Massachusetts Medical Society on the True Nature of Disease" (A. Williams & Co., Boston), Dr. Edward E. Dennison, of Northampton, says: "The life which comes into contact with the world and the things of the world, through its eyes, ears, and sensibilities, having the power of locomotion and apprehension, referring its impressions to the central organ of the brain for inspection and action, may be called the voluntary life. Of this life we have cognizance and control. It is the dial upon which is marked the working of the deeper-seated and more important organism, which is involuntary and automatic. This automatic life is the same as, and part of, the great creative life of the world, and, like it, is in a state of constant, active *conatus* for the well-being of its subject." It is precisely this *conatus* in the automatic life of the individual which, when intelligently repeated in his conscious life, makes him regard himself as a constituent cell of a still larger organism, the human race, and dedicate his whole being to the highest advancement of mankind; it becomes "the effort of Man to perfect himself," and brings him into complete harmony with "the great creative life of the world"; in short, this *conatus*, this "effort," is the essence of religion, which is only a reproduction in the human soul of the eternal striving of Nature herself to realize, by a process of evolution, her own ideal. All historical religions are feeble attempts to accomplish the same end; but how much more magnificent is the universal religion which seizes the grand conception of Nature, and applies it intelligently to the problem of human destiny!

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The Philosophy of the Heart.

A SIXTH LETTER FROM HENRY JAMES.

MY DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

I have been so uncommonly busy since THE INDEX of April 13 appeared, that I have actually not had time before this morning to do more than cast a hurried glance over your reply to my fifth letter.

I have read it this morning, however, with great interest. I sympathize cordially with the trouble I have occasioned you, and will instantly do what I can to relieve it. I had certainly no thought of engaging your attention to the extent I have done, when I began the present correspondence. I had, as it seemed to me, a very plain criticism to make upon your definition of the aim of religion, and one which required no subtlety of understanding in our readers to estimate it. But clearly in thus thinking I "reckoned without my host," since unfortunately you regarded the appeal I made to you as primarily an appeal to your head rather than your heart. That is to say, I think your first thought on reading my lucubration was not whether the matter alleged was true or not, but rather what havoc it would make, if it were true, with the interests of all accepted philosophy. For all your subsequent replies to me proceeded on this apparent basis: "Here is a man who has the temerity to proffer an original deliverance in philosophy, one moreover which is fatal to all its received canons; let us, therefore, at once try him by those very canons, and see whether they may not put him to silence." It was simply inevitable in this state of things that each successive paper you sent to my address should strike me as a *telum imbellis, sine ictu*.

Accordingly, let me now essay to speak even more *ad rem*, if so I may provoke the answer I crave from your own acute and honest heart, and no longer from Professor Ferrier's very chronic and shifty head, or the head of any of his ineffectual brethren.

When you defined religion as "the effort of a man to perfect himself," the definition struck me as so very inadequate to convey an idea of most men's religious experience, that I felt moved to protest against it. But if I could have foreseen the sort of controversy the step was going to generate, I should have taken care in my first letter to do better justice to my own position, in so stating it as properly to bar you out of the refuge you seek from my criticism, in trying to make it conflict with the *data* of consciousness. I had said, for example, that this selfhood which, according to your definition, it is our religious duty "to perfect," is a sheer illusion, without any reality in the nature of things; and that we had accordingly much better disown than cherish it. We thereupon discussed this thesis for a few weeks without coming to anything like agreement,—when suddenly (*appropos* to a remark of mine that "I had no quarrel with the fact of our conscious life") you change your tactics, and put me upon my defence as an assailant of consciousness. I confess this charge threw me off my scent for a moment, and led me in my fifth letter to a wholly unnecessary vindication of my relation to

consciousness; for our controversy has really no manner of relevancy to any fact of life or consciousness. This private subjectivity or "selfhood," whose reality you affirm and I deny, is not the least identical with you or me regarded as *subjects of life or consciousness*; but only as subjects of a certain vicious ontology, or conventional science of being, among men, by which we are supposed to possess life or being in ourselves directly or primarily, and in our race or nature quite derivatively or secondarily. As *subjects of life or consciousness*, you and I are indissolubly involved in a life-giving object, and can no more be divorced from it, therefore, either actually or logically, than the term of any minor relation, say husband or earth, can be divorced from its mate, say wife or sky. "Object" and "subject," remember, are not actual *data* of life or consciousness itself. They are only and at most two convenient terms devised by our logic, or reflective thought, to promote our science of life or consciousness, if haply such science be practicable. In short, they are purely logical *data*, given in thought or reflection, not the least *real data*, given in life or experience; and they end, like all our scientific culture, not in clearing up, but only in obscuring, and indeed supplanting, the great spiritual reality they would fain illustrate. We first interpret life or consciousness into terms or symbols of our own thought, and then we dupe ourselves into taking our own thought as the true measure of the dazzling reality. Life or consciousness is in itself an ineffable union of what is inward with what is outward in men's universal experience; an infinite Divine marriage between the heavens of men's minds and the earth of their bodies, realized or ratified only in the sphere of sense. It is so ecstatic a union, so ineffable a marriage, that absolutely nothing whatever can be known of it from without, but only from within; that is, passively, not actively; or from an actual experience and enjoyment of it, not the least from any amount of reflective observation or scientific study brought to bear upon it. So that our pretended science of life or consciousness is in the nature of things absolutely void of objective truth; and whatsoever we affect to know by such science, either as to its living subject or its life-giving object, is simply a learned ignorance. A demonstrator in anatomy has a good deal of scientific knowledge to impart, no doubt, in regard to the human body; but his science, in so far as he confines himself to it, absolutely disqualifies to know anything of the life or spirit which alone animates that body, and redeems it from carion.

It is obvious, indeed, to the least reflection, that the only possible subject of life or consciousness must be a unitary subject, not the least a divided or plural one; must be, in other words, a generic or race-subject, not the least a specific one. For if life or consciousness ultimately itself, that is, becomes realized or ratified—only in sense, then it follows that both the "subject" and the "object" into which we logically distribute or analyze it must be coextensive with the sphere of sense, and ignore any narrower limits; that is, they must involve in themselves all time and all space. Now the only proper "subject" of life or consciousness which we can conceive of, as involving in itself "all time," is the unitary mind of man, and this we do not hesitate to pronounce accordingly its only true subject. And the only proper "object" which we can cogitate, as involving in itself "all space," is the universe of existing things; and we do not hesitate accordingly to pronounce this universe the only true object of life or consciousness. So that the ideal of life or consciousness can only be the harmony of internal and external, or Nature and Man.

Now it is undeniable that you and I—each of us in his finite sphere—are a valid form, image, species, apparition, of this great unitary or race-mind, considered as involving in itself *all time*, and, therefore, as constituting the true logical subject of life or consciousness. But what is equally undeniable is that we neither of us either are or can be anything more than such representative form, image, species, or appearance. Life or consciousness is in itself rigidly unitary and universal; while you and I at best are strictly particular, or disunited, forms, or images, or shadows, of this unitary life or consciousness; with absolutely no more just claim to life or consciousness in ourselves, than the image or shadow we project in a looking-glass has to be our proper persons. You and I, consequently, can never constitute either our own true subjectivity or our own true objectivity; since in the former event we should oust the unitary mind of man, and in the latter displace the universe of existence.

Now what exactly does it mean, to be only what I thus allege that you and I are? In other words, what does it mean to be a shadowy, unreal, imaginary, or phenomenal existence? It means, neither more nor less, to possess selfhood, but especially to cherish and cultivate selfhood as the ground of one's life or consciousness, and cleave to it consequently as our poor, fond old grandsire cleave to Eve, under the conviction of her being vital bone of his bone, and vital flesh of his flesh. In short, to be an illusory existence, such as I conceive you and me both of us to be, is to esteem our selves so highly as to feel that we should have no life nor consciousness without them.

We cannot inquire into the genesis of an illusion, of course, because illusions disclaim a natural genesis, and demand only to be finitely conditioned. It is only things, or objective existences like your body and mine, that claim a natural reality or sacredness; persons, or subjective existences, like your private selfhood and mine, are destitute of all natural reality or sacredness, and confess themselves mere rational illusions. They are just as much rational illusions—that is, images or shadows of our unitary or race manhood projected upon the field of our finite or particular intelligence,—as your image and mine in a

looking-glass are optical illusions; that is to say, shadows or reflections of your and my personality, projected upon the field of our finite or particular vision.

What, then, are the rational conditions requisite to account for this grandest of all illusions—this mother-source, in fact, of all the illusions to which human life is a prey,—namely: selfhood, which you and I nevertheless are so infatuated with until we are better instructed, as cheerfully to renounce Paradise for it, and eat with relish the accursed fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, although we be condemned thereby ever after to earn our bread by the sweat of our brow?

This illusion of a private or particular self in mankind is rationally conditioned upon the necessarily limited intelligence we have as creatures, an intelligence limited by sense. Sense is a heavenly hand-maid, but a diabolic mistress. And yet our infantile affection and thought are so dependent upon the nourishment she gives us, that she can hardly help proving in time an absolute mistress, and would infallibly and by doing so, if it were not that she fortunately begets such a boundless cupidity in us as practically antagonizes each man with all, or brings about such a chaos of conflicting private interests among men as necessarily calls for a communistic or conservative reaction, combining all men against each. Hence certain rules or observances become imperative upon each member of the community, as conditioning the favor to be shown him by all the rest, or constituting his only valid title to their respect. And this potential respectability of the communistic subject, or his susceptibility to the praise and blame of all the rest, is the special cradle of the illusion we call "selfhood." For each particular man becomes publicly invested in this state of things with a private consequence extremely gratifying to the flesh; and if temperament back inclination, it will not be long before he attains to public repute as a righteous person. Fortunately, however, temperament does not always back inclination, but disposes the subject to follow his own caprice rather than the will of the community; so that, ere long, an inevitable division of the community into two classes grows up, a good and an evil—or a governing and governed class; by which simple mechanism, or free play of antagonist forces, men's endless progress is secured.

Here, then, is a new or adventitious life in the creature for the creative providence to adjust itself to: SELFHOOD. Man has now become in his own foolish imagination like God, knowing good and evil, or claiming to himself the responsibility of his own actions; and he expects of course to be treated as an independent person, and dealt with only on legal or moral principles. However, the creative providence is not the least aghast at this childish conceit on the part of its creature, but, on the contrary, frankly avails itself of it as the basis of a certain religious discipline, which will be sure one day to induct among men an otherwise unattainable secular or universal good. That is to say: religion authenticates the pretension to selfhood in man, not as a finality or for its own sake, but with a view to making it the means of a natural or race-development of man, which will bring him into permanent spiritual or interior accord with God. To this end it subjects him to the operation of a double law: one positive, conferring a *quasi* or representative life upon the votary; the other negative, as imposing a real death; one law carnal, ceremonial, outward, as relating the subject to the sphere of conventional manners or usage, which will one day harmonize all men in unity; the other spiritual, ascetic, inward, as relating him to the sphere of morals which isolates every man to himself, or disunites him in sympathy and interest with all other men.

Now it is unhappily too true that religion, which sets out as a purely purgative discipline in humanity, with no purpose whatever but to humble the pride of selfhood in man with a view to his final social edification, ends by becoming perverted into its subtlest and most uncompromising confederate. The bells of religion are the most awful and immedicable known to the human bosom; and there is notoriously no heart of man so implacable to Divine influence, as one which is stayed and nurtured upon a faith or persuasion of its own acceptance with God. The power of religion to vitalize selfhood is so excessive, in fact, as to impress those even who systematically abjure it and condemn its dogmas. Thus the later scientific mind of the day, which calls itself positivist, all in forswearing the faith and practice of dogmatic religion, nevertheless studiously apologizes to itself for doing so, by clinging more stoutly than ever to the Church's fundamental falsity—which is the maxim of a possible moral or personal worth in man—as a truth of Divine obligation. And religion, I take it, will never feel very much disconcerted by the rivalry of a pretentious science, which knows no better than ostentatiously to echo her own fundamental falsity. One might almost say that our self-conscious modern science is really posing as a substitute for religion; another, poorer, and more popinjay form of the same endless superstition, which has for ever led men to reconstruct their fallen fortunes, or build anew their futile hope towards God, upon a basis of self—rather than of social—righteousness. Science seems, in truth, the most meagre or least effectual of all superstitions, if we regard it as providing a fresh basis of conjunction between man and God; simply because science of its own nature deals only with the most superficial or sensuous aspects of human life. All our traditional religions profess to conjoin the two upon a basis of interior living knowledge, or spiritual emotion and intelligence, which at all events divorces the mind from sense, and so ally it in some sort with infinitude. But science puts their conjunction upon a basis of absolutely dead or reflected knowledge; that is, a basis of mere learning: which is sure—the more expert or accom-

plished anyone becomes in its discipline—the more hopelessly to enslave his intellect to the finite.

Thus the only selfhood you and I know, or feel any temptation to boast of, is originally the fruit of a strictly communistic instinct and regimen in humanity by which the whole seeks to subordinate the part, or quantity aims to regulate quality. Religion and science both alike refer their sole and total *raison d'être* to this fallacious base; being both alike a mere providential discipline instituted—the former, to soften the silly pride of men's hearts, by convincing them of sin; the latter, to humble their intellectual arrogance, by convincing them of imbecility,—and so at last prepare what our "sacred" or symbolic Scriptures call "a new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelling righteousness"; meaning thereby, a new heart and a new mind in humanity strictly consonant with the principles of universal justice.

I have now said all that I absolutely need to say in rectification of the complete intellectual chaos and confusion you import into our controversy, when you represent our private "selfhood" as properly inherent in our real life or consciousness. I don't know, of course, whether or not you will judge my exposition of the true difference between us as satisfactory; but I am sure that I may count in any case upon your rendering a dispassionate judgment. It is not a case in which authority counts, but one which you and I are to determine by our own spiritual intelligence alone. It is the mark of an intelligent man to know truth when he sees it, and not to look about to ascertain first what certain distinguished names have said about it. The truth I propose to your acceptance has never been dreamed of by any technical philosopher, though myriads upon myriads of our modest fellow-beings have lived and died in the implicit faith of it. And I, for my own part, would much more highly prize the judgment of the foreman of your printing-office in regard to it, than I should that of Aristotle or Kant.

As I have already said, there is no absolute need—so far as my special thesis is concerned—to go further. But I can hardly help saying a word upon another misconception of yours, kindred to the fundamental one which is in controversy between us—rectilinearly descended from it indeed—which, as it seems to me, has had no small influence in corrupting men's intellectual integrity. You habitually speak of logical universals as generated by their respective particulars, or make the parts of a thing to constitute its whole. No doubt, to our limited intelligence, the whole becomes apprehended only by means of the parts; and consequently one may freely say that logically, or in the order of thought, the parts of anything constitute its whole. But actually, or in the order of life, the process is inverted; that is, more than reversed. For, in truth, not only do the parts not constitute the whole, but the whole creates the parts. Your, or my body, for example, is a living whole; but although we are at liberty to say that it is made up or constituted to our limited science of parts, it would yet be a manifest license both of thought and speech to say, that its parts created it, or gave it being. And yet we ought to be able to say so with truth, if your tacit hypothesis were valid, that the visible existence of our bodies, or their material constitution, give them their philosophic as well as their logical or scientific value. But it is no license either of thought or speech to say that the whole creates the parts. For each special part taken by itself, and all the parts taken together, exist by and for the whole, and by and for it alone. And that thing by which and for which alone other things exist, may be said so far forth to create those things, or give them being.

Another form of this same error appears in all your papers, where you make society a flowering of the principle of selfhood in man; whereas in truth it proceeds upon the absolute exhaustion of selfhood. You might as well say that wine is a flowering of grapes, when in truth its production involves the absolute destruction of the grapes themselves, or their forcible conversion into a new material of whose inward or spiritual decomposition wine is the strictly regenerate issue. We may say, of course, that wine is negatively conditioned upon the existence of the grape. But we must not fail to observe that it is positively conditioned at the same time upon the decomposition of the grape into a mere worthless pulp, which no longer knows the grape, and then upon such a marvellous process of living corruption or fermentation within the bosom of that pulp, as precipitates all its earthiness, and sublimates pure spirit. Just so we ourselves, no doubt, furnish a negative base to society; but society demands as its positive base just such an experience and demonstration of the corruption inherent in ourselves, or attaching to the principle of personality, as all our past history has exemplified. Society is not a material or empirical product of men's historic progress. It is the identical spirit or life which underlies and organizes all their historic progress. It is an actual spiritual life of God in our nature, evolving itself by the absolute exhaustion of the principle of selfhood in us, or its conversion into a totally corrupt substance, and the consequent rebirth of mankind in new or spiritual form. Society is not the least a scientific truth, laboriously deduced from an observation of the facts of human nature, as we say; for human nature has precisely no facts to go upon, lies above the region of fact altogether, constitutes, indeed, the sole realm of truth known to the human mind, and involves in itself, consequently, all fact of whatever sort; so that it is capable of no outward, logical, or scientific, but only of the most reverent inward, spiritual, or living, verification.

Human nature, in short, is God's veritable life in man, and hence society, as the form of that nature, is incapable of being outwardly or scientifically demonstrated, being a truth of life exclusively, a truth of

men's highest or inmost experience, forced indeed upon their stubborn recognition as the only possible issue of an otherwise interminable conflict between the spirit of neighborly love or charity latent in their common nature, and the spirit of infernal self-seeking everywhere patent in their private persons.

Remember, then, that the truth of human society is a living or spiritual truth exclusively, wrought out of our quivering flesh and blood primarily, or discerned first by the universal heart of man, and transmitted thence to his docile intellect. No science or learning will ever qualify one to discern or accept this truth, but only a mind attuned to universal justice; that is, a heart of love to one's neighbor primarily, and to one's self secondarily. Mr. Darwin's, Mr. Huxley's, or Mr. Spencer's opinion about it is doubtless just as good *a priori* as yours or mine, but not one jot better. Any old woman, indeed, plying her spinning-wheel in the heart of the Green Mountains, and watching the evening sun go down over their wooded tops, knows quite as much about it as any truculent pope of them all, religious or scientific; and is likely, for that matter, to be a far more disinterested witness. In fine, society is literally God's formative or redemptive work in humanity; a work, moreover, which in a philosophic point of view is rigidly incidental to his creative work. It is our Divine nature coming to consciousness in us at last, in order effectually to shame us out of the tyranny, and cruelty, and vanity inherent in our private or personal consciousness.

The secret vice of all the fallacies we have been discussing lies in our inveterately confounding men's constitutional or sensible existence with their spiritual life or being. We make the identity of things, or what gives them finite body, convertible with their proper individuality,—that is, what gives them spiritual function, or living soul. In other words, our error consists in confounding the two radically diverse ideas of unity and universality, or in blindly overlooking the fact that everything is in itself a living or spiritual unity which alone vivifies all its subject parts, or binds them together in life; so that when we put a thing upon the dissecting table of our science or reflective thought, the unitary spirit or life of the thing must have fled, and its "parts" confess themselves no longer parts of any living substance, but only so much sheer and worthless carion instead.

To sum up: questions of phenomenal or constitutional existence belong to the sphere of logic or reflective science, and I should be only too happy to defer to the opinion of skilled minds in all that range of questions. But questions of actual life or consciousness belong to the sphere of men's inward experience, or invoke primarily the judgment of the heart, and quite subordinately thereto that of the head. Newton and Cuvier, consequently, for all their science, are not a whit more competent, in my estimation, to any question of life or consciousness—that is, to any question of properly living, spiritual, or universal interest, in opposition to a mere learned or particular interest,—than any unlettered mind of average inward honesty and reverence.

I am, as ever, yours truly,

HENRY JAMES.

CAMBRIDGE, April 26.

LOTOS, OR FIRE-WATER:

CAMBRIDGE, April 30, 1876.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

By my letter to Mr. Frothingham, I had not the slightest intention to rouse the editorial thunders of THE INDEX, although I have long known them to be ready at any moment to roll and crash on good provocation. But sometime since I had given you clean over to that Spartan behavior which loves and welcomes a Thermopylae in which to die; and had made up my mind to admire you at a distance, and love you privately, recognizing the fact that our views and methods of reform are so sincerely different that, at present at least, we scarcely could hope to act very much in concert as radicals. Certainly no thought have I now that, by anything I can possibly say, I can win you to my opinions, or allay in the least the flaming zeal with which you advance upon the work that seems to you so commanding and necessary. I ventured to address Mr. Frothingham, because I had supposed him uncommitted to any line of action which tended to the forming of parties and the creation of a party spirit among radicals; and because, moreover, I was moved by surprise at his recent utterance of sentiments having that bearing, as well as by a desire to lay at his door my early protest against the assumptions and imputations which his article, entitled "Concentrate," seemed to me to contain, and which I somehow thought to be foreign to his temper and philosophy as hitherto known to me. Not the least expectation or desire had I to open a controversy with him, or with anybody. That is all distasteful to me. And yet I am human; and as you—speaking prior to him,—have "come down" upon me with so much might and fervor, the temptation is very strong to lift up a shield before my stricken face, and "have at you" with a few "feeble remarks." You see what mischief the battle spirit may work upon even so lotos-steeped and "bloodless" a wretch as I am! Who knows but, if your fine-pointed Ithuriel spear could once fairly pierce my pachyderm, I too might go off and destroy somebody or something?

Your three-columned columbiad in THE INDEX fairly makes the welkin ring, and I well know how irrissonant will appear the pop-gun retort which I feel disposed to make thereto. The class of fellows is not inconsiderable who stand about in society always waiting for a scrimmage among dogs or men, and who intensely love any one that invites them to a "shindy." The man who preaches only peace and

good-will, who approves only mild manners and methods,—such a one earns their hearty contempt. In their eyes he is a tame and irresolute fellow, one who would just as lief wear a "yoke," or lie down and be trampled upon, as not. I have never been fortunate enough to win the cheers of such persons, and am even now content to let my courage and vigor go unvindicated in their eyes.

To you, however, I feel disposed to remark in the first place, that I am not opposed to organization *per se*. I am myself an organism, and have no quarrel with that fact. I can conceive that sometimes there may be things to be done, as well as said; and then I believe in doing them, with just as little noise, and little demonstration of any kind, as possible. Nature organizes. She gives a pod to the pea, an oak to the acorn,—a body to every soul. But her spirit hurries on, driving all forms before it, scattering all as fast as made, and keeping itself always unfettered. Man alone is a slave to the forms he creates; he alone is caught in his own web; he alone is imprisoned in his own inventions. And this because he loves the form more than the spirit; because he is so much better pleased with the thing he creates than with the idea which sought partial and transient expression in that thing. I see that man is an image-maker by habit and by custom; and that, the moment he gets the image made, he bows down and worships it, and forgets the great Spirit that rested upon it a moment and then swept on. In behalf of the spirit, therefore, I am jealous of the image that presumes to represent it; in behalf of the truth, I am jealous of any party or sect that wilfully undertakes to protect and patronize it; in behalf of freedom, I am jealous of any law that seeks to enact it. Not against organization itself, then, do I protest, but against the dangerous love of it; against that deceiving zeal which leads men to mistake means for ends, methods for principles, and which blinds them to the value of other men's convictions and the rights of other men's consciences, while they are clear-eyed to the value and rights of their own. I observe that party provokes party, and sect provokes sect; and that a contest which began for principle soon degenerates into mere partisan and sectarian warfare. I observe that a party no sooner gets organized, than it straightway acquires a demoralizing self-consciousness, and becomes more anxious for its own perpetuation than for the promotion of any truth, or principle, or idea. I observe, too, that men become partisans, dogmatists, bigots, despots, by degrees imperceptible to themselves; so that at last they insensibly approach the point of thinking that they are serving the truth, when really they are giving loose rein to ambition or to some peculiarity of temperament.

Can I say, now, without subjecting myself to the imputation of being hopelessly "purbblind," that I cannot see that you are successful in making out the desperate case which you think and say afflicts at the present moment the cause of religious liberty in America, and which you declare to need such "heroic" treatment? Indeed, I must confess that your stirring attempts to make up such a case sometimes seem to me absolutely funny! When you come to us, week after week, with such deadly pallor of apprehension on your editorial face, and tell us with so great reserve of "burning passion for independence" that this republic hangs on the brink of religious slavery; nay, that it is bound hand and foot in the shackles of that slavery, and that every mother's son of us is in imminent peril of having our most sacred rights of conscience trampled upon, if we do not "leap to our feet and strike like men,"—why, I rub my "purbblind" eyes, and belabor my "dreamy" brain, and wonder if I am such a thorough numskull that I cannot tell a mouse from a dragon! But when I look about a little, and consider such facts as lie within the range of my information; when I consider what enormous ameliorations have been wrought in the Orthodox religion of this country within the last century; how the Church has suffered defection after defection of its ablest thinkers and writers; how whole masses of its believers have broken off from it, one upon the other, and its iron creed softened and relaxed point by point; when I see that our literature, which is most popular and most read, is suffused through and through with liberal and even radical sentiments; that nearly all our great poets, who sing the dominant thought and feeling into the minds and hearts of the people, professedly or really belong to the new school of religious faith; how science is steadily advancing its domain, and laying its irresistible hand upon respected authorities of "revelation" and priesthood, and causing them more and more to defer to its own august and demonstrable teachings; how even the "hoary infallibility" of Catholicism suffers by transplantation to American soil, and every immigrant devotee, the longer he experiences the refining and emancipating influences of republican institutions, becomes not only less Irish but less Catholic;—when I consider all these plain verities of our national religious situation, it dawns upon me that your diagnosis of that situation is immensely anachronistic and grotesque. And when I see how terribly you have to strain your vision to discover your data, and wait for them to come slowly and stragglingly in, I marvel in my turn that so clear-headed, logical, and scientific a man as you are well known to be can excite himself into such a feverish condition of apprehension, and intonate so loudly with so small a charge and priming!

I beg you to exonerate me from intentional disrespect for your elaborate "sketching," when I say that I consider your attempted historical parallel between 1776 and 1876 an utter failure. You are, and you must be, completely unsuccessful in showing that any religious peril threatens us to-day at all in proportion to the political peril that our revolutionary fathers had to consider. And please observe that just here is the point where the astonishing lameness

of your logic appears. It is the religious, not the political or social, situation of the nation, that you devote all your fine powers to expounding. Your Liberal League does not propose to touch, with so much as a feather's emphasis, the question of the emancipation of woman, or the emancipation of labor, or the emancipation of politics from corruption. It only invites us to consider the galling "yoke" of religious bondage under which the nation suffers. And I declare to you my belief that that "yoke" exists chiefly in your distracted imagination. When you say that "the sceptre of the Church [my italics] is stronger to-day than George the Third's was a century ago," you do provoke a smile on my usually solemn countenance! Where do you get your data for any such startling announcement? I have been reading recently Mr. Emerson's Phi Beta Kappa oration at Cambridge, in 1837. In that he says:—

"We meet to-day under happy omens to our ancient society, to the commonwealth of letters, to the country, and to mankind. . . . We may be well contented with our fair inheritance. Was ever such coincidence of advantages in time and place as in America to-day? . . . The spirit is new. . . . The cockcomb goes to the wall. To his astonishment he has found that this country and this age belong to the most liberal persuasion. . . . Take as a type the boundless freedom here in Massachusetts. People have in all countries been burned and stoned for saying things which are commonplaces at all our breakfast-tables."

Now I ask if anything has occurred, within the last nine years, in the religious situation of the country (and mark, I do not speak now of our political or industrial situation), which could abate by one jot or tittle the emphasis of those congratulatory words spoken by the scholar and the man of good sense in 1837? Has anything occurred to make the Liberal League more necessary now than then? Not a thing! On the contrary, the religious omens of the republic are even more auspicious and shining. Not only in Massachusetts, but throughout the nation, Orthodoxy is weaker to-day than it was ten years ago, and liberal ideas more wide-spread and dominant. Such, at least, is my deliberate and profound conviction. If it were the political or the social status of our country to which you summoned our attention so passionately, I for one should give you earnest audience; but of these you have comparatively little to say. If you were to tell us that the sceptre of the monopolist, or the sceptre of the demagogue, were stronger to-day than George the Third's was a century ago, I should think you nearer the truth, and that you put less ridicule upon the cause for which our fathers fought. I do indeed have some grave apprehension of peril to come to us from these selfish and heartless enemies of our social welfare. In 1872 I did what I could to defeat the party which you then supported, and whose political corruptions do now put to shame every true American. Then also, and now, the wrongs and oppressions of the laboring classes enlisted and still enlist my heartiest sympathies and coöperation. If your Liberal League proposed to touch either one of these matters, it would command my most respectful attention. But when it invites me only to a national crusade against Christianity, to a religious warfare by political engineering, I both reply that I see no adequate "cause," and that I disapprove of the methods. So far as the nation is concerned, the "battle" for religious "independence" has already been fought and won. The Federal Constitution has neither Christianity nor Orthodoxy in it, and needs none of your "religious amendment" schemes for its betterment. An atheist could be President of these United States to-day, for aught that the Constitution interposes to prevent; and if he could not be Governor in any State of the Union, because of some religious disabling act, his surest way to reach that elevation is to wait, not until some statute law shall pave his way to it, but until the noiseless power of an enlightened intelligence and conscience shall have so "diffused" itself through public opinion that, all heedless of mere legal technicalities, *pro or con*, the people will call upon their best man to serve them, without stopping to inquire if he be Christian or Pagan,—as already they do in many of the States.

And this leads me now to say that, in your attempted historical parallel, you not only fail to make out that the conflict is similar now to that of 1776, but you also as signally fail to show that there is any similarity in the methods required to decide that conflict.

Your own method of reform is decidedly aggressive and warlike. This is indicated not only by the nature of the illustration which you chose wherewith to set off in ridiculous contrast my own "bloodless" and "unheroic" propensities, and which made your three columns bristle from top to bottom with martial terms and symbols, but also by the prevailing tone of your INDEX editorials. The period of your nativity must have been, I think, when Mars was regnant, for you are by constitution and temperament a true child of that propulsive god. Something like Job's war-horse you are; you scent the battle afar off, and say with evident relish "a-ha!" It is the "doing," "daring," "conquering" spirit that you seek to infuse into the radical host, and you can have no patience with those who do not respond to your ringing appeals. Not *lotos* but *fire-water* you would serve out all round to every combatant! You would have the camp-fires lighted on every plain, the "banners hung out on the outer walls," and each valiant warrior to exclaim to his foeman:—

"Lay on, lay on, Macduff," etc.

Well, I have no objection to all this for every man who likes it, and believes in it. Let each to his own, say I. Among all the times I suppose there is a time, at least there have been times, for "fighting."

But if civilization means anything, it means a steady moving away from all belligerent and forceful methods towards "persuasive" and peaceful ones. That very "method of achieving independence" of any kind, of which you speak so scornfully,—namely, "moral suasion,"—is the very one that the true spirit of civilization most loves and inculcates; and nothing which you have said, or can say, in derision of it makes me in the least ashamed of it or indisposed to it. Our fathers knew no better way, at any rate they chose no better way (and perhaps in their time there was none better), of achieving their independence than by fighting for it. It is always absurd to quarrel with history. But to-day we have no such cause as theirs, and no method which approaches theirs is now in order. Yet, though the Liberal League proposes not to fight with carnal weapons, it nevertheless proposes to "fight." The old word, if not the old weapon, is still retained, and the same spirit is encouraged and manifested.

And it is this spirit of haste, of circumvention, of wilful advance, of desire to engage the enemy and precipitate the issue,—it is against this that I reluct and protest. I believe it to be puerile, and unwise, and damaging to the high interests of truth. In my opinion, the cause we have to serve requires nothing of the kind, but is much better to be promoted by quiet, gradual, and persuasive methods. The best way to overcome Orthodoxy, and to eliminate it from the School and the State, is not to threaten and provoke it; to challenge it to a Lexington or Bunker-Hill duel; to plant against its party-foot our party-foot, and measure its party-ward with our party-ward,—for by such antagonism we do rouse and stimulate all its slumbering and dying consciousness. But, in my opinion, the best way is that which we have so far pursued,—which the Free Religious Association from the beginning has pursued; namely, that of uttering by voice and pen, and disseminating as widely as possible, the noblest ideas and grandest sentiments of which our minds and hearts can conceive. In short, the best way to overcome Orthodoxy is to overcome it by the statement and promulgation, continuously and constantly, of a larger, deeper, broader truth. The religious situation of the country, in my belief, requires no more aggressive method than this.

I can but smile when I hear the impatient cry for "organization" and "concentration" which is now going up from a few strong-throated radicals here and there; for it reminds me so vividly of the same cry that arose among the Unitarians a few years ago, and which resulted in the famous Syracuse Convention, and in an immediate "split" of the Unitarian denomination. Pardon me when I say that you now remind me of good old Dr. R. P. Stebbins, in the stentorian vigor wherewith you "demand" the rallying of forces, and an instantaneous advance upon the enemy. The Doctor thought that the time for action had come. Too long had Unitarians been "dreaming," and ambulating their delicate paces to the "lascivious pleasing" of cultured conceit. So, as Secretary of the American Unitarian Association, he raised a hundred thousand dollars, armed and equipped the Unitarian host, and set it marching, horse, foot, and dragoons; and it marched—to a most brief life of "efficiency."

Similar will be the fate of your attempt to organize and concentrate radicals. Straightway there will be a "split" in the ranks. Already you welcome with evident relish the distinction of "Orthodoxy" and "Heterodoxy." You vigorously exclaim: "Yes—the Orthodoxy of radicalism is courage, earnestness, resolution, heroism, self-sacrifice, action; the heterodoxy of radicalism is timidity, apathy, purblindness, do-nothingism, love of ease, inaction." That is,— "Orthodoxy" is Liberal Leagueism; "heterodoxy" is each radical acting in his own way as he, not somebody else, thinks best! I thought it would come to this sooner or later. I did not think it would come so soon. Mr. Frothingham wants an "organ" which shall be "inclusive at once and exclusive." Verily, he has it! The "organ" includes the Liberal League, and excludes,—well, "some other things." The promising young man from "C—," of whom O. B. F. "hopes" so much,—let me see, what is it he wants? Ah, he wants an "organization of radicals" which shall include such radicals as he has in his eye, and exclude such as he has not! Surely, it will not be many months before we shall see our Radical "Syracuse Convention" assemble; and then,—yes, then,—we shall know "who is who."

Very well, my dear friends, please count me out to begin with; I will not give you the trouble of expelling me. I think I don't like Radical narrowness any better than I do Conservative narrowness. I think I should find just as much difficulty in subscribing to a Radical creed as to a Conservative one, in submitting to the leadership and discipline of a Radical party as to that of a Conservative party. I will believe a little longer in "moral suasion" for our present needs, in the power of truth to accomplish somewhat even when not saddled, ridden, and spurred by a party. I respectfully decline the draught of fire-water which is pressed with so much fervor of hospitality to my lips, and, if you please, will take instead any sedative which you may have at hand, whose "holy balm" shall be sufficient to enable me to "hearken what the inner spirit sings."

And now is it really true that, because I decline this call to organization and to adopt the method of the Liberal League, I therefore can have no "courage of opinions," no "earnestness," no "heroism," no spirit of "self-sacrifice"? Does it necessarily follow that, because I decline to accept your mode of doing, your mode of action, I am a "do-nothing," a bloodless, cowardly, selfish, servile apathist? You will please bear in mind that you have dealt very freely with the catalogue of descriptive adjectives, and my

anxiety is quite natural to know just how and where they logically apply.

Suppose a man applies himself to the study of the truth, and does what he can to make it known to his fellow-men so far as he knows it himself, and to live faithful to its high behests from hour to hour,—is that to "do nothing"? Is that to be steeped in apathy? There is Ralph Waldo Emerson. He has never been a reformer in any professional sense; he certainly never has been an organizer; never a frequent-er of convention-platforms and caucuses. He has only been a lover of the truth, only a "talker" and "writer" in her service. According to your expounding, therefore, he is a mere "do-nothing," so far as concerns the work of emancipating the nation's mind from superstitious and false authorities, and bringing the people's religion and politics into right relations. It is my belief, however, that one such man in a nation performs more vital service to its true peace and welfare than an army of party-workers, or a brigade of ordinary reformers. To suggest that a man who only serves his day and generation in a private way,—as a thinker, writer, lecturer, scholar, and in general a promoter of humane living,—withholding himself habitually from public and party action,—to suggest, I say, that such a man is guilty of "insensibility to duties imposed by the situation" is to betray an extravagance of zeal that borders either on fanaticism or dogmatism, or both.

No; the poet was not false who sang that "they serve who only stand and wait." We have all too little of private living and private acting in the spirit of those great ideas and principles which ennoble and exalt a nation. We have all too much of public fuss, and noise, and demonstration in their behalf. It is coming to be next to impossible in this country for a man to live a private life, to obey the sweet, pure, calm promptings of the "inner spirit." Some politician, sectarian, or "reformer" lurks round every corner ready to pounce upon us and drag us away to service of his darling scheme; and if we resist, pleading a diviner call, we are pelted with a storm of scornful and derogatory titles. Surely, sanity flies from the crowd, and dwells most content with peaceful men!

"And surely He who metes, as we should mete
Could we His insight use, shall most approve,
Not that which fills most space in earthly eyes,
But what—tho' Time scarce note it as he flies—
Fills, like this little daisy at my feet,
Its function best of diligence in love."

In closing, I will simply remark that I have now said my say, and cannot think of continuing the discussion. I am all content to leave the whole matter to be decided by individual radicals for themselves, each going the way he thinks best. I well know there is truth on both sides of every question, and I cannot flatter myself that I have voiced it all in this. And, again, let us banish from our minds and hearts all apprehension that friends may not be able to disagree without peril to friendship.

Yours affectionately, A. W. STEVENS.

STEVENS vs. FROTHINGHAM.

DEAR INDEX:—

Though one of that body that "lies a woful wreck on the shore of the river of progress," I yet feel interest enough in the general progress of humanity to make a suggestion or two to your readers concerning the matter of organization.

Bagehot, in *Science and Politics*, very forcibly illustrates the conditions of all progress. He develops the fact that those early tribes that first reached efficient organization were the first winners in the struggle for life. The Macedonian phalanx, in later times, marched through the Persian hordes at will. "Everything-in-general-and-nothing-in-particular" has never yet accomplished much in the work of human progress. Of course all organization tends to become tyranny. The ideal, then, is *flexible organization*. Let a tree, or a child, illustrate it. Both are organized; but both grow and change. Without organization there is no individual existence; without flexibility there is no progress.

The disciples of diffusion sometimes speak of sunshine as a type of themselves and their work. But the sun is organized, and so becomes a centre of power. And his rays are of worth only as they become organized in the life of the earth.

It is not the organization of the past that has wrought so much mischief, but rather the false principle of organization. The Unitarians have not been too much organized. This is not the rock on which they split. They made the mistake of trying to organize on the false and mischievous principle of an intellectual creed, in imitation of the churches of the past. Of course this is giving bonds to ignorance that you will carefully avoid learning anything new. Is the only choice, then, between tyrannical and Orthodox sectarianism and anarchy? For the sake of progress and man, I hope not.

The true principle of organization seems to have entered the mind of very few. What is it? Why, this, it seems to me: organize as strongly as you will or can on the basis of some great common purpose,—I do not believe it right or wise to organize on any other basis. Had Unitarianism been content with this, it would have escaped the charge of being a "woful wreck." It might now have been a compacted army with many a noble and brave man for leader who is now a foe. There could have been no tyranny; for a grand and avowed purpose is only an inspiration, and can never become a bond. But seeing no other way to organize, except on the basis of some intellectual creed, and fearing to do this in any efficient way, it diffused itself until it is as hard to gather into force as an aurora borealis. They did right to fight the creed, only they ought to have

fought it a little more. But they missed it wofully in not becoming organized.

I have so much sympathy with the work of the Liberal Leagues--so far as it touches education and the State,--that I would like to whisper in the ear of every reader of THE INDEX that, if he ever expects to do anything, it would be well to remember that armies usually whip guerillas.

Yours,

M. J. SAVAGE.

BOSTON.

[For THE INDEX.]

SAMUEL LONGFELLOW'S

BOOK OF HYMNS AND TUNES FOR THE CONGREGATION AND THE HOME. Cambridge: Press of John Wilson & Son. 1876.

Even if the new religious thought and feeling be old religious thought and feeling, as it largely is, new books are wanted to phrase it in the meeting-houses; new Sunday-school manuals to hint it to the children; new and richer Bibles to read it in the church-service, and new hymn-books to sing it. No one in this country, so far as I know, has yet tried to write the manuals,--in England the Manchester Sunday School Society is trying quite successfully to furnish them. Moncure Conway's *Sacred Anthology* in some degree fills the second want; but the noble passages from Ethnic Scriptures are so dulled and stiffened by the Latin style in which Victorian translators do their work that it makes dreary Bible-reading by the side of the crisp, clear-cut Saxon chapters for which we thank King James' men; and the minister will do better, if he tests the matter by the pleasure in his people's listening faces, to bring some poet with him from the book-shelf, and let his poem follow and echo the familiar Bible-verses. For the singing, Mr. Wendte's *Sunny Side* has lately come out to fill the music-niche in Sunday-schools, and the *Hymns of the Spirit*, selected by Samuel Longfellow and Samuel Johnson offered Radical congregations a dozen years ago what they need.

But that book holds seven hundred hymns, and few societies or ministers care for half that number, and we have long waited for a smaller book for the little groups of Radical or "Free Religious" folk that here and there are springing up over the land. Now Mr. Longfellow, again, has made it for us. *A Book of Hymns and Tunes for the Congregation and the Home*, he calls it. About one hundred tunes, and most of these old tunes which many know; two hundred and seventy-five hymns,--and so many of these new that even churches having a book already and loth to part with it, but wishing some fresh songs, can hardly do better than send for this and use it as a supplement. So it meets a twofold want.

Those who in their worship desire large reference to Christ will naturally feel a lack,--the book is hardly for such, for it is "theistic" throughout. And those to whom the name of Christ would spoil a collection, will also turn away, for the book is broad in sympathies. It is a book of the soul seeking God in inward and in outward life,--and not only seeking but finding him; and, therefore, all the old longings, and leanings, and shames, and trusts, and hopes, and joys are here, only voiced in the way in which those who have to think in to-day's thought, rather than in the forms made sacred by the centuries, would voice them.

The book can be obtained at present from Samuel Longfellow himself (Brattle Street, Cambridge, Mass.), and the price is fifty cents, in quantities, in boards. Little liberal congregations beginning to meet in their hall, or in some parlor, and wondering what to do about their music, and older societies wanting some new hymns without the expense of changing to another "full-sized" new hymn-book, will do well to send for this and look it through.

W. C. G.

1776. TO THE PUBLIC. 1876.

We, the undersigned, believing the present year a fitting opportunity to render tardy justice to the memory of Thomas Paine, patriot and philanthropist, the esteemed friend and honored guest of George Washington and Thomas Jefferson; introduced to the Colonies of North America by Benjamin Franklin, and welcomed to this country by Dr. Rush; whose pamphlet entitled *Common Sense* decided the Continental Congress to insist upon an absolute Declaration of Independence, in place of a mere declaration of rights as colonial dependencies of Great Britain; editor of *The Crisis*; first subscriber to the fund for the payment of the Federal army, for which purpose he donated the full amount of his year's salary as a clerk of the Assembly of Pennsylvania; envoy to France with Col. Laurens, where they secured 18,000,000 livres as a loan to the American revolutionists, which enabled Gen. Washington to make the movement southward that terminated our struggle for independence by forcing the surrender of Cornwallis; who refused all offers of compensation after the recognition of American independence in those noble words: "I could never reconcile it to my principles to make money by my politics or my religion;" to whom the Federal Congress voted a free gift of \$3,000; Pennsylvania 500 pounds sterling; New York presented a farm of 500 acres at New Rochelle; New Jersey a homestead at Bordentown; who left America to erect an iron bridge of his own invention in Sunderland, England, over the river Wear, which the famous Stephenson declared would "probably remain unrivalled"; to whom the Marquis de Lafayette entrusted the key of the Bastille, now at Mount Vernon, "in trust for Washington"; the friend of Condorcet, St. Yvès, Brissot, Danton, Barère, Petion, Gantonne, Vergnaud, of whom but one beside Paine survived the Reign of Terror; received in

France with every demonstration of extravagant joy; declared worthy of the honors of citizenship at Paris; elected to the National Assembly to represent the department of Calais,--three other departments disparting with Calais for the honor of electing him; journeying to Paris amid salvos of cannon; crowned with a civic wreath; wearing the national cockade; receiving the fraternal kiss of the different municipalities through which he passed; the chosen intimate of Lafayette, who requested the use of his pungent pen in all popular emergencies; acting with the Girondins against the Jacobins; voting against the execution of Louis XVI. at the imminent risk of his life, and daring to request, amidst roars of rage, that his plea for the king's banishment should be read from the Tribune; and while the insensate Marat shrieked, "I denounce the translator," using his privilege to declare, "If I could speak your language like a Frenchman I would descend a suppliant to your bar, and in the name of all my brothers in America present to you a petition and a prayer to suspend the execution of Louis," thrown into the Luxembourg prison by order of Robespierre in the terrible December of '93, where he remained a prisoner until November of the following year; escaping from the guillotine only because his door was chalked for the morrow's tumbrel while it was open flat against the wall, bringing the fatal cross upon the inside when it was closed,--Robespierre's intention that Paine was to have been executed having been expressed in writing, which remains extant; addressing to the "Society of Theophilanthropists," shortly after Robespierre's death and his own release from prison, perhaps the most convincing argument in favor of the existence of a sentient Deity that is known; making the acquaintance and recognizing the genius and ability of Napoleon Bonaparte during the latter's consulate; the favored guest of Minister James Monroe for eighteen months,--is it not time that justice should be done the man who wrote on the very first page of that *Age of Reason* for which he has been so denounced, "I believe in one God, and no more, and I hope for happiness beyond this life," and when calmly awaiting death in all the serenity of conscious rectitude could declare, as he does in his last will and testament, "I have lived an honest and useful life to mankind; my time has been spent in doing good, and I die in perfect composure and resignation to the will of my creator, God?"

We therefore invite the coöperation of all lovers of liberty throughout the American Union, during this Centennial anniversary of our national independence, and more especially the members of and attendants at our churches, to assist in redeeming the reputation of this republic, which Thomas Paine so loved and labored to found upon an enduring basis, by affording to his memory that tribute of respect proposed by his friends in Boston, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and elsewhere,--the erection of a marble bust in Independence Hall, at Philadelphia, after the admirable design of Sidney H. Morse, a copy of which is now on exhibition at the Art Gallery of Messrs. Pettes & Leathe, Washington Avenue, St. Louis; sincerely believing that the American people can no longer afford to remain quiescent under the stigma of being accomplices in the denial of the most rudimentary justice to the illustrious Paine.

De mortuis nihil nist verum.

[Signed]

S. H. SONNENSCHNEIN,
ALBERT TODD,
WILLIAM HYDE,
GEORGE B. ALLEN,
JOHN SNYDER,
C. L. S. BERNAYS,

J. C. LEARNED,
NATHANIEL HOLMES,
THOMAS DIMMOCK,
ALBERT W. KELSEY,
JAS. E. YEATMAN,
C. D. N. CAMPBELL.

Subscriptions may be addressed either to A. W. Kelsey, Benton Place, St. Louis, or to Mrs. C. B. Kilgore, 605 Walnut Street, Philadelphia. Printed acknowledgments of all receipts will be found in THE INDEX, published at Boston.--*St. Louis Republican*, May 4, 1876.

MARSHAL SOULT, once showing the pictures he stole in Spain, stopped before one and remarked: "I value that picture very much; it saved the lives of two estimable persons." An aide-de-camp whispered in the listener's ear: "He threatened to have them both shot immediately unless they gave it up."

AS TWO GENTLEMEN were discussing the merits of a popular preacher, one of them remarked, "He always prays for the widows and orphans, but never says anything about widowers." The other, an inveterate old bachelor, replied, "Perhaps it would be more appropriate to return thanks for them."

AN ENGLISHMAN was boasting to a Yankee that they had a book in the British Museum which was once owned by Cicero. "Oh! that ain't nothin'," retorted the Yankee; "In the Museum at Bosting they've got the lead-pencil that Noah used to check off the animals that went into the Ark!"

AMONG the women in the street, you shall see one whose bonnet and dress is one thing, and the lady herself quite another, wearing withal an expression of meek submission to her bonnet and dress; and another whose dress obeys and heightens the expression of her form.--Emerson.

AS A SCHOOL-MASTER was employed the other day, in Scotland, in his delightful task of teaching a sharp urchin to cipher on the slate, the precocious pupil put the following question to his instructor: "Whaur dlez a' the figures gang till when they're rubbit out?"

A MELANCHOLY friend in Des Moines despondently writes: "Weather is very wet in Iowa. Weeds

are ahead of the corn, grasshoppers ahead of the weeds, grangers ahead of the grasshoppers, and the dreadful 'middlemen' ahead of them all--as usual."

CHATEAUBRIAND said: "Madame Chateaubriand would not dine later than five. I was never hungry till seven. But we compromised and dined at six, so that we could neither of us enjoy it, and that is what people call the happiness of mutual concessions."

IN THE æsthetic order, poetry is the first of all powers given to man. It is to the eternal beauty what virtue is to the eternal good; what wisdom is to eternal truth. In short, it is a ray of light escaped from on high; it approaches us to God.--*Labitte*.

THE VERDICT of the coroner's jury in the case of a Detroit dry-goods clerk who died suddenly the other day was: "After a careful examination, we find that death ensued from his having neglected to ask 'Anything else to day?' of a lady leaving the store."

"MOTHER," said a little girl on returning from Sunday-school, where she had been taught about the Infant Jesus, "if the Virgin Mary was Jesus' mother, wasn't she God's wife?"

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MAY 13.

Benj. Gerrish, Jr., \$5; S. Warbasse, 50 cents; W. Tufts, 10 cents; M. P. Hanchett, \$1.80; W. Lombard, 10 cents; Cash, \$2.50; C. Timmons, 10 cents; J. Russ, \$3.20; C. E. Watson, \$3.30; L. W. Blakesley, \$2.50; L. Liebmann, \$3.20; D. R. Samson, \$1; Pierce & Bushnell, \$3.20; J. H. Swift, Jr., \$3.20; Joseph March, \$1.10; J. N. Clark, \$3.20; E. H. Hopkins, \$3.20; G. N. Newhall, \$3.20; Peter H. Clark, \$3.20; C. Griswold, \$5; E. G. Burnett, 70 cents; A. Vacher, \$2.18; Martha White, \$1.10; J. A. Heintzelman, \$3.20; H. B. Williams, \$1.60; Edw. Berrean, \$3.20; Mrs. M. A. Tripler, \$1.50; R. M. Lucas, \$3.20; Max Brickner, \$3.20; J. H. Hurlburt, \$3.20; Wm. Rotch, \$3.20; C. A. Hardy, \$1; D. Sandman, 20 cents; T. W. Vogel, 10 cents; F. K. Gillette, 20 cents; E. Whicher, \$3.20; J. Hunt, \$3.25; J. F. Barrett, \$3.20; Frank B. Sibley, \$2.20; J. Gardner, \$3.

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The Index.

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DAMON Y. KILGORE, Acting Treasurer.
605 Walnut St., Philadelphia.

THE HIGHLY GRATIFYING growth of the subscription lists necessitates the transfer of the "Paine Bust Subscriptions" to the preceding page, where all contributions to that fund will be hereafter acknowledged as usual.

It is pleasant to see a journal published in far-off Australia devoting editorially a column and a half to the consideration of an article published in THE INDEX. This was done by the *Maryborough and Dunolly Advertiser* of March 17, which approvingly cites several passages from Mr. James' first letter to THE INDEX on "Deliverance, not Perfection, the Aim of Religion." Another interesting letter from the same finished writer will be found in our present issue.

MR. STEVENS' article on another page will be read with interest by all, and with agreement by such as see no occasion for organized cooperation among liberals. He is heartily welcome to THE INDEX once more, and none the less heartily that he comes to oppose measures which we believe absolutely necessary to the perpetuation of religious liberty in the United States. If his view of the situation is correct, it ought to prevail; if not, it neither can nor will. But all views should be candidly considered, and we are glad to know that readers of THE INDEX are accustomed to consider them with entire independence.

THE "THOUSAND DOLLAR FUND":

SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF \$100 EACH FOR THE CENTENNIAL CONGRESS OF LIBERALS.

April 15.	A Friend in Boston (paid).....	\$100.00
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May 13.	Samuel L. Hill, Florence, Mass. (paid).....	100.00
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FRANCIS E. ABBOT, in trust.

NOTICE.

The Fifth Annual Meeting of the Stockholders of the Index Association will be held at No. 35 Monroe Street, Toledo, Ohio, on Saturday, June 3, 1876, at 2 P.M., in accordance with the articles of incorporation.

F. R. A. ANNUAL MEETING.

The ninth Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association is to be held in Boston as follows:—

Thursday evening, June 1st, 7½ o'clock, annual business meeting in Horticultural Hall, for the election of officers, reading of reports, and addresses on the practical aims and work of the Association.

Friday, June 2d, at 10 A. M. and 3 P. M., sessions in Beethoven Hall for essays and addresses. Morning subject: "Free Religion and the State." Afternoon subject: "Free Religion and the Church."

A social festival will be held in Horticultural Hall on Friday evening.

W. J. POTTER,
Secretary.

FRIENDS INDEED.

The contribution of \$75.00 to the fund for the Centennial Congress of Liberals by the Free Lecture Association of New Haven, Connecticut, is worthy of special commendation. A private letter says: "The last time I wrote to you I mentioned that I hoped to do something for the Centennial Congress. Well, I laid the matter before the Executive Committee of our Free Lecture Association, every member of which entered heartily into the project, the result being an entertainment to raise a sum to help defray the expenses of the Congress. The net proceeds were \$63.00, this sum being raised by private subscription to \$75.00. Not the least encouraging circumstance in this connection was the fact that the press of the city advertised the affair without charge in consideration of the object—a thing they have never before done for us. The editor of the *Register*, a Democratic journal and not very radical either, said to the person who asked him to insert the notice, 'Who are these Liberals?' The answer was that Francis E. Abbot, editor of the *Boston INDEX*, was chairman of the committee of arrangements. 'All right,' said the editor, 'we will give you the notice.'... I would say, however, that I would not have you mention my name in connection with the matter, at least not so that I could take credit from the notice, for the simple reason that I do not deserve it. There are too many unselfish workers in our Association to allow my name to be mentioned prominently. The proprietor of the Hall (an Orthodox man, too) gave us the rent for a nominal sum, and the music was also contributed. Perhaps we deserve more credit that we raised the money when our 'struggle for existence' was most severe; that is, while we are getting renewals of subscriptions and providing for another year—which is a serious work, you know."

The spirit manifested by the Free Lecture Association in this affair is one of the most encouraging things which has come to our knowledge for a long time. It shows what generosity and self-sacrifice are all ready to start into activity among liberals, the moment that something practically is proposed to be done. We believe they will not be wasted. The plans of the Congress of Liberals are rapidly becoming matured, and our hopes of great results are high. Instead of taking time to answer the endless cavils and objections that are raised on all hands against the Liberal League, we mean simply to "go ahead," and let our summer's work be its own abundant justification. To these men and women of noble faith and generous heart in New Haven, whom we had the pleasure of addressing a few months ago in advocacy of our cause, and to all who have come forward to hold up our hands, we can only say with deep gratitude: "We thank you, friends indeed! Your confidence is new strength, and shall not be given in vain. If the liberals of America are only alive, a splendid answer to it will come back from Philadelphia in this Centennial Year."

TWO KINDS OF BREADTH.

Mr. Karl Heinzen, the brave and uncompromising veteran who for more than twenty-two years has edited in this city *Der Pioneer*, an organ of German radicalism of the most extreme type, published an article, in his issue of May 8, which is entitled to special attention at this time. A very intelligent young Russian of this city has kindly favored us with the following translation of this article:—

THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE GERMAN AND AMERICAN RADICALS.

The alliance of Radicals by the proposed Convention in Philadelphia [i. e., the convention of German Liberal Societies during the last week of June] is an affair which deserves a timely and thorough consideration. We should think it a great mistake to suppose that the short space of a few days on which they will meet together will accomplish it. The main questions, particularly those which may present some difficulties, ought to be settled now, so that it may not be necessary to waste the then precious time by investigating what has to be done, and what not. Of course, this does not exclude the possibility that, even at Philadelphia during the convention, erring views may be corrected, as well as new ones brought to light. But there are questions which, though very important, have been discussed very little, or not at all. Again, there are other questions about which opinions differ in such a degree, that an agreement is to be hoped only by an all-sided examination. And these are just the ones that cannot be investigated too early.

Among these, the alliance between the German and American Radicals is one of the most difficult. The most important representatives of American radicalism are the so-called "Liberal Leagues," whose convention at Philadelphia will follow that of the Germans.

The Liberal Leagues pursue at present no other aim than religious enlightenment and emancipation of the political sphere from religious influences. Can the agitation of the German Radicals be limited to that alone? Impossible! Had they advocated that only, their convention were entirely superfluous; for they advocated long ago, and propagated everywhere, what the Liberal Leagues demand at present. But suppose that the Germans, for the sake of an alliance with the Liberal Leagues, should put aside all the other great questions, what may they then expect from such a one-sided organization? Of course, nothing else than the advocacy of its particular aim, which anyway can be agitated by word and pen. But they will never gain a political influence, which is, however, under the present circumstances, necessarily the most essential. Only that party can gain political influence which chooses for its field of action all the interests of the people. True radicalism demands a universal progress; and the one-sided agitation of one question only, without noticing the other just as important ones, is therefore decidedly contrary to true radicalism. Under some circumstances, one timely demand may be raised above the others, and so a party may be devoted to that one especially. But as soon as it leads to the entire exclusion of all others, then even the victorious agitation of it will demand a certain reaction, by which the questions thus neglected will afterwards take their revenge. But, even considering it from a purely practical point of view, the interest of the party will necessitate the combination and reciprocal effects of all questions of progress to be constantly kept in view. While the one-sided representatives of special interests are always isolated, those who take interest in each other can offer hands for mutual alliance. He who agitates exclusively religious emancipation cannot expect the cooperation of those who think that emancipation from political corruption and reform of the whole political system are more essential at present. But, by supporting each other, they form a party, and thus profit reciprocally.

Should the agitation of the Liberal Leagues be in future limited only to narrow boundaries, as it is now, their cooperators will be but few. Should they, however, enlarge the field of their agitation, as the German free congregations did—should they also devote their interest to all other timely important demands, as those of political reform, emancipation of women, socialism, etc.,—then they will command a larger force; and the reforms to which they are now exclusively devoted will be propagated with far greater success than can be done by them alone.

Their main representative, Mr. Abbot, the editor of THE INDEX, is against the enlarging of the present so-called Demands of Liberalism. It is his opinion that one must devote all his power to one aim. However true it may be under certain conditions, it is a very narrow view in general. If we apply this principle to the combat of two large political parties, it is evident that that party is lost which follows Mr. Abbot's advice, and gives its whole strength to the principle it advocates. Somewhat different it is with a question for life, as, for instance, the abolition of slavery.

The Convention of the German Radicals takes place before that of the Liberal Leagues. It is therefore not impossible that the former may influence the latter, especially if the Americans should be notified in an appropriate manner of the views of the Germans. Should the Liberal Leagues, however, pay no attention to it, the Germans will have nothing else to do but to let them alone, while their platform will, nevertheless, remain a part of that of the German.

Mr. Heinzen considers that the German plan of cooperation among radicals is broader, more comprehensive, and likely to prove more influential, than

the plan of the Liberal League, because, as he thinks, the former is "all-sided," aims at "universal progress," and "chooses for its field of action all the interests of the people," while the latter is "narrow," aims at progress in one direction, and devotes itself to simple emancipation of the State from the control of the Church. He believes that the German plan "will command a larger force"—that is, will unite a larger body of supporters—than the plan of the Liberal League, because it includes agitation for "political reform, emancipation of women, socialism, etc." And he concludes that the German radicals will have nothing to do with the Liberal League, unless it "enlarges" its objects so as to include everything which interests themselves.

As to the probable action of the German radicals, we are not in a position to form even a conjecture; Mr. Heinzen is far better qualified to predict what they will do than we are. But nevertheless, in the friendliest possible spirit, we wish to remind him that, when the question of uniting liberals in hearty coöperation is raised, the broadest plan in one point of view is the narrowest plan in another.

No doubt, a platform which is composed of many "planks" is in one sense broader than one which comprises only one. But it should be remembered that every new "plank" that is added excludes all who do not choose to stand upon it. The German radicals, it seems, are in favor of the Liberal League platform, which proposes the one and of completing the separation of Church and State, and object to it only because it does not propose other ends also. On the Liberal League platform, then, the German and American liberals can all stand on equal terms, neither being required to sacrifice a single conviction; for it is a great mistake to suppose that any one is required to suppress his individual convictions, or to limit his individual efforts for other objects than that of the Liberal League. A man who joins an association for the purpose of preventing frauds at the ballot-box does not cut himself off from joining another association for the purpose of raising funds to relieve the Herzegovinians. But if he refuses to join any association that does not in its platform adopt the objects of all other associations in which he may be interested, he cuts himself off from coöperation with all except those who agree with him on all subjects.

Is this broad or liberal? Is it "all-sided" for A to say to B, "I will not help you do something which I also want to have done, unless you help me do something which you do not want to have done"? That is a kind of bargaining which, plainly stated, we do not believe that upright Mr. Heinzen would sanction for a moment. Yet that is precisely the kind of bargaining to which he does in fact invite the Liberal League. The German radicals, as represented by the manifesto of their sub-committee in THE INDEX of December 16, 1875, propose three amendments of the United States Constitution:—

- "1. Abolition of the Presidency.
- "2. Abolition of the Senate.
- "3. Transfer of the whole Administration of the State to a single assembly of always responsible representatives of the people, whose individual members can at any time be recalled by their constituents and replaced by others."

Now we are not prepared to say that these steps would be wise or good; they may be, but we doubt it; we need to hear much discussion of their merits before we could approve them. The same is true of a majority, probably, of American-born radicals. Certainly we could not individually join in buying the support of German-born radicals by pledging ourselves to work for these three amendments; and it does not appear to us "all-sided" or "broad" or "liberal" at all, to exact such a pledge as the condition of coöperation with the Liberal League. The Germans, according to Mr. Heinzen, approve and sympathize with the proposal to separate completely the Church and the State; yet he substantially advises them not to aid those who seek this mutually approved object, unless the latter will first consent to aid him in other objects which they do not approve. Such a coalition as this would be contrary to every principle of high political morality. Rather than be a party to it, we should cheerfully see all our efforts to establish the Liberal League prove a failure. We do not aim at success on any such terms; and the German radicals will not increase the respect felt for them by their American-born brothers, if they seriously propose any such terms.

No—the "broader" you make a platform by multiplying its essential planks, the "narrower" you make it by reducing the number of its honest supporters. That platform has true "breadth" which enables all

of like purposes to act together efficiently and with self-respect. The platform of the Liberal League is so broad that German and American liberals (the distinction is itself ridiculous, for all American citizens are Americans, no matter where they were born) can all unite to work for it, if they choose to respect each others' independent opinions on other subjects; and there is no sort of obligation not to work for other platforms in other ways. But the platform of the German radicals is so "narrow" that only they themselves can work for it. They do well to work for it, whether broad or narrow, if they think it good; and we are very glad that they should make an organized appeal to the public on its behalf, since that is the best way to get a hearing for their cause. But we shall be sorry, if they cannot or will not join with the Liberal League in a cause which they themselves approve, merely because the Liberal League does not join with them in a cause which it does not as yet approve; and we shall be still more sorry, if they put their refusal on the ludicrously weak ground of the superior "breadth" and "all-sidedness" of their own narrow platform. The Liberal League has no favors to ask of any other association as such; it simply appeals to all individuals who approve its object, whether they belong to other associations or not, to help it secure the separation of Church and State. This object constitutes a platform as "broad" as religious liberty itself; and all who believe in religious liberty will be perfectly at home upon it, if they choose to be reasonable rather than wilful. Whoever does so can belong to as many associations for other objects as he pleases; and probably every member of the Liberal League will belong to many such. But since they cannot all think alike on all subjects, it will be wise neither to refuse each other coöperation where they agree nor yet to seek arbitrarily to force their own idiosyncrasies on all the rest. That is the secret of all lasting union, and we believe that many have now discovered it.

METEOROLOGICAL AND POLITICAL.

I wonder what May-day was in New England! Here in the capital of South Carolina we had a cold rain-storm and a north-east wind with quite a New England air about it. The thermometer went down to 45°. The day before it had been ranging from 80° to 88°, and the heat continued far into the night. Then came thunder, and lightning, and floods, and the grayest of May mornings. Within twelve hours the mercury went down forty degrees. There was nothing to do but look up again discarded flannels, pile the wood into our hospitable great fireplace, and keep within doors,—with occasional peeps down into the old garden under our windows which was all aglow with roses, and up into the magnificent magnolia tree that has refreshed our eyes through winter and spring, and is now budding for a glory which we shall not see. It is plain that one does not wholly escape great and sudden changes of temperature by coming South. Yet we congratulated ourselves that we were not in the midst of the snow-storm which the telegraph reported in Pennsylvania on May-day, and that we were surrounded by an atmosphere that must soon recover from the effects of this blast from the north-east. And the recovery has come,—almost too much of it. Yesterday and to-day—I write on Sunday, May 7th—the mercury has mounted above 80° again, and flannels and fireplaces have evil suggestions. Yet what roses bloom under this sunshine! And we shall turn northward soon, grateful that our eyes have beheld such beauty, and grateful to the little city, though of evil political reputation, for the better promise of health that has come from its salubrious air.

I have, this last week, conscientiously attended the South Carolina Democratic State Convention (for electing delegates to the National Convention at St. Louis), as I attended a month ago the similar Convention of the Republican party. The two conventions present in strong contrast the old and the new eras of South Carolina politics. Of the Republican Convention the majority of the members were colored; and of the white members the majority were new residents that have come from the North since the war. The president of the body and the chairman of the delegation it elected to the National Republican Convention were both colored men. The Democratic Convention represented the old citizens of the State,—or rather the old governing class. There were three or four ex-Governors in it, and "Generals" and "Colonels" without number,—all, of course, of the Confederate army. I doubt if a finer-looking body of men could be assembled in any political convention in the country. Judging by evi-

dences of intelligence and character, one would say that these are the men that ought to be in control of the government of the State; and it does not seem strange that they have not taken kindly to the government which has been established and administered by the party represented in the other Convention. If it were safe to say that the soundest political principles and the most humane and progressive ideas go with culture and blood, one could hardly hesitate with which convention to cast his lot.

But it needs no long memory to recall the fact that it was just the class of men of whom this Democratic Convention was made up that upheld slavery and the old South Carolina oligarchy, carried through the act of Secession, made war upon the United States flag, fought for slavery against the Union, and, when conquered, were discovered, in the early days of reconstruction, plotting to nullify the Act of Emancipation by a "Black Code" that would have practically reduced the negroes again to bondage. And recalling this brief history it becomes clear that the only way to meet the dire political exigency which the acts of these men had brought upon their State and country, was by negro suffrage and negro eligibility to office, even with all the involved possibilities of evil, resulting from ignorance, and mental and moral inexperience.

But years and experience bring their lessons, and it is evident that both parties have been learning. A large portion of the Republican party, led now by Governor Chamberlain, are fully awake to the fact that in order to keep the sacred trust of government and to be worthy to keep it, the party must put all selfish and personal aggrandizement aside, and seek only for honesty, justice, efficiency, and economy of administration. And the Democratic party are beginning to see, even in this State, that certain political events, when they have once happened, have happened forever and are irreversible. In this Democratic Convention three black men sat as delegates, and were most cordially received. And they were assured by speakers and resolutions that the Democratic party would guard as strictly as the Republican all the political and personal rights of the colored people. I have seen Democrats in the Legislature listening with respect to the speaking of their colored fellow-members, and deigning to reply to their arguments; and when the old aristocratic South Carolinian has met his former slave as an equal in legislative and political debate, the day for any revolutionary act against the black man's rights has gone by.

To be sure, I overheard a young sprig of one of the old white families say that "if it were not for the Union soldiers here, the white folks would make short work of that nigger legislature in the State House." But this young fellow, not yet out of his teens, was not, I believe, so true a prognosticator of the future conditions and action of political parties in the State as was the old negro with whom I talked the other night,—physically about as unpromising a specimen for a voter as one could find, and able neither to read nor write, but who said he didn't care any more whether they called him Democrat or Republican; what he wanted, and many more like him, was honest government; and he should vote for the man set up who knew best the straight way of right, right before him, and would walk in it. Here was wisdom born of political experience; and the party in South Carolina (and, it may be added, in the country) that will appeal to such wisdom and use it, is ere long to win the day.

W. J. P.

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY R. C.

The opening exercises of the Exhibition at Philadelphia passed off to the satisfaction of the newspaper reporter, at least, and apparently, also, to that of the really great crowd of people assembled. The prayer of Bishop Simpson—judged from a philosophical, theological, national, or centennial point of view—was sufficiently remarkable for that, or for any other occasion. The hymn of Mr. Whittier was like other hymns which he has written, and to those familiar with his verses needs no other description. Of the cantata of Mr. Sidney Lanier, the less said the better. The address of President Grant was brief and appropriate, and was, in fact, much better worded than were the speeches of Mr. Welch and General Hawley. Although the Exhibition, as a whole, is in a state of great forwardness—considering the inertness of the people of the country with regard to it, during its early stages—none of the departments are yet in complete order, and as this fact is generally understood, the number of visitors upon any one day, with the exception of the opening, has thus far been small. It is too soon, as yet, to express any opinion with regard to the success of the Exhibition as compared with like exhibitions of other countries.

In one thing, however, the Exhibition seems al-

ready to have been quite successful; namely, in calling attention to the fact that the Puritan Sabbath is a provincial institution, the laws of which cannot consistently be applied to anything of an international character. The Commissioners, several weeks ago, decided (after a brief debate) to close the buildings of the Exhibition on Sundays, but to leave the grounds open. Later, however, they reconsidered the last vote, and decided to close the grounds as well as the buildings. Energetic protests against the decision of the Commissioners are coming in from all parts of the country, and what is more, many of these protests contain reasons which are clearly unanswerable. No one, unhampered by theological prejudice, could imagine for a moment that there would be any impropriety, much less any sin, in attending the Exhibition on Sunday rather than on Saturday or Monday. The idea, moreover, that Sunday can be rightly passed only in church-going and psalm-singing is an exploded superstition, which men old enough to act as Centennial Commissioners should have gotten through with many years ago. If the Exhibition be closed on Sundays, hundreds of thousands of people—precisely the people, moreover, who would be likely to receive benefit from it—will be debarred from attending it, from the simple fact, trifling as it may appear to many, that they cannot afford in these hard times to give up the amount of a day's wages in addition to paying the regular entrance-fee. A very large meeting, presided over by the venerable Dr. Furness, was held in Philadelphia last Saturday, and an address to the Commissioners was unanimously adopted, requesting them to open the grounds and buildings on Sundays, either free or at a reduced rate. It is to be hoped that the Commissioners may yet have the good sense to take this step, which we are glad to observe, is advised by the secular press throughout the country.

Congress of course did very little work last week, and nearly all the members naturally accepted the invitation to visit Philadelphia. We wonder if any member of Congress was troubled in conscience during his trip by the fact that he was "deadheaded" over the road by Colonel "Tom" Scott, a gentleman who has been industriously lobbying during the winter for an appropriation from Congress to help him in building the Texas and Pacific Railroad. But perhaps we should not allow this suggestion to obtrude at this time of Centennial rejoicing. It may be well, however, to remember, at some future time, that had it not been for Scott's free passes, Congress might not have adjourned for three days last week. The Senate passed a resolution directing the Committee on Commerce to examine the matter of Chinese immigration; and the House directed the Committee on Ways and Means to investigate the management of the New York Custom House. With the exception of the passage of the bill for carrying into effect the provisions of the treaty with the Hawaiian Islands, and a debate upon the Post-Office Appropriation Bill, nothing of interest took place in either House.

A very able letter from Secretary Fish, addressed to Mr. Hoffman, our *Chargé d'Affaires* at London, and intended for the perusal of Lord Derby, has been published. Mr. Fish goes over the whole ground of our treaty relations with England on the subject of the extradition of criminals, with especial reference to the present position of England with regard to the case of Winslow. He shows conclusively that under the existing treaty (that of 1842) between the United States and Great Britain, "in each country surrendered fugitives have been tried for other offences than those for which they had been delivered"; that, for instance, a man extradited from this country for forgery has been tried in England for larceny, an offence for which he could not have been surrendered. He shows that the two governments have always agreed heretofore in their construction of the treaty and in its practical application; criticises the Parliamentary act of 1870; declines to admit that a law passed by one country can alter the provisions of a treaty previously accepted by both countries; expresses surprise that Great Britain should have raised this obstacle at the present moment, when three criminals in her possession are desired by our government; cites a number of cases in support of his various positions; intimates that the continuance of the extradition clause of the treaty may depend upon the present decision of Great Britain; and concludes by directing Mr. Hoffman not to enter into any stipulation or understanding as to the trial of Winslow in case he is delivered up to justice. No reply to this letter of Mr. Fish has as yet been made public.

The Democrats of Connecticut have nominated Mr. Barnum for Senator, and he will be chosen by the Legislature. As a Representative, Mr. Barnum has been remarkable chiefly for his absences from Washington. He is of no value as a legislator, and owes his nomination to his wealth,—a fact which, in a State possessing many Democrats of irreproachable character and of unquestioned ability, does not help the Democratic chances for success at the next election. These chances have been lessened also by a seemingly trifling affair, the publication of a very silly letter written by Fitzhugh, the Democratic door-keeper of the House of Representatives. This gentleman, elated with his position, allowed his elation to slop over in a letter to a Texas friend, who, expecting an appointment from Fitzhugh and not receiving it, published the letter. Fitzhugh, and the ridiculous stuff contained in his letter, would merit no attention, were it not that the character of Democratic appointees is just now a matter of some importance, and it must be confessed that some recent selections have been extremely unfortunate. More-

over, no party in opposition can afford to make itself ridiculous, even by the appointment of a silly door-keeper.

Another scene in the Beecher-Bowen farce was played in the vestry of Plymouth Church last week in the attempt to take action upon the report of the Committee which has been examining the character of Bowen. After a variety of propositions had been considered and rejected, and after Dr. Ward (Bowen's counsel and editor of the *Independent*) had been expelled from the meeting for insulting Mr. Beecher, it was finally agreed that Mr. Bowen might tell his terrible secret to Dr. Taylor of the Broadway Tabernacle, on condition that the latter should never reveal it. Dr. Taylor has since declined to act as a "safe" for Bowen's secret, and what Bowen will do with it now we cannot even guess. No answer has been made, and it is safe to prophesy that none will be made, by Beecher to Moulton's propositions for a trial of the case between them upon its merits and before an impartial committee or jury. The arguments upon the reopening of the case of Beecher vs. Moulton have been made before the General Term at Poughkeepsie, but the decision has not yet been announced.

Opponents of capital punishment have an excellent opportunity to test the correctness of some of their theories in deciding what should be done with the man in Boston who has been convicted of the murder of a little girl in a church belfry, and who now confesses that he not only murdered the little girl, but that he has also committed several other murders or murderous assaults. The motive in each case seems to have been either lust or pure devilry. Upon one occasion, he asserts, he left his house with a determination to kill somebody, and finding an Irish servant-girl in a lonely place he thereupon killed her. How could this man be "reformed"? He has enjoyed all the advantages of modern civilization and of Christian preaching, having been employed for several years as a sexton of a Baptist Church. We have never been in favor of hanging, but will some good philanthropist tell us if those people are wrong who have expressed a feeling of thankfulness that this man is to be executed next week? If there be any truth in the theory of "the survival of the fittest," who is "fittest" to survive,—this man or those who would become his victims if he should be allowed to live?

Turkish affairs are approaching a crisis. The Herzegovinians are firm in refusing to accept the proposed plan of pacification, and although Montenegro has not formally declared war, no obstacle is put in the way of those who wish to help the people of Herzegovina. Serbia is said to be arming, and may at any time put herself among the active enemies of her nominal master, especially if the revolt in Bosnia, which begins in a formidable manner, should continue to spread. An insurrection is reported also in Bulgaria, but of this we have no particulars as yet. To add to Turkish troubles, an affair which may have serious results has occurred at Salonica, where the French and German consuls have been killed by a mob. Official reports (Turkish) put the blame upon the American consul who it is stated endeavored to rescue from her Mohammedan protectors a Greek girl who had been converted to Mohammedanism. His house was surrounded by a mob, and the other consuls, coming to his assistance, were killed. Later reports state that the American consul was not in the city at the time. Vessels of war have been ordered to Salonica by nearly all the European powers, although the Porte has hastened to apologize and to make offers of reparation to France and Germany. A conference (which may become an historic milestone) of Bismarck, Gortschakoff, and Andrassy, has been in session for some days, and as we write is still in session, at the house of the first in Berlin. It is understood that the deliberations of the conference have regard to Turkish difficulties and the action relative thereto of the Great Powers of Europe. Many people believe that the end of Turkish rule in Europe is about to come; but the holders of Turkish bonds are unwilling to believe this, and it is quite possible that some arrangement will be made to keep Turkey from dissolution in order that her creditors may not lose all their money.

ENGLISH SKETCHES.

BY MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

LONDON, April 22, 1876.

Your readers will be aware that we have in England a large and powerful society called "The National Secular Society," or, more shortly, the N. S. S., which devotes itself to the propagandism of freethought and republicanism, guards rational interests when they are assailed, defends weak members of "the faith," agitates for religious, social, and political reforms, and serves as a general rallying-point of liberal thought. The annual conference of this body in May, 1875, caused some sensation, and the *XIXe Siècle*, a leading French paper, gave a long and accurate account of its proceedings, approving highly of two or three of the resolutions come to, one of which was to issue diplomas to those qualified to lecture on our platform, and another to issue a *Freethinker's Text Book*, a kind of armory for freethinkers, and a sign-post to direct students what to read. Diplomas have duly been taken out by various lecturers, myself among the number, and the approval thus given seems likely to prove beneficial.

The issue of the *Text Book* has just commenced. The executive appointed as editors Charles Bradlaugh, Charles Watts, and myself, one or two others having been asked to assist, but having pleaded over-

work and other causes of hindrance. The *Text Book* is to supply arguments against Theism and Christianity, and is to give an exposition of secularism. It is, in fact, to be a *résumé* of freethought arguments, wherewith the busy may equip themselves, if they have not time to study the original authorities for themselves. The Theistic portion was, by arrangement of the editors, assigned to Mr. Bradlaugh, the Christian to myself, the Secular to Mr. Watts, and it was decided that the book should be issued in monthly numbers. The first number, entitled "Man: Whence and How," appeared on April 1, and already the third thousand is almost exhausted, two editions running out of print within the first week. It contains a solid foundation for the attack on Christianity to be made later by myself, destroying entirely the authority of the creation of man, on the truth of which depends the Christian fabric, arguing first, from the literary point of view, that the narrative is untrustworthy and unhistoric; then that the Bible account fixes believers to six thousand years for the age of mankind; and then bringing a vast mass of information from the various sciences which bear upon this point, giving in each case, the scientific authority, so that the statements made may rest upon unassailable ground. The first number only contained half the section, which will be completed in No. 2, to be published on May 1. The next section will be entirely devoted to Theism, will trace religion upwards from fetishism, and will give the atheistic argument tersely and exhaustively. This section will probably occupy about two monthly numbers, and will be succeeded by the commencement of my share of the labor,—the arguments against Christianity.

The only word said against the published commencement of the *Text Book* has come from a bitter personal enemy of Mr. Bradlaugh's, who objects that the Mosiac cosmogony need not be attacked any more than the Hindu or any other cosmogony, and also that there are too many quotations in the book. To the first objection the obvious answer is that, if writing a book for Hindu freethinkers, the Hindu cosmogonies would be attacked, just as, in writing for those in Christian lands, the prevailing superstition is the one to strike at; to the second, a *Text Book* which was simply an essay written by one man and containing his personal opinions would be an absurdity. Such a work must give a *résumé* of opinions, and freethinkers, in arguing from the scientific basis, will do so with more effect, by quoting Agassiz, Lyell, Huxley, and Darwin, than by quoting Mr. Charles Bradlaugh; and, fortunately, Mr. Bradlaugh has the wisdom and humility to see this, and to search for, and put at the disposal of those who look to him for guidance, the very best weapons which modern science affords for the attack on the superstitions of the day. If the succeeding parts are as successful as the first, English freethinkers will have cause to congratulate themselves on the issue by the National Secular Society of so much-needed a book.

The National Secular Society *Song and Hymn Book* has also made a considerable success, and is on its way to a third edition, although only published in December last. It is a pleasant sign of growing strength that from various parts of the globe come suggestions for closer union between freethinkers in different countries. Secular societies are starting up in Australia and in Italy, among other places. Even in Rome itself a society is now forming, and these send friendly messages, asking whether some kind of International Secular Society might not advantageously be formed. This is a question which will, very probably, come before us at our next Conference, which is to be held at Leeds in the coming June. We hope to muster there strongly, and recruit our energies for the ensuing campaign. Some who do not formally belong to the society, but who are one with it in heart and object, will be with us. Among these is Mr. George Jacob Holyoake, whose reappearance in public life after his long and severe illness is warmly welcomed by all, and whose words will be listened to with interest and thoughtful attention. The only unpleasant feature of these gatherings is that there is usually present at such meetings a small knot of noisy free-lances, who are good at grumbling but at nothing else, and who, instead of working to forward the general cause, do nothing all the year, and then show their devotion by criticising any thing that has been done by anybody else. These folk do not really hinder business, as every body knows their entire hollowiness and uselessness, but they just make a small unpleasantness which is gladly caught up and utilized by Scripture readers and other small fry.

Matters ecclesiastical are quiet just now, during the Easter recess, and there is a general lull before the coming storm. Both theologically and politically we may, as sailors say, "look out for squalls," for many dangerous clouds are rolling up on all sides. Theologically, there is the dread of disruption in the Church Establishment, from the pressure of the Public Worship Regulation Act against the Ritualistic body, and the whispers of the secession of a Unitate Church deepen in intensity as more prosecutions are threatened, and priest after priest is menaced. The Liberal element is also one of danger to the stability of the Church, for the efforts of such men as Dean Stanley to widen her borders and to destroy her exclusiveness raise so much opposition from the narrower sections, that the Church quivers with the shocks, and the victory of the Broad Church party would be the signal for the fall of the Establishment. Politically, things are also dark. Falling wages, overstocked market, rising prices, are now met by our Tory government with increased taxation, and a rise in the Estimates to upwards of £78,000,000. Add to this material distress the irritation and bitterness caused by domestic blundering—the Merchant Shipping Bill, the two Slave Circulars, the Suez Canal

Purchase, the Royal Titles Bill, the indifference to British subjects abroad,—and you will understand that we are in a somewhat restless and critical state. We have been finding out how capitably we can get on without our Royal Family. Our future Empress has been in Germany; our Prince Imperial in India and Egypt; our grand Duke of Edinburgh in Russia and Berlin; our Prince Leopold in Italy; our Duke of Connaught in Algeria,—and yet, sad to say, the government of the country has gone on, and "nobody seemed one penny the worse." Things are broadening out rapidly into a republic. American friends, will you not purge the name, so that the second-born republic of English stock may have no cause to blush for her sister?

Communications.

ON THE REVIEW OF TYNDALL AND MARTINEAU IN THE LONDON "SPECTATOR."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Tyndall's essay on "Materialism and its Opponents" has been reviewed in the London *Spectator*. The reviewer says that Tyndall is answering the various critics of his Belfast Address, and chiefly Martineau, one of the ablest of them. He says that he is bewildered whenever Tyndall takes to reasoning on the theological and metaphysical speculations which underlie physical philosophy; that he has perused the essay twice or thrice, and cannot understand what "really is its drift and teaching"; and that "it must remain one of the obscurest riddles of modern literature." His "exceeding difficulty of understanding" the drift and teaching of the essay arises, he says, from his bewilderment as to what the main positions of Tyndall's argument jointly amount to.

The reviewer says that Tyndall complains that Martineau, without having any excuse, has misunderstood him as saying that he "can 'explain' mind from matter"; and that Tyndall maintains, and somewhat elaborately proves, that he has always said just the contrary. "Here, then, is Tyndall's first position. Whatever strength there may be in materialism, there is one great and impassable flaw in it. It cannot bridge the gulf between matter and consciousness. So far, then, Professor Tyndall is not a materialist." But no sooner is this position, of the speculative failure of materialism, clearly established in the reviewer's mind, than, to his bewilderment, he finds himself overwhelmed by another position in which he says a class of different opinions are as positively, partly, and dogmatically expressed. "For instance, Tyndall says, 'were not man's origin implicated, we should accept without a murmur the derivation of animal and vegetable life from what we call inorganic nature. The conclusion of pure intellect points this way, and no other. But this purity is troubled by our interests in this life, and by our hopes and fears in the world to come. Reason is traversed by the emotions, anger rising in the weaker heads to the height of suggesting that the compendious shooting of the inquirer would be an act agreeable to God and serviceable to man.'" The foes of this "conclusion of the pure intellect," says Tyndall, include "not only the ignorant and the passionate, but a minority of minds of high caliber and culture, —lovers of freedom, moreover, who still find the ethic life of their religion unimpaired, though its objective hull be riddled by logic." Considerations of courtesy for these, says Tyndall, ought to influence the form of our argument; but the substance of it "ought to be presented in unmitigated strength." Here, says the reviewer, "the only flaw, he now says, in the materialistic argument is, not its inability to bridge the gulf between molecules and consciousness, on which he had previously insisted, but only man's dislike to face the conclusions of pure intellect when they are disagreeable to himself"; and thus, the reviewer says, "that very materialist argument," with "the hopeless and ineradicable flaw in it," which Tyndall had seen and pointed out, for failing to recognize which he reproaches his critics, "he now finds one of 'unmitigated strength.' These discrepancies are puzzling enough."

Puzzling enough if the positions and the statement respecting them are fairly set forth, which they are not. The reviewer sets forth the positions so as to make Tyndall akin to the sizar, who, when asked whether the earth moves round the sun, or the sun round the earth said: "Sometimes the one and sometimes the other." The inconsistency suggested does not exist. It is true that Tyndall has always said that he cannot "explain," or logically infer, a state of mind from a state of matter; but it is not true that it is only now that "Tyndall appears to maintain that the pure 'intellect' has not any 'speculative fault to find with materialism'; and that 'it is only 'courtesy' . . . which makes Professor Tyndall tender with the antimaterialists'; and that 'if their position be worthy of respect it is not' on account of any 'speculative strength in it, but solely because it is a source of 'ethic life' in themselves'; for, as he says Tyndall remarks, 'the 'objective' truth of their religion has been positively riddled by logic.'"

In this Tyndall does not take a new "position," for, in the address, he says: "You cannot satisfy the human understanding in its demand for logical continuity between molecular processes and the phenomena of the human mind. This is a rock on which materialism must inevitably split whenever it pretends to be a complete philosophy of the human mind." But this is not inconsistent with Tyndall's materialism. He says that he cannot explain how mind results from matter, but he believes that it does, though he can no more explain why it is, than he can explain why water should result from a com-

bination of oxygen and hydrogen. He says, in the essay, "Matter I define as that mysterious thing by which all this [including mind] is accomplished. How it came to have this power I never ventured an opinion"; and in the address Tyndall plainly implies that the materialistic argument ought to be presented in unmitigated strength; and that "pure intellect" points to no other derivation of man, physically and intellectually, than "from what we call inorganic nature." He says, "Had our education been purely scientific, or sufficiently detached from influences, which, however ennobling in another domain, have always proved hindrances and delusions when introduced as factors into the domain of physics, the scientific mind never could have swerved from a law of growth, or allowed itself to accept the anthropomorphism which regarded each successive [geological] stratum as a kind of mechanic's bench for the manufacture of new species out of all relation to the old." And to add strength to the materialistic position he says, "Is there not a temptation to close, to some extent, . . . with Bruno," who declared "that matter is not that mere empty capacity which philosophers have pictured her to be, but the universal mother who brings forth all things as the fruit of her own womb?" and who "came to the conclusion that Nature in her productions does not imitate the technique of man. Her process is one of unravelling and unfolding. The infinity of forms under which matter appears were not impressed upon it by an external artificer; by its intrinsic force and virtue it brings these forms forth." Tyndall said "we naturally and rightly reject the monstrous notion that any form of life could possibly arise out of such matter" as a combination of dead sensationless atoms; and he says the argument placed in the mouth of Bishop Butler "suffices, in my opinion, to crush out all such materialism as this." It is this materialism that is advocated by Buchner, Bradlaugh, and Underwood.

Referring to Darwin's idea of the origin of life from a small number of created forms, Tyndall said that he did not see any advantage in diminishing the number to one primordial form; "either let us open our doors freely to the conception of creative acts, or, abandoning them, radically change our notions of matter,"—letting us infer that he abandons the idea of the creation of organic forms, and that he agreed with Lucretius that we could do without the meddling of the gods. You said that Tyndall had not made any change in his notions of matter, and I think you are right; only that what you describe Tyndall to mean as a polarizing force is what Tyndall means by a living force, polar force with him being living force. Weiss, perceiving this, said Tyndall had changed his notion of matter, but we have not any evidence of "change," but only a fuller expression of his opinion. The critics in *Blackwood's* and *Fraser's Magazines* declared that the drift of the address is to teach materialism and atheism; but Proctor has recently declared that, rightly understood, it does not teach either, while Tyndall admits that he is a materialist but not an atheistic one; and he says in the essay that the inorganic, the vegetable, and the animal "worlds constitute a unity in which I picture life immanent everywhere." But atheists and pantheists have pictured life as immanent in matter. Cicero's "beloved" Dicaearch said that neither man nor beast has a soul distinct from matter, and that the power of thinking and acting is equally diffused through all living bodies, and is inseparable from them; and Strato, who in the third century B. C. was the instructor in the school of Aristotle, said that there was no mind separate from the body, and that the formation of the world was not the result of a God in or distinct from matter. The pantheist Bruno held the doctrine of life immanent in matter; he said that God is "the original and immanent cause of the universe," and that "Power, Wisdom, and Love are his attributes." He declared that "the form, moving cause, and end of organic beings are identical not only with each other, but also with the constituent matter of the organisms"; that "God caused the worlds to come forth out of himself," and that "God is Nature working." The point on which Tyndall closes with Bruno is that of life being immanent in matter; but we must not call him a pantheist, for he rejects the idea of God working in Nature. In the preface of the seventh edition of the address, he says, that "our sun and planets were once diffused through space as an impalpable haze, out of which by condensation came our solar system"; that the earth unfit for ages "to maintain life . . . is now covered with visible living things," which are not formed from matter different from that which surrounds them. And in reference to the question of the introduction of life, whether it "was implicated in the nebula—as part of a vaster and wholly incomprehensible Life, or is the work of a Being standing outside the nebula, who fashioned it as the potter does his clay," Tyndall says, "that as far as the eye of science has hitherto ranged through Nature, no intrusion of purely creative power into any series of phenomena has ever been observed. The assumption of such a power to account for special phenomena has always proved a failure. It is opposed to the very spirit of science."

When Tyndall speaks of "our reverence for" the "Creator" of matter, we must suppose that he admits some ultimate act of God in relation to matter; but he refers that to some undefined time prior to the nebulousity of our system. On this he is reticent, but he ridicules the idea that the power manifested in the universe, which he dare not call "He," "Mind," or "Cause," should be represented as an "Atom Manufacturer" (as does Clark Maxwell), or as an "Artificer of Souls"; Tyndall says it suggests doubts as to whether those who hold these notions were ever really penetrated with the solemnity of solving the problem of life; and, he says, when we consider the supposition that this power turns out annually,

in England and Wales, a quarter of a million of souls, who, according to the dictum of Carlyle, are mostly fools, the increase does not say much in regard to reverence for Divine operations.

Tyndall said, six years ago, that the notion that the consciousness of to-day was evolved out of unconscious primeval mist may be too monstrous to be entertained by any sane mind, but that it would not appear so if we had been impregnated with the notion of Goethe, that "matter is the living garment of God"; and, he said, without a "total revolution" in the prevalent notions of matter, "the hypothesis of evolution must be condemned." That revolution will be the notion that all matter is alive.

Yours respectfully,

JOHN CHAPPELLSMITH.

NEW HARMONY, Ind.

WORSHIPPING THE GOLDEN CALF.

ORLAND, Ind., March 27, 1876.

MR. F. E. ABBOT:

Dear Sir,—Being an earnest believer in the truth of the Declaration of Independence, and believing that it is the duty of the people's representatives in Congress to devise and enact such laws as shall render said Declaration and the Constitution predicated thereon operative, and believing that the transatlantic monarchical gold-basis system of finance is as hostile to our secular rights, as the blood-atoning, sin-forgiving, innocence-crucifying, justice-evading, reason-repudiating religion of Judean origin is to the moral, intellectual, and spiritual development of humanity, I feel particularly sad to find your influence on the side of the oppressor; and if I had any faith in prayer or patience with the justice-defying doctrine of the forgiveness of sins, I would cry, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." If history was fairly quoted, and truth and justice respected, I could bear it better, for any cause that cannot be sustained by truth and philosophy should be by them destroyed.

But when fable, burlesque, and abuse are resorted to, it is a virtual acknowledgment that truth and argument are against the cause.

In conclusion, I would say that, as an advocate of reform, as a believer in progression, as a lover of humanity, I had fondly hoped you would remember those in bonds as bound with them, and not add insult to injury by ridiculing the cause of the oppressed. But I fear you have thrown off the restraints of fear before discovering the beauties of brotherly love as applicable to the slaves to capital.

I have worked for THE INDEX some, have sent several new subscriptions, have read it with considerable interest, and consider it the champion of the right on the school and taxation questions; but on the one vital question that towers mountains high above every other secular question, it is the deadly foe of American independence. My page is full, and my desire for any more INDEXES below zero while it worships the golden calf.

Yours for the greatest good to all,

C. B. DARROW.

NO NATURAL RIGHT TO VOTE.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—I desire to express my admiration for Rev. E. S. Elder's essay on "Woman and Politics." He, with the sincerest regard for the rights of woman, seems to put the matter in its true light.

As to the ballot for woman, it is more a thing of expediency than of justice. Is it expedient? There has been a great deal said of the right. All things that are right are not expedient.

It is plainly seen that, in our republican government, there is no argument for woman-suffrage in taxation. We tax property, whether it belongs to the individual or corporation, and we do not give votes because of property. If we did, then the minor, the woman, or the corporation, if a property-holder, should have vote, and vote according to property; the millionaire a thousand votes to one for him who has a thousand-dollar property. The genius of our government recognizes no such basis for suffrage.

Is there not a mistake in assuming any natural right for any one to vote? It is not a natural right, but a right wrought and established by government in its growth and development,—extended to those to whom the legislators, from their wisdom or want of wisdom, deem it expedient in order that the ends of government may be better accomplished.

J. S. S.

BOSTON, April 22, 1876.

THE NEW HAVEN LIBERALS.

NEW HAVEN, Conn., May 4, 1876.

FRIEND ABBOT:—

The "Free Lecture Association of New Haven," before which I have lectured the last two months, has nobly responded to the call for means for the Liberal Congress, by sending \$75. Such an association is an honor to New Haven, and indeed to the whole country. It is alive to every good, humanitarian work. I hope to see many like it formed on a wholly unsectarian, grandly liberal basis, spring up all over the country.

Yours truly,

W. F. JAMERSON.

A LITTLE fellow who was at a neighbor's house about noon the other day, watched the preparations for dinner with a great deal of interest; but when asked to stay and eat something he promptly refused. "Why, yes, Johnny, you'd better stay," said the lady; "why can't you?" "Well, 'cause," said the little fellow, "ma said I mustn't unless you ask me three times." They invited him twice more right off.

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PUBLISHED BY THE

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AT

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EDITOR:

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT.

EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS:

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Property is the Right of Increase claimed by the Proprietor over anything which he has stamped as his own.

First Proposition.

Property is impossible, because it demands something for Nothing.

Second Proposition.

Property is impossible, because, wherever it exists, Production costs more than it is worth.

Third Proposition.

Property is impossible, because, with a

given Capital, Production is proportional to Labor, not to Property.

Fourth Proposition.

Property is impossible, because it is Homelike.

Fifth Proposition.

Property is impossible, because, if it exists, Society devours itself.

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Property is impossible, because in consuming its Receipts, it loses them; in hoarding them, it nullifies them; and in using them as Capital, it turns them against Production.

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Property is impossible, because its Power of Accumulation is infinite, and is exercised only over Finite Quantities.

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To the Liberal Leagues and the Liberal Public of the United States:—

The General Centennial Committee, appointed at a convention held in this city last September for the purpose of making all necessary arrangements for a General Centennial Congress of Liberals next summer, have decided to call said Congress to convene at Philadelphia, Saturday, July 1, 1876,—further particulars to be hereafter announced.

Each organized Liberal League will be entitled to send five delegates as special representatives—three in addition to its President and Secretary. But all individual Liberals who sympathize with the general objects and aims of the Liberal Leagues will be equally entitled and welcomed to seats and votes in the Congress.

REPORT PROMPTLY!

In order to lessen as much as possible the expenses of the delegates, each League is requested to elect them as soon as possible, and to report their names to the undersigned through its Secretary. All Liberals, delegates, or individuals who desire and intend to participate in the Convention are requested also to forward personally and immediately their names and full post-office addresses to the undersigned, that he may be enabled to make the most favorable terms possible for their accommodation. If notified early, he hopes to secure for them a considerable reduction in railroad fares, and to provide boarding-places at perhaps half the usual rates of the season.

Donations Solicited!

The Centennial Committee on Finance, having through their Chairman transferred their duties to the General Centennial Committee, the undersigned has been appointed to attend to the financial department, and hereby appeals to the Liberals of the country for voluntary contributions to the amount of One Thousand Dollars. This amount will be needed to make the Congress a complete success, though the utmost possible will be done with whatever is contributed. The officers of the union of Liberal German societies propose to raise the same amount for their convention, and have already raised \$600 of it. The Young Men's Christian Association here have already spent this year nearly \$100,000 in preparation for the Centennial, in the interest of Orthodox superstition; it would be a pity if all the friends of "Liberty and Light" could not do a hundredth part as much for the cause of national development and free humanity! The money will all be wanted (and much more could be advantageously expended) in providing suitable halls and headquarters, advertising the Congress liberally in advance in the chief dailies of the country, defraying the necessary expenses of desired and invited speakers, paying *verbatim* reporters, publishing a complete pamphlet report of the proceedings, etc., etc. What is done must be done speedily, since the arrangements should be completed, as far as practicable, by the first of May.

All sums donated will be duly acknowledged in THE INDEX, and a full report of all expenditures will be sent for publication in the same paper. Remittances should be sent to the undersigned, 605 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. Will not all friends of the movement respond heartily and at once?

DAMON Y. KILGORE,
Acting Treasurer.

I believe that Mr. Kilgore is a gentleman of unimpeachable personal integrity, and that all money remitted to him as above will be faithfully and economically devoted to the legitimate uses of the Congress.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT,
Chairman of the General Centennial Committee.

At the preliminary Convention held at Philadelphia on Sept. 17, 18, and 19, 1873, for the purpose of making arrangements for the Centennial Congress of Liberals, the following were appointed a

General Centennial Committee:

FRANCIS E. ABBOT,
DAMON Y. KILGORE,
ALEXANDER LOOS,
ISAAC RHEN,
BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD,
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with power to increase their number to fifteen. The completion and success of the arrangements must depend on the liberality of the friends of the movement, who are respectfully and earnestly solicited to contribute the necessary funds.

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BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, MAY 25, 1876.

WHOLE NO. 335.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fairs shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated; and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advances of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

Therefore, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

- ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be **THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF —**.
- ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in —, and thereby to effect the total separation of Church and State in fact as well as in theory.
- Also to send delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League, when organized, and to cooperate heartily with all the liberals of the country in furtherance of the above-named object.
- ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.
- ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.
- ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.
- ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League.
- ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

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PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

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ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

tion. No person shall ever in any State be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious practices shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

ONE OF our subscribers nominates Secretary Taft for President. A better one could not be found.

A LETTER from Darien, Wisconsin, just received, informs us of the existence of a Liberal League of which we had not before heard: "We have now in successful operation a Liberal League with nearly fifty members, embracing the finest minds in the town. President, Dr. Crosby Carleton; Secretary, Daniel Rodman."

THE WISDEST SENTENCE in the address of the Reform Conference at New York, May 18, is this: "Passive virtue in the highest place has too often been known to permit the growth of active vice below." This is no world for passive virtue—for men who are content to be clean without making open war on dirt. Dirt is aggressive, and cleanliness will soon become dirt if it is not aggressive too.

LET ALL who see no danger of increasing interference of the Church with the State ponder well the resolution introduced on May 20 in the General Conference of the Methodists at Baltimore, advocating the election of Christians for "all the civil offices of our Government." We shall have more to say on this subject next week: there is now only time for an indignant protest against this wicked proposal.

REV. ROBERT COLLYER sent this pleasant little note to Mrs. Kilgore together with a handsome contribution to the "Paine Bust":—

CHICAGO, May 1, 1876.

Dear Madam,—I send you herewith a draft for \$50, —a subscription from a few friends here toward the Centennial Bust of Thomas Paine by our friend Sidney H. Morse. Mr. Morse has sent me photographs of the model. I like it very much,—am unable to judge of it as a likeness; but as the ideal one has of Thomas Paine it is wonderful. Kind regards to the radicals.

Yours, ROBERT COLLYER.

MR. J. H. WILBUR, who on May 5 introduced in the Baltimore Methodist Conference some resolutions protesting against the transfer of the Indian service to the War Department, made a statement touching the appointment of Indian Agents which shows how dangerously the country is drifting toward a practical amalgamation of Church and State: "Under the present plan, the churches nominate persons to fill the agencies, and they are confirmed by the Senate." So it seems that "the churches" have already usurped one of the chief functions of the Executive Department of the United States Government—the appointing power! And the fact can be boldly stated to the American public without the least protest on their part! Is it not about time for the National Liberal League? Verily, the Congress of Liberals has a work to do.

CHICAGO has a Sunday Lecture Society. Mr. H. D. Lloyd, the President, stated in his recent report that the course of the last season (Oct. 3, 1875, to May 7, 1876) had an average attendance of 1,300 persons. The subjects have been of a miscellaneous character, the lecturers being such men and women as R. W. Emerson, Robert Collyer, Susan B. Anthony, M. D. Conway, Joaquin Miller, James Parton, Prof. Proctor, and others. Charles Bradlaugh was engaged in this course, but unfortunately sickness prevented his actual participation in it. The expenses were only about \$19 in excess of receipts. This Chicago society and others at St. Louis and Milwaukee are reported by Mr. Lloyd to be offshoots

of the London Sunday Lecture Society, started in 1869; but probably the example of Boston, which established the Horticultural Hall "Sunday Afternoon Lectures" in the same year, had quite as much to do with originating them. At first the Boston course was under private management, but the Free Religious Association assumed charge of it two or three years later, and have made it a permanent institution.

SUCH A LETTER as this, written recently by an Episcopal clergyman, shows a catholicity of spirit, and a willingness to welcome truth from any quarter, of which there are too few examples anywhere: "Enclosed please find cheque for \$3.50 to your order. Please send me THE INDEX for one year. Also I should very much like to have two back numbers, if you can supply them—Jan. 22, 1874, and July 9, 1874. If you haven't them, or if they are difficult to get, I should be willing to pay more for them, as I was particularly interested by two articles in them by Mr. Gannett and Mr. Potter. If anything is still left to my credit after that, please send me No. 4 of the Free Religious Tracts—on 'Transcendentalism,' by Theodore Parker. Though I am a Christian, and a minister of the Episcopal Church, and am at home in that position, I read THE INDEX always with profit, and sometimes with pleasure and approval. You have done me a good service in making me see more clearly than I had before, that Christianity does not mean anything unless it means personal allegiance to Christ. I cannot be too grateful for such assistance in thinking and living as that gives me. Accept my very best wishes for yourself and those who are with you." To the spirit of that letter we respond with warm sympathy and unfeigned respect. With a Christianity which is thus compatible with justice, veneration for equal rights, and fearless devotion to truth, we have no quarrel whatsoever; though we may not intellectually accept it, we can with absolute sincerity clasp the hand of such a Christian as a friend and brother.

AT THE opening of the Presbyterian General Assembly in New York, May 18, Rev. Dr. Morris, the retiring Moderator, prophesied, in the Annual Sermon, the "unification of the American Presbyterian churches," as a step towards the "unifying of Protestantism." The tendency to union among Protestant Evangelical sects, ignoring minor sectarian differences and yet putting intensified emphasis on the great leading doctrines of Orthodoxy, is one of the chief religious features of the age. Its ultimate bearings on religious liberty are not at all appreciated by the cheerful optimists who so naively exult over the spread of liberal thought. The enormous power of Protestant Orthodoxy, if ever concentrated in a single organization and not balanced by the power of an equally well organized liberalism, will be felt when it is too late to oppose it successfully. Our religious liberties to-day depend chiefly on the mutual emulations of the sects, each too jealous of its rivals to tolerate domination by any one of them. Once convert these mutual rivalries into a combined movement against "Romanism and infidelity," and our real freedom would be trampled under foot. It is the consolidation of corporations which constitutes the greatest peril to the liberty of the individual in the future of this country, as the growth of the railroad monopoly proves to the intelligent; and a consolidated Protestantism, if not met by a consolidated liberalism which shall give organic power to freedom, will be the certain re-union of Church and State under some practical form of tyranny. The issues are of the gravest importance; let us not sit with folded hands and sleepy eyes, when every far-seeing leader on the other side fully understands that Orthodox concentration means Orthodox empire—Liberal concentration means universal liberty. The one would be endless strife; the other will be "peace on earth and good-will to men."

LIST OF LIBERAL LEAGUES.

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(FOR THE INDEX.)

Reminiscences of Strauss.

TRANSLATED FROM THE LEIPZIG "GARTENLAUBE."

BY A LADY.

The first effect caused by the appearance of Strauss' great work, the *Life of Jesus*, was that of staggering surprise on one hand, of horror and indignation on the other. One felt the cutting blast which, resulting from such bold inquiry, swept pitilessly away the old and dearly cherished beliefs, but did not perceive at once the redeeming power, fresh and of vital warmth, streaming forth from the soul's deepest recesses, the consciousness of a new freedom and humanity which, by severing connection entirely with the past, removed a great obstacle from the way. The blow came suddenly; like a flash of lightning it darted into the spiritual ranks; no premonition, no newspaper notices, as is customary now-a-days, had prepared the way for the book and set the public mind in expectation. No one knew the author, excepting the few in his immediate neighborhood. Without the usual preliminaries, a work appeared of which any critic must say that the study necessary for it would fill up the measure of a lifetime. Who was he? Where did he live? Public curiosity was rife, especially in North Germany; but the few who knew the authorship of the book gave no clew.

As soon as Strauss had revealed the secret that the records of Christianity were the results of the fancy and imagination of a people inclined to myths and legends, it fell to his own lot to be a subject of fable, which, as may well be imagined, was not at all to his advantage. There were not many in that timid, pusillanimous time who could lift themselves to the belief that such a relentless schism could be produced by moral impulse, and especially by the purest which exists, the force of conscience and love of truth. But the mystery was soon cleared. There were at that time, it is true, no railroads and telegraphs, no press, with its army of correspondents, to satisfy the public curiosity as at the present day; explanations and disclosures required time; but a question like this, of import to the world, was only a question of time.

To general surprise it was discovered after a while that the author of the *Life of Jesus*, the subject of eager, general discussion, was a young man but little over twenty-seven years old. Cultivated travellers who met him represented him as an agreeable, scholarly person, whose bearing inspired the highest respect, and with none of the repulsive ugliness which a blind rage had so readily imputed to him. The accounts of the student circle to which Strauss belonged, which we in youth listened to with such eagerness, are still fresh in mind; and the picture which Professor Zeller, of Berlin, has sketched from memory of the youthful Strauss corresponds with them exactly. Even then in outward appearance, as this picture represents him, Strauss did not agree in the least with the idea which most people would have formed of him after reading his book. The delicate lines of the youthful face, the meditative bearing, and the effect of frankness and almost girlish shyness caused by a peculiar expression of the thoughtful, deep-set eye, gave then no premonition of the bold critic dissecting his subject unfeelingly with the cold and pitiless weapons of science.

A closer acquaintance revealed a man of great mind, cultured in many directions, while a more intimate relationship betrayed a witty, genial companion and an excellent story-teller,—a nature possessing the keenest appreciation of everything naive and humorous. United with these qualities was a tender, delicate, and artistic nature, which in the purity and reserve of its being shrank from every contact with rudeness and coarseness, whose every personal advance cost a certain effort and self-control, every uncongenial contact a speedy and timid retreat within itself. At the same time those traces of a manly character betrayed themselves clearly which, in his public career as an author, came boldly to view, a scorn and indignation which dared expression, a firm, decided will, and a courage in scientific inquiry which, if occasion required, would bid defiance to a world.

Thus the youthful but ripened thinker and inquirer presented himself to the world, the instrument which the wrestling, fermenting age had made ready in secrecy for the solution of one of its greatest problems. What Nature had lent him in gifts, attributes, and lofty impulses, had been promoted by the circumstances of birth and surroundings. A son of the lovely and poetical Suabia, which has given Germany so many pioneers in the realms of science, he spent a happy childhood in his native city, Ludwigsburg, until his fourteenth year (he was born on January 27, 1808), when he entered the "cloister school" at Blaubeuren, the specially fruitful hot-bed of the youthful scientists of that time. Around its distinguished teachers crowded a band of gifted and ardent disciples, among whom the youthful Strauss was not the least noticeable. Fresh from home, he entered the "cloister school" at Blaubeuren a bashful, homesick boy, whom one would scarcely have recognized three years later in the youth ripened by the study of the classics, by love for the ideal and search after truth,—the cultured youth who on his entrance at the university inspired both teachers and students with deepest respect. If (as his friend and fellow-student Fischer relates) the proud, tall figure with the St. John's head and old-time German hair had not given premonition of the future critic, yet the unusual betrayed itself in the earnestness of his scientific inquiries, in the independence of his judgments, in his mental originality, and decided character.

Of course, in a nature like his, the storms and contests of doubt which all young theologians are compelled to weather were not lacking. Of a deep and tender social nature, with a love of the beautiful and an uncommon poetical tendency and talent (as many beautiful poems from his pen testify), he betrayed also an exceedingly devout, romantic, and mystical tendency, which was overcome only by the progress of his scientific inquiries. These led him to the study of the works of Schleiermacher, and afterwards of Hegel, the most vigorous thought-system of the age, which had an especial attraction for him, and a decided influence upon his mind. Thus he was not only endowed with rich and positive knowledge, but his great career was most unmistakably pointed out to him, as in 1830 the theological examination was passed with honor, and the call to a vicarage in the village of Klein-Ingersheim was accepted.

It is of specially piquant interest that Strauss, the young preacher, was very much loved by his little congregation. Zeller says that his sermons, with all their solidity, were remarkable for an exemplary adaptability to the understanding of the people; he confined himself to the practical-religious value of the Bible teachings, and his treatment of them was enhanced by an agreeable delivery, clear, vivid, and simple in the highest degree.

But the pressure of science did not permit this limited career long; it impelled a pilgrimage to Berlin, to the men who deserved his gratitude so richly. But scarcely had he reached the capital city, when Hegel died of the cholera, and the intercourse of Strauss with his disciples there was very limited. He saw but little also of Schleiermacher, whose views on the books of the New Testament coincided no longer with his own. Impelled by the love of science, and infected by the atmosphere of Berlin, pregnant with inquiry, the plan of the *Life of Jesus* was formed in the mind of the young unknown Suabian. In six months he was at home again, a professor at Tübingen, giving philosophical lectures to large and enthusiastic audiences. His great capability as instructor made itself very conspicuous here, and men now living who received the benefit of his instruction never speak of him without deep feeling. His lectures, says Zeller, had the influence of "grateful showers upon thirsty soil." After three terms they were provisionally suspended,—the desire to complete his book, the *Life of Jesus*, being so strong within him that he felt he must take the time and leisure for its execution. In a year the work, with the exception of the closing treatise, more than fourteen hundred printed pages, was completed. The printing required about the same length of time. The first volume appeared in the summer, followed by the second in the autumn, of 1835.

The trump-card was herewith thrown out, which was not alone to bring the agitation in thought of the age to a more decisive point, to set the sluggish and confused encampments of the Old and New more decidedly against each other, but was destined also to decide the future career of the author. It was very evident that he had not written the book with the design of causing excitement or arousing indignation; a courageous search after truth had necessitated its appearance, and although it was not

a book for the reading masses, yet it could not be otherwise than that its influence should be universally felt. This influence was increased by the hoisted signals of distress, by the noisy drum-beat of adversaries, whose importance as protectors of the so-called divine secrets was so seriously threatened. Such must have been entirely blind not to have seen the serious danger of the opposing move,—not to have realized that this was not merely a bold stroke of the hand to be warded off, but a question of dealing with the imposing dignity of science, with the most thorough knowledge, with a mastery of logic united with the magic spell of language, a style of expression unparalleled hitherto in scientific works in all Germany. The storm burst; for years theological literature was concentrated upon this one book, and translations of it into English and French showed the interest excited by it in foreign countries. Multitudes of articles were written, many of them the most vulgar attacks and most pitiable denunciations, which only fanned the flame they tried to extinguish; it burst forth only the brighter, and in three years after the appearance of the book a third edition was necessary, and soon after a fourth.

This fanatical outburst could boast, however, of one point gained; before the appearance of the second volume Strauss was removed from his professorship at Tübingen and transferred to a position in a boys' school in his native city, Ludwigsburg. He retained this inferior position, however, only one year, and then resigned it, in order to devote himself unremittently to his literary labors. He removed to Stuttgart, where, in accordance with his modest, retiring tastes, he lived almost the life of a hermit, devoting himself entirely to his great tasks and studies. Those famous controversies with Stendel and Eschenmayer, Hengstenberg, Wolfgang Menzel, and others, were written here, which Rudolf Gottschall excellently defines as "a cabinet of gems with the plastic character-heads of these adversaries"—consequences of the most brilliant attack that German literature has seen since Lessing.

Here in Stuttgart, also, his celebrated work supplementary to the *Life of Jesus*, the *Doctrine of Faith*, was written. In systematic succession it dissected the collected heads of church doctrines, showed their human origin, their development, and final defeat in the combat with modern science.

One event interrupted the quiet life of the great thinker and set him for a brief period before the goal of his most ardent desires; the ministry beckoned to him, the calling to which by inclination and adaptability he was most unmistakably attracted. It is well-known how this call to a theological chair at Zürich was revoked, on account of the mob-cry raised by priests and pietists. It was a hard blow for Strauss, since a hope was thereby cut off forever, and a sacrifice imposed upon him from which he was to suffer his life long. In later years he referred to this painful event of his life in one of his prefaces, in words which one can scarcely read without emotion: "Just about this time, twenty-five years ago, my *Life of Jesus* went out into the world. The theologians will scarcely celebrate its twenty-fifth anniversary, notwithstanding it has helped more than one of them to beautiful thoughts which never occurred to him before, and thereby to place and honors. But many a better man in every land, who dates his spiritual emancipation from the study of this book, will be thankful for it his life long (this I am sure of), and so celebrates, although perhaps unconsciously, this jubilee with me in silence. As for myself, I may well bear ill-will against my book, for it has done me injury enough (well deserved, cry the pietists). It has shut me out from the career for which I had inclination, and I think perhaps talent; it has snatched me out of natural relations, and thrust me into unnatural; it has made my life solitary; and yet I think what would have become of me, if I had not spoken out the word within me; if I had suppressed the doubt which lay upon my soul; and so I bless the book which in truth has injured me outwardly, but which has preserved my soul's life and health, and (I dare to comfort myself with the thought) that of many another. And I would bear witness in these, its festival days, that it was written from moral necessity, out of the purest motives, without passion, or kindred impulses, and as free from fanaticism and underdesigns as I could wish many of its critics had been."

"I testify further that it has not been refuted, but more forcibly confirmed; and that, if it is less read now than formerly, it is because it has been imbibed by the culture of the age,—because it has forced itself into all the veins of science."

"Finally, I testify for it that, in the twenty-five years of its existence, not a line of importance has been written upon the subjects of which it treats, in which its influence is not to be traced."

It is evident from this expression of feeling that it was not a matter of indifference to Strauss thus to play the rôle of "outlaw," which the pitiable nature of circumstances forced upon him. The whole man speaks out in these words,—deep sorrow, but at the same time exultant triumph that, in the grandeur of self-justification, he can rise above the injustice done him. It is hardly to the honor of German universities and faculties that such an imposing, self-attesting, and superior power should have been left unnoticed on the way; that through decades not a single one of these seats of learning should have shown the due appreciation of science, the courage and self-denial, to call for the services of this man. From this circumstance dates that tone of acute bitterness in him towards a kind of incorporated science whose efforts tend to the blunting of conviction, the covenanting ingeniously with untruth, in order not to forfeit position and activity. If the ample income, the fruits of his independent labor, and his moderate habits of life, had not placed him beyond the reach

of want, it might be said of this great German writer, that a combat with poverty had helped also to desolate his life.

Still another longing of his nature, his desire for the possession of a home and the enjoyment of domestic life, was also to be denied fulfillment, except for a brief period. In an engagement at the Stuttgart Theatre of the distinguished opera-singer, Agnes Schebest, from Berlin, his admiration was aroused by the beautiful singing and classical interpretations of the artist, and his heart won by the grace of manner and beauty of the woman. The celebrated *prima donna* became the wife of the quiet scholar; the newly-married pair retired to a small estate near Heilbronn, afterward moving into that city where congenial intercourse with a circle of cultivated and refined families proved a source of enjoyment. But the marriage was an unfortunate one, and after five years the couple separated. The children by this marriage, a boy and girl, remained at first under the mother's care; but after a few years the father took them, and found thereby a source of blessing and happiness.

This shipwreck of his home resulted in a kind of wandering life, which continued to the end of his days. In the stormy, revolutionary period of 1848, he moved from Heilbronn to Munich, whither he was allured by the art treasures which that city offered. Then with his children he spent sometime in Weimar, cherishing memories of the golden age of German poetry, especially seeking all traces of Goethe, of whom he was always a most ardent admirer. From Weimar he moved to Cologne, the residence of his brother; later to Heidelberg, which held him captive six years, exchanging this residence finally for Darmstadt, where he remained five years. Meanwhile temporary visits were made in Heilbronn, Berlin, Bonn, Munich, Biebrich, and Baden-Baden. The change from place to place was occasioned by the death and departure of friends; the choice of a new residence depended upon the intellectual intercourse offered, the prospect of art and literary resources, the beauties of Nature, and regard for the health and education of his children. In the main, however, Strauss suffered from the discomforts of such continual change; personally he regarded this Bohemian life as a misfortune; but it has proved to the advantage of the German nation and its literature, since it is unquestionably to this same independent leisure and complete self-sacrifice that we are indebted for those rich creations which sprouted from the unfettered activity of the author,—creations in whose expression and style Goethe and Lessing have celebrated in Germany a new birth.

It is not our intention to enumerate here the entire list of Strauss' works, neither to characterize any in detail, but merely to make mention of the principal ones. When at length he had sufficiently defended his work, exhausting with penetrating acuteness, in brief as well as extended writings, everything connected with the subject—when disciples and fellow-combatants arose about him to carry on the contest in the path marked out by him,—then, towards the end of his fortieth year, he turned his back upon theology to satisfy other powers and impulses of a nature cultured in so many directions. Although from habit he read and studied untiringly, yet it was years before he found any subject sufficiently enticing to control his pen. "I must be violent, if I am to write," he remarked once to a friend. The happy instincts attendant upon such gifts as his, however, pointed out the right way for him soon. Primary among the subjects which irresistibly attracted him was Nature's secret as represented in man's image, the innermost essence and working of human personality; an impulse deep within him led him often to peer into the dark and intricate life-paths of marked and interesting men, ill-used, misunderstood, or not sufficiently honored champions of the mind, in whom the age was reflected, or who had outgrown the age. A broad and uncultivated field of most satisfying activity opened before him; the subtle and keen analyst, the humane searcher of the hearts of men, of their sorrows and workings, could find satisfaction here; the historical inquirer, the *connoteur* in literature and art, could test his strength in this subject; while the poetical instinct in him, the taste for artistic form, was able here to find full expression. Fifteen years of the life of our author were devoted almost exclusively to such work as this, and the results are those imposing life-pictures, perfect, classical masterpieces which will stand without doubt to future generations as among the highest ornaments of our literature. With his keen and penetrating mind, with the frank and healthful simplicity, with the "large, clear, and peaceful eye" which Flecher extols in him, Strauss has raised biography to a living, breathing work of art, which stands as one of his most brilliant services. Were we to mention signal examples of his efforts in this direction, with *Schubart's Life in his Letters*, *Nicodemus Frischlin*, and *Märklin* (the latter, the life and character of a young comrade of his, in which work the author has woven a considerable thread of his own development), we should name as shining with especial brilliancy the grand and tempestuous life of *Ulrich von Hutten*; also the brilliant book *Voltaire*, which appeared almost contemporaneously with the sudden outbreak of the last French war, and which, notwithstanding this event, made so deep an impression that a second edition of the work was called for at once, and in 1872 a third was found necessary. All these life-pictures stand out not merely as works of art for æsthetic contemplation and idle enjoyment, but as heroes, whom the artist has selected because with their pictures he could express something necessary to his age,—because he perceived in these men the warm life-current which agitates our own time,—because their contests and fate offer earnest lessons and warnings for the struggles and contests of

our present century. Referring to his life of von Hutten, Strauss has spoken clearly on this subject:—

"In times of calamity as in prosperity" (he wrote in 1870 in the preface of his second edition), "the people gladly invoke the spirits of their illustrious dead; these are mostly champions who have striven for light against darkness, for freedom against despotic tyranny. To know itself surrounded by a cloud of such witnesses constitutes the nobility of a nation, and, if there is a nation which can boast of such a nobility, it is the German. One form I invoked once out of this cloud in an evil time. It was in the years when Germany, after an exhausting miscarriage, lay in utter weakness, when petty and mighty aggressors became her masters anew, when supercilious neighbors mocked her, when those black birds of prey came wheeling about her as if she were already a carcass, and, screeching, swarmed upon her. It was the time of the Concordats, those servile treaties with Rome. Then I cried, 'Is there no Hutten among us?' And, as there was none among the living, I undertook to restore the image of the dead, and to hold it up before the gaze of the German people."

Thus it follows that Strauss, even in the time of apparent evasion of the subject, maintained full sympathy for religious freedom. After he had been silent for years in the high-raging conflict of religious questions, he appeared in 1864 with that comprehensive continuation and emendation of his principal work which, under the title, *The Life of Jesus, treated for the German people*, is known to all scholars, and of which especial mention was made at the beginning of the present article. With this important work and two others of less significance, which appeared in 1865, *The Christ of Faith and The Heavens and the Wholes*, Strauss ended his efforts for religious freedom, it being among the movements of progress sure of execution. The book, *The Old Faith and the New*, with which he astonished the world six years later, stands upon a quite different, entirely new ground, raising questions with regard to the highest subjects, the answer to which the world had not reckoned as among his tasks. It addresses a small community within the aristocracy of mind, and leaves regardless on one side like an abandoned outpost, the blindly groping upward strivings of the people's life. Simply for this last reason we cannot be counted among the friends of this book; but, with very many others whom its contents estranged, and in a measure repelled, we do fully believe that it was prompted by deeply moral impulse, that it excites great questions and probes the wounds of the age; in this especially are we not mistaken, that in a scientific and literary point of view it is a masterpiece, and testifies preeminently to the unimpaired powers and worth of its author. It was the swan's song. In the midst of the great excitement which the book caused on all sides, he removed in 1872 into the almost idyllic stillness of his native city, Ludwigsburg, the home to which he had always been fondly attached. Here in the neighborhood of his son, a military surgeon in Stuttgart, and under the devoted care of an old servant and friend of his father's family, he hoped to feel a reviving and healthful influence in the memories of early days; but in vain; for scarcely was the hitherto vigorous sexagenarian settled in his quiet, modest quarters in Ludwigsburg, when the forebanners of the dreadful disease attacked him, which was to bear the great champion of religious freedom prematurely into the realms of peace.

For forty years the peculiar and powerful brilliancy of this man has lightened up Germany, a star of the first magnitude, foremost among the preëminent intellectual lights which have shone upon this age of culture. Not always beneficial and refreshing like the mild ray of spring, sometimes even in harsh and decided contradiction with an undeniably good will, an undoubted desire for the promotion of freedom and humanity, yet shining always from the heights into the depths, pointing out great aims, ever demanding, invoking, inspiring souls far and near, and so forcibly that neither friend nor enemy could turn away indifferently. If we call his image up before us as the impartial future will regard it, the gaze falls not upon a great thinker and a mighty genius only; we recognize something more elevating,—the strong, manly courage of conviction and truth, qualities of a great character, which never concealed its knowledge, a man who never questioned if what he was and said would bring good or harm,—if it pleased others or not. As among the theologians he forfeited the adherence of many who, by some discretion on his part, would have made him the leader of a great party; as he sometimes swung his lash over princes and principalities,—so he never left the masses, who looked confidently up to him, in doubt of his fidelity to them, but convinced them that in essential points he was their zealous partisan and champion. From this straightforward, heroic courage in pursuit of truth, a courage which despised all false ingredients as Lessing despised them before him, the inflammable nature of his work from the earliest stages of his career may be explained. The priests and numerous enemies of his under their influence would gladly, in accordance with their nature, have defamed his private character, and dragged it in the dust; but they were foiled here by the exemplary purity of a calm and elevated conduct of life, to which the common, the petty, and the base were as foreign as all eccentricity, vanity, and arrogance.

The "arch-heretic," as he was latterly termed, has been described by his youthful companions as a "Johanneskopf," a retiring, but eminently scholarly nature, with a delicately-strung, easily-aroused poetical feeling,—at the same time as an unaffected, congenial person, and a decidedly witty and jovial companion. He retained these qualities as long as he lived, in spite of all his bitter experiences. He sought rest and recreation after severe mental labor

in quiet communion with Nature, in the enjoyment of art and poetry, and especially of music; above all, however, in intellectual society, in the intercourse with cultivated men and women, upon whom the grace of his personality exercised an irresistible charm. Strauss was universally recognized as a loving son, a faithful brother, an exceedingly fond, sacrificing, and conscientious father, the true and warm friend of his friends, and it may truly be said that the love he so richly gave was returned in like measure.

But a single shadow, which untiring gossip has actively extended, seems to rest upon his life,—the unhappy and early terminated marriage with a gifted and much admired wife. With reference to this delicate and purely personal affair, scandal-hungry curiosity demanded explanation from him, and as of course he did not offer it, there was no end to the whisperings of busy tongues. But even this darkness begins to brighten. In an appendix to the second volume of *Religiösen Reden* recently published, Henry Lang, of Zürich, refers to a confidential letter which a lady of Würtemberg wrote to a friend in 1848, the original being in Lang's possession. This letter is sufficient proof that Strauss bore a five years' martyrdom with extraordinary patience, love, and goodness of heart, which men less noble than he would not have borne as many months. Only when the worst threatened, the danger to his mental personality, was the bond broken which bound him to the gifted woman who understood him so little. There is no blame to be attached to him other than the rashness of his choice, in which he did not bring his nature into consideration, and particularly the severe simplicity of his habits of living.

Another reproach made by the left wing of "Liberalism" has reference to his political stand-point; and surely there is a contradiction here. The man who in the province of religion made a clearance with such radical resoluteness held conservative views in politics. He who had listened with sensitive ear for some revelation of a religion in the world, born and nurtured in the spirit of the people of a dim past, showed no appreciation, no kindly look for the fermenting, regenerating tendencies in the life of the people around him. It was a void in his nature; but this may be explained by reference to those especially eminent qualities of his mind which have lent his writings their strength and charm; namely, to the clearness of thought, which was so averse to everything intangible, confused, and unripe, and to his sensitive and refined artistic feeling, which felt itself wounded and repelled by anything lawless, noisy, and violent. Nevertheless, it was a lack, and it is to be regretted that the fixed laws of development, as they are passionately and forcibly executed in mighty revolutions of the people, should have been of so little import to Strauss. But let no one believe on this account that Strauss was not the advocate of modern freedom; that, in contradiction with his work, he desired the triumph of injustice and oppression, or the preservation of ancient servitude in any form whatsoever.

Germany's power and greatness (he wrote in 1872) could be based only upon an unbiased mental culture, hampered by no clergy, no narrow church-statutes; and as he in the war just ended would have fought in the van against the enemy from abroad, so he would have contended among the foremost against the enemy of freedom and progress at home. His clear-seeing patriotism protected him from the charge of connection with political designs, he was one of our warmest and best patriots. When the war broke out in 1870, and a doubt lingered in the inward conscience of the nation, wild with passion and excitement, if this appeal to the sword were a morally justifiable deed, and one not simply forced upon them, the author of the *Life of Jesus* was the first among the representatives of science to break the silence. From the stillness of his study, those powerful manifestoes were issued, those open letters to Renan written, which settled every doubt, and gave to this war what it demanded,—the evidence of calm thought, the sanction of a mind subservient to no will or command. Not alone from the grandeur of the occasion which they saluted, but also by reason of their contents and form, these letters are to be reckoned among the most significant and effective declarations which the history of our national combat can produce; like a fresh laurel-wreath they entwine the hoary head of the man whom a blind party-rage on all sides was so ready to denounce as heartless, and lacking in sympathy for grand universal aims.

As "Master," Renan, the celebrated Frenchman, addressed with reverential accent the German scholar at the beginning of our national contest, by this term having in view, of course, his masterhood only in the realms of knowledge, of scientific inquiry, and its expression. That with this superior intellect, which revealed with unrelenting severity a world of errors and petrified abuses, a rich and noble nature of rare fervor and depth was united, was known but to a comparative few, by reason of the unsettled and stormy condition of the age. But to be assured of this it is only necessary to read the tender eulogy upon his brother, written by him in 1863; also *Memories of his Mother*, penned on the confirmation day of his daughter. His character first presented itself in its true light to his contemporaries, when true and trusted men related of the wonderful greatness of soul with which the disdained apostle of heresy endured the breaking up of his physical powers, the terrible agony of his last, lingering, weary sickness. He did not deceive himself long in regard to the hopelessness of his case. Over his writing-desk in the Ludwigsburg sitting-room hung significantly enough two pictures by Wächter, so in harmony with his condition,—*"The dying Socrates,"* and *"Job with his three friends,"* When Strauss must say with this martyr of ancient Jewish record, "My spirit is faint,

my days are numbered, the grave is ready for me," he yielded in the combat of life, paying no further heed to the judgment of critics upon his last work. True to himself, and with unclouded cheerfulness of spirit he went forth to meet death; laying aside, unread, the letters which weak pietists in vain presumption ventured to send to the dying man with the hope of converting him.

His hours of suffering and pain were devoted to reading and mental activity, to warm interest in events pertaining to his country, but especially to loving intercourse with kindred souls, who with proofs of tender love and sympathy brought light and comfort into his darkened days of pain. All who visited him testified to the impression of moral consecration and exaltation which this sick-room made upon them, the room from which many significant utterances, many glorious letters have gone out into the world, in which also those charming occasional poems of the father to the children were written,—verses, exhalings the warm breath of love, which have lent such charm to the little work on Strass by Professor Zeller, so often quoted in this article.

Cultivated circles far and near watched with grave anxiety the fatal threatenings of his disease, and it is one of the significant symptoms of the changes of time that among the many men and women, at home and abroad, who gave testimony to the champion of spiritual freedom in his physical distress, of their deep respect and heartfelt sympathy, two princesses are to be named,—the German crown princess, Victoria, and her sister, the princess Alice of Hesse-Darmstadt. But the hopes of sympathizing friends for his recovery were in vain; at noon, on the 8th of February, 1874, he breathed his last, gently and peacefully, in the arms of his son.

A few days before his death he read Plato's *Phædo* in the original, and if the last impression of friends visiting him were the same as Plato has pictured at the end of *Phædo* there was reason for it, for with the same composure and grandeur of soul as he of old, wandered a wise man and philosopher of our own time the last way.

Around the pale face of the deceased, the features of which, as described by eye-witnesses, bore the impression of an overpowering majesty, assembled, on the 10th of February, 1874, a multitude of congenial souls, drawn thither from all directions by the notice of his death. To no accompaniment of the funeral bell, and unattended by the clergy, as he himself expressly desired, he was borne through the still, snow-covered streets of his native city to the friendly church-yard. And, as he also desired, by his open grave only a few hymns were sung, a few brief parting words spoken, and the wintry earth then shut from view the last remnant of a life, whose picture henceforth the ideally-disposed fathers of our age will represent to their children as a pattern and example, a life mighty in its accomplishments, grand in its strivings and aims, and, this we must say in spite of the protest of all professed holiness, truly pure and holy.

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CLERICAL HONESTY.

That the creed of our Orthodox churches is not cordially and unreservedly accepted by all members of the Orthodox body is a fact which is growing more and more apparent.

Stimulated by thoughts, suggested by scientific discovery, or the results of historical criticism, many a thoughtful professor of religion is anxiously trying to define in distinct outlines the points of church doctrine which he has long held half-dreamily in his own mind, and to assure himself of his belief in them. Pursuing thus his inquiries into the groundwork of his creed in the light of the latest scientific results, he is often distressed to find that he cannot now assent conscientiously to all the tenets of Orthodoxy.

Not unfrequently is this the experience of the Orthodox minister himself, so far as sewing-circles, pastoral visits, clerical duties, and the grinding pressure of two sermons a week give him an opportunity to keep abreast of the times, and to think deeply and independently. If many of the more intelligent and better-informed clergymen, in what are termed our "Evangelical" churches, were compelled to answer honestly a series of searching questions relative to their creed, their replies would probably startle the mass of their unthinking and unsuspecting hearers. Fifty years ago there was hardly a doubt entertained of the scientific reliability of the Mosaic cosmogony. To-day few clergymen of any scholarship would be found bold enough to defend it, precisely as it stands recorded in the first chapter of Genesis. Yet the mass of the Church members know neither the reasons why it has been abandoned as authoritative, nor perhaps are they aware of the fact that it has been thus discarded. They simply know that there has been a great discussion upon the subject, and their minds are full of an uneasy apprehension about it; but not one in a hundred can tell exactly what he believes in reference to it, nor does he know what his minister believes, so reticent is the latter upon any point in the Bible whose change of interpretation, he pleads, might spread a panic of scepticism among the rank and file of the believers.

There is here evident on the one side a lamentable want of proper instruction, and on the other a lack of courage among many Orthodox ministers; an unwillingness to state what is known to be true, and a fear to root up a superstitious adherence to the untenable theory of verbal inspiration.

These clergymen, it would seem, through fear to trust the truth among their people, possess in reality two sets of notions, one of which they display to the public from Sunday to Sunday, and the other to one or two chosen friends in the privacy of their studies. Do you suppose that an intelligent Orthodox minis-

ter would calmly tell you in confidence that he believed the account of the origin of the rainbow given in Genesis,—or that he accepted without hesitation the story of Jonah and the whale,—or even the astrological illusion of the Star of Bethlehem? If, indeed, he were sure that his words would go no further, would he say to you that he fully believed in the doctrine of the endless punishment of all who do not believe on Christ,—which forms a part of the creed of every Orthodox church? The number who would thus acknowledge their belief in these things is probably small; but the majority of those who privately declared their disbelief in them would be very careful not to let their liberal sentiments be known to their congregations. Few are the Orthodox ministers who dare to speak boldly even of the *mistake* which the apostles and the whole early Church made, in supposing that Christ was to come immediately,—probably before their own death, and certainly before the passing away of that generation. Yet that is something which no scholar doubts for a moment. What Orthodox minister in reading the fifth chapter of John's gospel dares to omit the fourth verse, and to explain that it is an interpolation in the text, and was originally the marginal note of some copyist, explanatory of the superstitious belief of the ignorant in the descent of a supernatural being to trouble the waters? Yet every Greek New Testament scholar knows this to be so, and is perfectly aware that the verse ought not to be tolerated in the text. But it is read solemnly week after week, as part of the "Word of God," by those who know better. The "expounders of the Scriptures" too often pass quietly over such points, and leave the minds of their unthinking hearers undisturbed. During the past year how few sermons upholding the doctrine of the everlasting punishment of the wicked have been preached in Orthodox pulpits! Yet if that be the actual creed of the Orthodox churches, the dreadful alarm ought to be constantly sounded.

Now it is, of course, unwise for ministers to present to their congregations merely a number of doubts and negations, with nothing positive to offer in place of the crude views which they have shown untenable. But there is an increasing number of thoughtful young men and women in their audiences, who are keenly interested in ascertaining the right ground of belief in reference to many important dogmas of the Church. These need to be instructed, and not to have their inquiries pushed aside as irrelevant or wicked. Let, then, the minister who has himself been forced, in the light of scientific research, to take a view of Biblical inspiration widely different from the old verbal one taught in the Church-creed, boldly proclaim his views to his congregation! Let him frankly tell them the errors of the old system of interpretation, and the advantages, nay, the positive necessity, of adopting a more liberal one! It is useless for the enlightened clergy to assume any longer a false position on many of the topics which are agitating more or less all the thoughtful readers of their congregations. So long as they do so, we shall have again the old spectacle of the Roman augurs winking to one another over the examination of entrails for divination; we shall have the old system of esoteric and esoteric doctrines,—one set for the crowd, the other for the initiated; and just so long shall we suspect that there is some truth in the epigram of Punch:—

"What makes all doctrines plain and clear?
About five hundred pounds a year!"

An Episcopal clergyman, not a thousand miles distant from this city, was recently asked by a particular friend how he could, consistently with the views which he secretly held, repeat a certain passage in the baptismal service. "Oh," was the reply, "I always cough when I come to that word!" But what man who has either self-respect or a desire to proclaim the truth will hobble through life, concealing his real sentiments behind his hand in a feeble cough? There are known to the writer quite a number of Congregational clergymen, who are in much the same position as this Episcopal brother with the cough. Their views on Inspiration, Future Punishment, the Atonement, and some other topics, are identical with those of certain theological students who find themselves debarred from entering the Orthodox ministry, because they are unable to give unqualified assent to all of the required tenets. The brethren already in the ministry reply thus to the remonstrances of those who are unable to enter: "Our views have expanded since we entered the gateway of church-creed and council. It is true that we could not reënter the Church, if we were in your position, with the views which we hold in common with you. But here we are! We are married and settled. We must earn bread for our families. We will preach what we can,—practical duties, 'every day' Christianity, and skillfully avoid the dangerous work of liberalizing our people." The outside party say in return: "This is not honest. So long as you remain thus, you are occupying a false position. If we hold the same views with you, why should not we be allowed to occupy the same sphere of usefulness that you enjoy? Why do not you, who are already within the Church, strive with all your might to substitute a more liberal order of requirements for one who is desirous of preaching the gospel of Christ? Why do you by your silence give a tacit but false acknowledgment that you believe in all the tenets of the Orthodox body?"

But if this state of things be true of this country, much more is it a fact in England. It is perfectly plain that Dean Stanley, and Brooke, and other Broad Churchmen have grown so liberal in the Church, that they could not possibly with honesty sign to-day the Thirty-nine Articles, if they were applicants for admission to the ministry. They and many others prefer to remain in and to labor with the body of the Church, and thus strive to liberalize

it. They are indeed doing a noble work, but their speech is too often veiled, and it is hard to understand how such broad thinkers can continue to make use of many phrases, real faith in whose natural interpretation they have long since lost. Their eloquence ought to be directed towards the enlarging of the gateway into the Church for those who are in intellectual doubt on many of the required doctrines.

The writer of this article had recently a conversation with the pastor of an Orthodox church. The latter was asked if he believed in that part of his creed which stated that the punishment of those "out of Christ" was everlasting. With much hesitation he confessed that he did not. "Even if you did believe it," asked the writer, "would you dare to preach that doctrine openly to-morrow?" "No," was the answer; "it would wound the sensibilities of my hearers. The time has gone by for the promulgation of such doctrines, even if believed!" "Would you then dare to preach the opposite of that doctrine,—in fine, to present candidly your own views on the subject?" "No," was again the reply; "that would also offend them. That would be called heresy."

This is a fair illustration of the way in which many Orthodox ministers seem to be open to the charge of mental cowardice. But how long is such a state of things, repugnant to all earnest lovers of truth, to last? Unhappily, through a timid avoidance of intellectual topics, preaching is fast degenerating into a mere periodic tickling of the sensibilities,—now on the comic, and now on the pathetic side. People who have been for an hour entertained by a sensational kind of religious wit, or have been agitated for a moment by some thrilling tone, fancy that they have been morally and spiritually improved thereby. The people need, however, a very different kind of food. They need instruction at present about the grounds of their religious belief, and they need to learn what views they may rightly hold of Biblical inspiration. If ministers have been forced to adopt privately more liberal views, the people in their churches ought to be told of it,—not as if it were any confession of weakness or sin, but rather as a frank avowal of a necessitated change of view in consequence of new light. Anything but this right of "private interpretation," this avoidance of dangerous topics, this coughing behind the hand! Let us have light fully and freely poured in upon the accepted Orthodox doctrines, and see how they will stand the test of facts, just as scientific and historical research has revealed them! The most dangerous thing which can be done is to half-smother or to avoid the eager inquiries of those who are impelled to them by their study and reflection. There is something radically wrong in a church-order whose applicants for admission are refused on the ground of heresy, although they share the precise views of the more liberal of the clergy. It will not be long ere such arbitrary walls as these will be thrown down; if not from within, outwardly, by liberal, true-hearted men in the Church, then from without, inwardly, with a severe shock, by a suddenly aroused and indignant people, who find that their spiritual teachers have been in reality playing them false; uttering words with "private reservations" unknown to them. In the latter case, the damage to Christianity will be much greater, and the time required to restore the equilibrium of faith much longer,—if, indeed, it can be restored at all.

J. L. STODDARD.

BOSTON, 124 Beacon Street.

[For THE INDEX.]

A USE FOR THE CHURCH STILL.

BY REV. J. C. LEARNED.

Freethought, impatience of creeds, latitude of inquiry, are the characteristics of our civilization. But the trouble is to make men who have escaped the bonds and espionage of despotic faiths feel that any institution called by the name of a church can or will furnish moral and religious culture, and yet leave them in the possession of conscience, reason, and liberty. They regard a free or liberal church as a misnomer, a contradiction of terms, like a spiritual body, a white blackbird, or a democratic despotism.

The church, any church, means to them something more than an agency of influence and persuasion, a free fellowship of consenting minds, which one may join or withdraw from at will; it means authority over both faith and practice, the power to excommunicate and degrade, even the assumption of divine rights, claiming to hold the very keys of Heaven and Hell, judging and passing sentence upon the saved and lost. The whole idea, therefore, of a church as we understand it, is new and unfamiliar. There will be found many, doubtless, to say that there is no need of such an institution as a liberal church. The Church proper is for the ignorant and superstitious, where infallibility and absolute authority are the only Orthodoxy. But when men approach religion with freethought, with the individual reason, the Church is outgrown; it is no longer a necessity.

That men reason in this way shows their subjection even yet to the old ecclesiastical idea of the uses of religion. Every day men are freeing themselves from the bondage of ancient tradition. Old doctrines once held sacred as truth itself are dissolving; vast systems of belief are in ruins; the old phraseology, even if retained, is used with new meanings, or subscribed to with great mental reservations. The authority of all churches is less respected, less feared than formerly. All men capable of forming a judgment in such matters know that there is no infallible word of wisdom, no absolutely saving ordinances, no indispensable sacrament in the churches.

Does all that imply that men are less religious? Because I reason about or reject a communion wafer, does it follow that I have cast aside my sense of re-

sponsibility? Or even if I hesitate to apply the term personal to the Deity, does it follow that I have no emotions of worship and adoration in the presence of the Infinite and Eternal? It is the sense of the ideal and sublime that makes a man religious. There is an ideal of conduct as well as of beauty. There is an ideal of affection, of purity, of fidelity, of wisdom, of truth, far surpassing in power the actual of natural beauty or physical grandeur, which impresses us more deeply than any unpeopled infinity of time and space. And shall not men and women who love the sublime and beautiful in Nature, or in art, and who would make the moral ideal take on the actual in daily life—who are not afraid to exercise the best faculties wherewith God has endowed them,—shall not such associate themselves together for mutual good, for meditation and worship, to promote the ends of virtue and of spiritual culture? May we not have an institution founded upon these aims, a fellowship of sympathy, a refuge in our loneliness, a shelter for our children, a weekly rest upon our journey, a place of conference and comfort, where we may build our hopes, consecrate our endeavors, lift up our aspirations, so that God himself shall bless alike our purpose and our work?

O. B. FROTHINGHAM AT THE MASONIC TEMPLE.

NEW YORK, March 3, 1876.

The Sunday services conducted by the Rev. Octavius B. Frothingham at the new Masonic Temple attract large congregations of the most intelligent men and women in our community.

The hall that has been leased by the Independent Society, whereof Mr. Frothingham is pastor, is situated on the corner of Sixth Avenue and Twenty-third Street, and reached from the latter thoroughfare by a broad, massive stairway of polished marble, adorned with classic emblems in bronze of the fraternity by whom it was lately reared.

It is a simple hall, and the bare, white walls are yet innocent of any touch of color, and while waiting for the beginning of the service the eye rests neither on them nor on the two rows of heavy columns that blossom into the foliated terminal capitals of Corinth, but seek repose and find it on the organ front, which faces the congregation, and is exquisitely decorated in every brilliant and beautiful color that an autumn sunset could lend.

I speak of this organ particularly because it has so long been the custom to cover organ fronts with inappropriate and gaudy gilding, and it is a genuine source of delight to observe a perfect harmony of color before the harmony of sound begins.

There are about a thousand opera chairs in the hall, and opposite there is a dais, on which are placed a reading-desk supported by a single column, together with a small walnut stand and several armed chairs, the blue covers of the latter affording another grateful gleam of color. At the foot of the desk mosses and the large leaves of some familiar garden plants are usually placed, above which a few clusters of brilliant flowers mingle with the smilax and ivy that creep toward the top. A nosegay, arranged with artful carelessness, is generally to be seen upon the stand, close to which is the pastor's chair.

On a recent Sunday, when I was one of an expectant throng, these observations were made, and I know from inquiry that they may be applied generally. The hall was nearly full, and the organist (a lady) was already seated when Mr. Frothingham walked quickly up the aisle, through a side door and out upon the dais at the moment when the opening voluntary upon the organ was commenced. At its close, after a slight pause, an appropriate selection—from the "Creation," I think—was sung by the quartet choir, and then, when the last note had ceased to reverberate, the pastor stepped to the desk, raised a small volume in front of his breast, and turning over the leaves said in a low, distinct voice, "Will you listen to the reading from the Indian Scriptures?"

After reading with exquisite expression and distinct emphasis numerous proverbs, many of them singularly terse and beautiful in their composition, he paused for a moment, and then, "this from the Arabic," continued the reading of truths which the translator has made universal knowledge. This custom is varied I believe only in the selection of the matter; sometimes our Bible is used, and sometimes "the Bible of others."

Then another hymn, and Mr. Frothingham arose and stood at the desk to pronounce the opening prayer. His always earnest face bore an expression of intense feeling, and for more than a minute he remained motionless, with clasped hands, slightly upturned face, and closed eyes. Presently his lips began to move, though for an instant no audible sound escaped them, and he may have been but searching and concentrating his own mind. When the first word reached my ear the stillness in the hall was perfect save the sound of the speaker's voice, and throughout the delivery of the prayer it remained unbroken.

The earnest expression of Mr. Frothingham's face when he rose seemed to command every one's attention; his silently moving lips caused them to strain the ear to catch the first faint sound, and when the full, serious voice bore forth the appeal for goodness, and truth, and virtue, and brotherly love, and strong humanity, not a word was lost. It was no supplication for the alteration of eternal laws, nor any unmeant confession of abject worthlessness and misery, but a noble, manly aspiration to men and women to act worthily and well on earth.

When ended, Mr. Frothingham resumed his seat, seemingly somewhat exhausted, his left elbow upon the table, and his head resting upon the open hand that partly shaded his face, while the faint tones of

the organ that had taken up the ending of his prayer were lost in silence.

Then began the discourse. Probably most readers of the Boston Journal know something of Mr. Frothingham's glittering oratory, which at first attracts hearers who are afterward charmed by the pure gold of candor, integrity, and truth, which is its foundation. His logic is always inductive if not always consecutive; and though he may not hold his hearers from point to point of his argument, still if they question for a moment it is only while waiting for the answer which surely comes. He uses no sophistical syllogisms to really mystify while seeming to convince, and he throws on his own opinions the white light of investigation whereby to discern the truth. He does not rend asunder the prejudices of others with the blow of a trip-hammer, but rather penetrates them with the keenly-cutting anger, letting light through. The wounds he inflicts are always kindly meant, as the surgeon's who cuts out the cancer to save the life.

Once he said of one of his own arguments, "Call it iconoclasm, image-breaking if you will; but every idol is a mask, and to shatter the idol is to reveal the God."

Some of Mr. Frothingham's finest efforts have been made in discussing topics connected with the conduct of life and the various social relations; and into these subjects he enters with an integrity of purpose that alone could inspire such enthusiasm as he invariably displays. In the discussion of matters of faith or theology he is inclined to mordacity, and denounces with biting satire what he regards as baleful superstitions; and as he stands alone among our pulpit orators in avowed belief, the temptation to level his bitter shafts must be often resisted, for he speeds them but seldom.

His discourse is always characterized by intensity; and by reason of his marvellous powers of imagery is rarely without the adornment of some vivid word-picture that lives in the hearer's mind in brightness and beauty.

People who oppose Mr. Frothingham on other than theological grounds declare that among a community as pure and unselfish as he would have them it might be possible to live up to all his precepts; but that to the work-a-day world they are far-off and transcendental, while his friends claim that however he may be removed from the sphere of common humanity he never fails to render the world he lives in attractive and fascinating, nor to lift his hearers, for a time at least, from their pains and cares, and lead them to higher aspirations and nobler resolves.—"Clavering," in Boston Journal.

THE INFERTILITY OF HYBRIDS.

BY JOHN FISKE.

The second objection which we have to consider, though less immediately obvious, is more weighty; and though there is no reason for regarding it as insuperable, we must admit that it has not been entirely disposed of. This objection is implicated with the difference between the morphological and the physiological definitions of species, and is usually known as the argument from the infertility of hybrids.

As ordinarily stated, indeed, this argument is merely the expression of a sorry confusion of ideas. By a curious misunderstanding the infertility of the mule is often urged as a direct objection to the Darwinian theory. But this is putting the cart before the horse. It is not the infertility of the offspring of the horse and the ass which should be cited as an objection to the theory of natural selection, but it is the fertility of the offspring of the carrier-pigeon and the pouter, or of the pouter and the tumbler. Morphologically the carrier, the pouter, and the tumbler may be regarded as distinct species artificially developed from a common wild stock; but so long as mutual infertility is held to be the physiological test by which we are to distinguish between varieties and species, it may be argued that, in spite of their great morphological differences, the carrier and the tumbler are only varieties, and not true species.

And, going a step farther, it may be argued that until the theory of natural selection has accounted for the rise of infertility between races derived from a common stock, it has not completely performed the task of reconciling deduction with observation.

Against the derivation theory in general, this objection has no weight whatever. That races originally fertile together should, after long subjection to different sets of circumstances, become infertile with one another is, *a priori*, in the highest degree probable, when we reflect upon the extreme sensitiveness of the reproductive system to changes of habit in the organism as a whole.

When we remember that "the constitution of many wild animals is so altered by confinement that they will not breed even with their own females," we need not be surprised that the leopard and the lion, which during many ages have had very different habits of life, will not breed with each other. Nor need we wonder that the horse and the ass, with less important differences in general habit, have become partially infertile together, to such an extent that their offspring are hopelessly barren. Though the *modus operandi* of this change is, as yet, ill understood, it is a change quite in harmony with what we know concerning the intimate dependence of the reproductive system upon the rest of the organism. And let us not fail to note that it is the achievement of this change in the capacities of the reproductive system which completes the demarcation between two bifurcating species, and finally prevents the indefinite multiplication of intermediate varieties.

But while this objection has no weight as against the theory of derivation in general, it may fairly be urged that the failure to explain the origination of mutual infertility is, for the present at least, a shortcoming on the part of the theory of natural se-

lection. After the conclusive arguments brought up in our ninth chapter, the derivation theory will no longer, in the present work, be regarded as on trial: that the higher forms of life are derived from lower forms will be taken as proved.

But whether the theory of natural selection has completely fulfilled its proposed task of explaining the mode in which such derivation has been brought about is quite another question. And while admitting the full force of the considerations alleged by Mr. Darwin, in his admirable chapter on Hybridism, it seems to me that there is a gap at this point which further research will be required to fill. As Professor Huxley reminds us, "It must not be forgotten that the really important fact, so far as the inquiry into the origin of species goes, is that there are such things in Nature as groups of animals and of plants, whose members are incapable of fertile union with those of other groups; and that there are such things as hybrids, which are absolutely sterile when crossed with other hybrids. For if such phenomena as these were exhibited by only two of those assemblages of living objects, to which the name of species... is given, it would have to be accounted for by any theory of the origin of species, and every theory which could not account for it would be, so far, imperfect."—*Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy*, Vol. II., page 43.

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The Index.

BOSTON, MAY 25, 1876.

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THE *Pacific Liberal*, edited in San Francisco by A. J. Boyer, formerly editor of the Dayton (Ohio) *Woman's Advocate*, is doing substantial service in the organization of liberalism on the Pacific Coast. We are glad to recognize it as a valuable ally, and commend it to the support of all friends of the Liberal League in California and elsewhere.

THE EXPENSES of the Congress of Liberals are going to be more than was at first estimated; and though the limit originally set has been overpassed (a result most flattering and cheering in these hard times), there is not the slightest danger of more being contributed than will be wanted. If there should be a surplus, it will be turned over to the treasurer of the National Liberal League, when organized; but enough has not yet been contributed to defray the cost of reporting the convention and publishing the proceedings in proper shape, in addition to the other expenses. If every one will help, two thousand dollars can be raised at once. Many could probably double their previous donations; and that list of contributions will form an indispensable portion of the pamphlet Report, if published.

THE "THOUSAND DOLLAR FUND":

SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF \$100 EACH FOR THE
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FRANCIS E. ABBOT, *in trust.*

NOTICE.

The Fifth Annual Meeting of the Stockholders of the Index Association will be held at No. 35 Monroe Street, Toledo, Ohio, on Saturday, June 3, 1878, at 2 P.M., in accordance with the articles of incorporation.

E. R. A. ANNUAL MEETING.

The ninth Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association is to be held in Boston as follows:—

Thursday evening, June 1st, 7½ o'clock, annual business meeting in Horticultural Hall, for the election of officers, reading of reports, and addresses on the practical aims and work of the Association.

Friday, June 2d, at 10 A. M. and 3 P. M., sessions in Beethoven Hall for essays and addresses. Morning subject—"Free Religion and the State:" essay by James Parton, followed by addresses from Rev. M. J. Savage, Miss Susan H. Wixon, and others. Afternoon subject—"Free Religion and the Church:" essay by Samuel Longfellow, followed by addresses from Rev. James. Freeman Clarke, Felix Adler, and others.

A social festival will be held in Horticultural Hall on Friday evening. W. J. POTTER.

W. J. POTTER,
Secretary.

A LETTER FROM KARL HEINZEN

In reply to our editorial article of last week on "Two Kinds of Breadth," Mr. Karl Heinzen sends us the following letter, which we publish with great pleasure, thanking him for the frankness and courtesy with which he writes:—

MR. F. E. ABBOT, EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

IN your paper of May 18 you publish a translation of an article of the *Pioneer*, concerning a union of the Liberal Leagues and the German radicals, accompanied with editorial remarks which show that you misunderstood and therefore misrepresented entirely my real meaning.

1. In what way do you think the Liberal Leagues will have to work for their ends? Of course, by a *party* organization; and such organization has not only to propagate its ideas, but has to employ practical political means by voting, by nominating candidates, etc.

2. Now it is evident that the efficiency of such working depends on the number of the co-workers under *one* leadership. There is another organization that agrees with yours in its special object, but at the same time has at heart other important aims too. It wishes to cooperate with your organization. But to do this in reality and with efficiency, both organizations must *unite*, must form only *one* organization under *one* leadership. Is this possible in any other way than by either enlarging your platform or by sacrificing the platform of the other (the German) organization?

3. The German radicals cannot and will not give up the political and social reforms for which they have worked so many years, and which they deem even more important than the Church question at this time. Is it unreasonable, then, or "contrary to every principle of high political morality," to make the attempt to arrive at an understanding with the Liberal Leagues about those political and social reforms, as well as about the Church question? If this attempt fails, the German radicals have to go their way alone, and, instead of one united organization, two have to be kept up, which necessarily divides their means and weakens both,—although the Germans will continue to work for the objects of the Liberal Leagues, as they did long ago when no Liberal Leagues were thought of.

4. The difference will be that two organizations with two leaderships will have to be kept up, which must be an impediment in the way of cooperation even for the one object they both advocate. To give up this one, or "to advise the Germans not to aid those who seek a mutually approved object," I never thought of. I just as little give up my convictions or principles as I am a friend of "bargaining," as you call an attempt to change views and convince each other by discussion and arguments. You have not to "buy the support of German-born radicals," as you say; they just as little want or need to be bought by your giving up your own convictions as they will sell theirs for the support of others.

5. Now you see that, instead of trying to separate, as you interpret my article, I try to unite; instead of weakening, I wish to strengthen; but not by means that in the end would have the opposite effect. There could be no radical party at all among the Germans, if they had in view no other objects than the Church question. They have no idea of a liberal who can be a friend of religious liberty, and at the same time an enemy to political and social reforms; although they can understand very well that "a man who joins an association for the purpose of prevent-

ing frauds at the ballot-box does not cut himself off from joining another association for the purpose of raising funds for the Herzegovinians" or for the purpose of learning the German language. They are wont to contemplate things from an universal, philosophical stand-point, which unites correlative ideas, and treats human progress as a coherent movement embracing every human interest.

6. Whether you and your associates can agree with us also about other objects than the Church question, cannot be decided before all our views are known to you. I have tried to put these views together in a sketch of a platform which perhaps a friend of mine will translate for your paper, if you will publish it. The necessity of such translation will at the same time show the unnecessary of your remark that a distinction between German and American Liberals is ridiculous.

Respectfully yours,

KARL HEINZEN,
Editor of Der Pionier

If our last week's article rested on a substantial misunderstanding, and therefore misrepresented Mr. Heinzen's position, we are very sorry. We were careful not to insinuate the least *intention* on his part of proposing a "bargain," even while we thought that this was the logical consequence of his position; and we disclaim very earnestly any and every disrespectful thought concerning one whose whole life has been a long, brave battle against heavy odds in a very unpopular cause. So we shall discuss the question at issue only in the spirit of one who admires even while he differs; for the tone of the above letter, as any intelligent reader will perceive at once, is that of a single-hearted, devoted, sincere, and thoroughly upright man.

For convenience' sake we have numbered the paragraphs of the letter, and will follow their order.

1. It is not for us, or for any one, to say beforehand what the National Liberal League, to organize which the Centennial Congress of Liberals is called, will do after it is organized. It will act for itself. But it has never been our wish to see it take shape as a political party in the same sense in which the Republicans and the Democrats are political parties—that is, to nominate candidates of its own, as the Prohibitionists and the “Greenbackers” have just done. It may come to that; but the time for such action has not yet arrived. The true work of the Liberal League at present seems to be to compel public attention to a great public question now too much neglected; namely, shall the republic itself decide all issues according to the laws of natural human reason and conscience, or shall it submissively accept and execute the decision of the churches, which is supposed to represent the decree of a supernatural power? No reform can be carried till this question is answered; and the wrong answer is given in many important cases, as is seen in the closing of the International Exhibition on Sundays. As we conceive it, the function of the National Liberal League will be to create such a public opinion by persistent agitation as shall secure a just settlement of all such issues, no matter what political party is in the ascendant. Its organization should be adapted to this end, not to the end of electing officials on the platform of a comprehensive programme; it should resemble that of the old Anti-Slavery Society rather than that of the Republicans or Democrats. There is no reason in the world why every American citizen who knows that the State ought to be totally emancipated from the Church should not join the Liberal League and work heartily for it, while he may at the same time belong to a dozen other organizations for other objects, if he pleases.

2. Now if the Germans contemplate the formation of a political party as such,—if they intend to adopt a platform inclusive of everything they desire to see accomplished, and to nominate party candidates of their own,—they have a perfect right to do so. Nobody questions that. But they have not, in our opinion, a half-chance of success. They are attempting altogether too much. Before a new recruit can be won, he must be convinced that the German platform is right on *all its points*; and the more points there are, the harder it will be to convince him. So far as the “number of co-workers” is concerned, the fewer essential principles there are, the more co-workers can be reasonably expected. The Liberal League proposes only what all liberals already believe in—the practical necessity of the total separation of Church and State; hence, if it can show that Church and State are still very injuriously conjoined, it may fairly reckon on the coöperation of all liberals who possess a true public spirit. But, if we understand the matter, the Germans include in their platform objects and principles on which liberals themselves are absolutely certain to divide; they cannot, therefore, reasonably expect to “unite” all liberals on such a platform. We applaud them, if they mean

only to *agitate* the principles on which they themselves are agreed already; but we can simply wonder, if they think they could carry an election anywhere on that platform to-day, or "unite" a large number of voters in its support.

In short, if the Germans do not care enough for the separation of Church and State to work for it, unless they can at the same time work for the abolition of the Presidency and the Senate, and so forth (and that certainly seems to be the implication of Mr. Heinzen's letter), we see no possible way of uniting the two organizations. They can exchange friendly salutations, and coöperate as far as possible; but it seems best to make no attempt at formal fusion. All the German radicals can, if they choose, belong individually also to the Liberal League, without disbanding and without giving up any of the other objects they cherish; those of the Liberal League who cherish the same objects can also belong individually to the German society; but why wish to have a Procrustes bed in the matter? It seems that the Liberal League is too short and the German society too long; then, without lopping or stretching each other, let the two shake hands, and make the most of their common sympathy as far as it goes.

3. We are utterly unable to see why the Germans, without "giving up" their own objects or abandoning their own organization, should not join the Liberal League to carry out more efficiently one of their own objects. That would involve no bargaining, no compromise, no sacrifice of conviction whatever. If we should personally come to sympathize with Mr. Heinzen's political and social platform (as we may yet—who can tell?), then we could with a clear conscience belong at the same time to both organizations. Why should not the rule work both ways?

4. The "two organizations" cannot be dispensed with, it appears. Nor is that fact to be regretted, so long as the two platforms are essentially different. The country swarms with organizations for different objects, and their respective memberships overlap each other everywhere. This is inevitable. So soon as a particular cause assumes a certain importance in the eyes of its friends, they will organize to promote it; and there is no "narrowness" about this. The inexhaustible fecundity of American life involves this necessary multiplicity; we are not sorry for it; it is the nature of free institutions to foster it. He would be a very small-minded person, or else a very "unorganizable" one, who did not sympathize with and join many of these numerous societies. The practical common-sense of the American character makes it a mere matter of course to consider membership in more than one as a very proper thing.

5. We cordially appreciate Mr. Heinzen's desire for unity, and do not imagine that he has the slightest wish to perpetuate separation between German-born and American-born citizens. We are wholly of the same mind. It is a misfortune when such separation exists. We Yankees need the Germans and the Germans need us; we are all Americans together, with one country and one destiny; and it is a pity when clannishness takes the place of a frank-hearted spirit of fraternity. Moreover we heartily approve Mr. Heinzen's refusal to limit his endeavors to "the Church question"; we too have other reformatory objects, as well as he, and so has every man. But it happens that men's minds as to what constitutes "political and social reforms" differ exceedingly; and a stiff creed on this subject neither unites them nor conduces to "philosophical" habits of thought. The scope of our own interest is by no means limited to the Liberal League; but that happens to be the one thing which just now seems to be our especial duty, and for that we now work. It is true that human progress is infinitely complex; but it is equally true that he who will never work for anything less than universal human progress will never promote it in the least. All progress consists of steps; and it is wise to be content with taking one step at a time.

6. It will give us great pleasure to publish Mr. Heinzen's platform, which will be doubtless read with attention by all; and we shall be very glad to receive the translation he so kindly offers.

AS IT SHOULD BE.

"Col. R. H. Howard, of South Carolina, is a member of the Legislature, as also Tony, his former slave, who goes by the name of A. H. Howard. They sit side by side in perfect equality, making laws. The former, of course, is a Democrat, and the latter a radical. After adjournment the colonel superintends his farm, and Tony works for him as a carpenter, taking his meals in the kitchen with the cook."

Undoubtedly, A. H. Howard learns something of life in the kitchen which Col. Howard has not

learned in the parlor; and so they represent opposite sides in politics. Which shall we disfranchise? May not the carpenter be worthy of confidence as well as the carpenter's Son? The only trouble is that the cook, who is probably a woman, cannot vote also, and so A. H. Howard loses the advantage he might gain by intelligent political discussion at meal-times.

E. D. C.

THE BICKERING PHASE.

We have reached it, and must pass through it; we shall pass through it, and come handsomely out of it; but we are in it, at present, and must look the fact in the face. The enemy perceives it, and exults. Friends perceive it, and grieve. The enemy regards it as the omen of destruction. Friends mourn over it as a sign of misunderstanding, and a menace of disunion. The gentle *Register*, whose charity is too celestial in quality to serve as a cloak to cover things so ugly as a neighbor's sins, and whose faith and hope are at present fully occupied with casting the horoscope of its neighbor's ruin, copies so much as serves its purpose of a letter that honestly rebukes certain radical shortcomings, in view of correcting them,—turning the writer's intent in a direction he never contemplated. The *New Age* is ingenious in putting disloyal constructions on language which was used without the feeblest suspicion of disloyal significance, and is swift to prophesy the downfall of liberty in the midst of its friends from the narrowness that exists only in its own imagination. The *Stereoscope* charges THE INDEX with dishonorable conduct because the editor printed a private letter at the special request of the person to whom it was sent, who himself suppressed the name because it was a private letter, and used the letter for the purpose of conveying in part his answer to certain accusations against himself; the letter being but part of his own article, printed over his own initials, and with an intent plainly declared; the editor having no responsibility in the matter, and being pledged to publish whatever the special contributor might send. Whoever may have been at fault for the meanness, it certainly was not THE INDEX. Now this we call bickering, and, calling it so, characterize it as trifling and ungenerous. It surely is not difficult to render justice in cases simple as these, and among brethren too.

Why is the justice not rendered? No doubt the seemingly captious criticism we have complained of may be ascribed, as some ascribe it, to a jealousy for liberty which has become exceedingly sensitive under the disappointments that have been encountered, and the infidelities that have been displayed. There may be sincere apprehensions lest the cause of freedom be in danger of betrayal by its professed champions, and such apprehensions should be respected. Not *something*, but a great deal is to be pardoned to the spirit of liberty. We can endure roughness from it, discourtesy, hasty reproof, and even causeless suspicion. The eternal vigilance that is the price of liberty cannot be always calm, equable, circumspect, and considerate. Sensitiveness is a prime virtue in liberty; a grace to be cultivated and cherished.

But there is room for another conjecture; namely, this,—that the captiousness is due to the absence of serious purpose; to aimlessness and want of occupation. As the mill that is not supplied with grist makes the greater clatter, and wears itself soonest out; as the stomach deprived of necessary food is particularly demonstrative, and turns its fangs against its own vitals; so minds that work powerfully and noiselessly on matters of moment, spin and whirl with reckless velocity, when no work is given them, and vex themselves to tatters.

Radicalism needs, in our judgment, a practical aim. It seems to be beating the air. The field of pure speculation no longer offers the palpable objects it requires to give substance, concentration, mass to its form. Dr. Bellows lately accounted in part for the unsatisfactory condition of Liberal Christianity by the decline of the spirit of antagonism, the cessation of hostilities on the part of the Orthodox. Unitarianism, he said, was losing its edge from having no substance to try it on. It was "spoiling for a fight." Indolence is more dangerous than duty. True it is, and must not be forgotten, that in some parts of the country radicalism is sorely pressed, and must fight for its existence against active foes. But in the centres of thought, which in this country are numerous, the speculative opposition of sects and theologians has ceased to be formidable. When liberals turn against liberals, it is an indication that the illiberals have slackened their fire and withdrawn their army. There is no more cogent proof of the need of some practical scheme of activity than this misuse of weap-

ons, this misdirection of missiles, this waste of ammunition. It is not necessary, it may not be wise, to concentrate all the forces on one and the same point; let the objects proposed be suggested by special crises by the needs of the particular time or place; let them succeed each other with the changing moods or dispositions of the year or the generation; let them be general and universal, or local and particular, as the occasion may require; but let them be tangible and practical. That radicalism is disintegrating, or likely to disintegrate, is a thought not to be for a moment entertained. That radicals are separating into schools, sects, or cliques, must not and need not be admitted. There is no ground for dissension, not even for criticism that reaches below the surface, or for suspicion that rouses bitterness. No principle has been compromised, as yet, and, with ordinary caution, none need be. Cannot we resolve to let bickering alone, and turn our enthusiasm into channels that carry power towards the accomplishment of some good ends? No matter how many organs we have, provided they be in good tune and discourse excellent music. No matter whether they be large or small, provided they are the best that circumstances allow. No matter whether they all play the same tunes, provided they all play some strain of the music of humanity.

O. B. F.

RADICAL WORSHIP.

The Free Congregational Society of Florence, Mass., is accustomed to an observance of Sunday which is somewhat peculiar to itself. The forenoon is devoted to its very interesting and flourishing Sunday-school. The afternoon public exercises are designed to supply a substitute for ordinary church services. They usually include a lecture or address by the speaker, who may be engaged for the day (the resident one contributing this part of the programme about twice a month), with musical accompaniments. The latter, inasmuch as they are conducted by a superior choir, with the aid of an organ and Chickering grand piano, are always of high excellence.

But with a view to a more direct educational benefit and economy in expenditure, which, in common with everything that requires money for support, the society is obliged to consider during the present hard times, it has for some months past depended more than formerly upon home resources. This it has done, with a good degree of success, through the arrangement of special exercises to take the place of speakers from abroad. One of these has met with so much favor that it has become the established order for the second Sunday of each month. It is made up of recitations, songs, dialogues, and readings by children and adults, interspersed with music by the choir. Recently a device has been put into effect, with the same object in view, for the last Sunday. It is in the form of a paper, consisting of miscellaneous contents, chiefly original, to which the name of the *Commian Journal* has been given. Apart from the novel and interesting medium which it furnishes for the communication of ideas and knowledge, and much which pertains to the affairs of the society that cannot be so well conveyed through any other, this promises to become an effective and important stimulus to the cultivation of the power of expressing thought in writing, particularly among its younger contributors.

These special exercises were marked, three or four weeks since, by one of an even more notable character than those that have been referred to. I allude to the celebration of the birthday anniversary of Shakespeare. The programme upon the occasion comprised the following parts: music, by choir; the reading of a short, original, biographical essay appropriate to the observance, by the resident speaker; "Rejoicing Chorus" from "Macbeth," by choir; dialogue from "Measure for Measure"; music from "Midsummer Night's Dream"; reading from "Henry VIII.," reading of a selection from a critical essay on Shakespeare of E. P. Whipple; scene from "Henry IV.," music, by the choir. The respective parts were in admirable contrast to each other, and exceedingly well adapted to throw into relief the special characteristics; and impress upon all present a renewed sense of the greatness of the marvellous genius of the world's master poet.

It is the established custom of ordinary public Sunday gatherings to celebrate the lives and influence of famous persons of antiquity. But these for the most part are limited to the record of a single book and race. They are illustrations simply of a special type of character,—the exercise of only certain faculties. It is the great mission of radicalism to aid in the development of a broader range of human

interest and sympathy, the recognition of greatness and goodness not in one book or people alone, but wherever they may be found; to believe in the present as well as in the past; to endeavor to see that justice is done to men of all time and every class; to estimate at their true worth the heretics as well as the believers, the sages as well as the saints; to acknowledge all as the world's benefactors who have contributed to the improvement of man's estate, the increase of knowledge, the pleasure of the mind, the quickening of its faculties, a deeper and clearer perception into the mysteries of nature and the soul. There can be no more conclusive evidence of the greatness of Shakspeare than that made manifest in the fact that, notwithstanding the contrast between the circumstances among which he lived and wrote, and those of the present, the estimation of his productions has increased continually. They have been the source of profound and ever-fresh delight to those of every class, the young and old, cultured and uncultured, alike of each succeeding generation. If he had been some crack-brained, religious enthusiast, the whole aim of whose life had been to be as miserable as possible, and to acquire unmitigated contempt for the world in which he lived, some haggard and uncleanly representative of mediæval holiness, whose days and nights were passed in a gloomy cell apart from human concerns and fellowships, we should behold him in an aureola of dazzling radiance, and thickly invested with accumulated legends and traditions.

Of course to those who are inclined to superstitious notions in regard to Sunday—who are attached to the stereotyped conception and mode of observance of it which prevails,—such a use of the day as I have indicated may appear sacrilegious and impious. But, surely, there is a far higher wisdom in, and more valuable influence to be gained from, the commemoration of the life and work of one who was so genuine a teacher, who knew and delineated with so wonderful a power what there is in the heart and experience of man, and to whom the world has been indebted for such indisputable and tangible benefits, as Shakspeare, than in that of the half-mythic or wholly mythic religious personages and events for which the Church sets apart certain days in its calendar.

D. H. C.

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY R. C.

Perhaps the most important political event of last week was the action of the Democratic Convention of Ohio which adopted a soft-money platform and advised the nomination of "Bill" Allen for the Presidency. Mr. Tilden's chances for the Democratic nomination were lessened considerably by this result of the contest between the two wings of his party in Ohio, and it now seems possible that the Democrats may be driven into the adoption of a non-committal platform with regard to the currency question at the St. Louis Convention. In this event, Republican success at the next election would be almost certain, even with Blaine as a candidate. The New Jersey Republican Convention adopted a hard-money and protective-tariff platform, and chose delegates who are understood to be in favor of Mr. Blaine. The Republican Convention of Kentucky favored quite enthusiastically the nomination of Bristow. The Tennessee delegation is divided between Bristow and Morton; that of Delaware is in favor of Blaine; and that of Alabama is divided, the larger part favoring Bristow.

The address adopted by the New York Conference expressed the views of those who desire a reform in our methods of administration; and the appointment of an executive committee makes possible the formation of a third party in case of unwise action at the coming conventions of the two existing parties. Future practical action by those who attended the Conference will depend entirely upon the nature of the platforms adopted and the character of the men nominated at Cincinnati and St. Louis.

A "greenback" convention has been held at Indianapolis, and Mr. Peter Cooper was nominated for President, with Newton Booth, of California, for Vice-President. Mr. Booth is understood to be an aspiring politician, and if so can do nothing better for his future reputation than to repudiate immediately all connection with soft-money heresies. The newspapers report that Mr. Booth considers his nomination of no importance, and that he will not even take the trouble to decline it; but we trust that a little reflection will convince him that it is of great importance to every public man to have his opinions upon certain subjects so well known that no convention could have any reasonable excuse for supposing him to hold any other opinions. If Mr. Booth does not believe in soft-money, let him now say so in unmistakable terms, for upon this question no politician can be allowed to-day to attempt the service of both God and Mammon. Mr. Cooper has already declined the nomination on account of old age and attending infirmity, and recommends "Bill" Allen for President. Mr. Green Clay Smith, of Kentucky, has been nominated for the Presidency by the National

Prohibitory Convention which met at Cincinnati. The platform was a jumble of absurdities.

The discussion of the question of jurisdiction in the Belknap affair has occupied the attention of the Senate nearly all the week, and still continues. \$9,000 has been appropriated to pay the expenses of a committee appointed to investigate the national offices in Louisiana; and the Senate also resolved to investigate the present Louisiana or Mississippi troubles. A bill was passed authorizing the payment of certain claims reported by the Secretary of the Treasury; and another authorizing the appointment of receivers of National Banks. The House defeated, by a vote of 133 to 73 (not two-thirds in the affirmative), Payne's bill authorizing the issue of \$10,000,000 of silver coin in exchange for legal tenders; allowed Mrs. Sherman-Fitch to receive, free of duty, her diamonds from the Khedive of Egypt; abolished the tax on receipts of savings-banks; passed the Post-Office Appropriation Bill; accepted a statue of Ethan Allen, to be placed in the Capitol; and directed the Speaker, to send to the authorities of the District of Columbia the testimony taken in relation to the conduct of Clapp, the Congressional Printer, that he may be indicted and prosecuted.

A fracas has occurred at Laurel Hill, Louisiana, near the Mississippi line, between whites and blacks, resulting in the killing of several whites and a number of blacks, variously reported at from 17 to 60. Of course a condition of society in which an outbreak of this nature may occur at almost any moment is greatly to be deplored; but we believe, nevertheless, that no Congressional resolutions or investigations can result in making it one whit better. The average black man in many parts of the South is only a few degrees removed from the savage or, at best, from the barbarian, and many white men of the same territories are but little better than semi-civilized. We need not expect, therefore, that the members of either of these classes should exhibit, when brought into personal contact, that control which we are in the habit of taking for granted throughout the North-east States; and when we add to this normal lack of control the prejudices engendered by the former relations of master and slave, and the antagonisms which have grown out of the war and the process of reconstruction, it is evident that murderous assaults must occasionally result, whatever the name or methods of the party in power. It will take years, and many years at that, before we can hope for a peaceful Southern society; and in the meantime inflammatory speeches from politicians of the Morton school do no good to the black man or to the white man.

The part of the sentimentalist in politics was well played last week by General Banks, who delivered one of the silliest speeches ever applauded by sane Congressmen. It was proposed, during a discussion of the Navy Appropriation Bill, to abolish the navy-yard at Charlestown, whereupon Mr. Banks made a speech full of references to the memories of Bunker Hill, beseeching his fellow-members to spare Bunker Hill Monument the insult of taking away the navy-yard, and offering "to pour his heart out in tears," if needful, to prevent it. As every Congressman who listened to the speech well knew that a chief function of the navy-yard in question is to become a temporary workshop for needy voters prior to election, Banks certainly displayed heroic courage in attempting a sentimental success amid most unfavorable circumstances; but that he did succeed is shown by the "clapping of hands from both sides" which greeted him as he sat down. But we warn General Banks that even Bunker Hill Monument is not solid enough to back up many attempts of that kind.

It is pleasant to find in the newspapers an occasional paragraph telling of the continued success of Eads in his scheme, known as the "jetty" plan, for deepening the water in the mouths of the Mississippi River. We learn, for instance, that the other day a steamer, drawing twelve feet of water, sailed up a pass through which the water last autumn was but eight feet in depth. It will be remembered that Eads undertook this work at his own risk; that is, although his ultimate profits may be very large, he was to be paid nothing, we believe, or very little indeed, unless he succeeded; and even then, as he proposed, the amount of his payment was made contingent upon the degree of his success.

The demolition of the Old South Church in Boston has been decided upon, and as merchants and politicians have begun an attack upon the Old State House, it is probable that this also will soon share the fate of the old Hancock House which was torn down a few years ago. We confess to a feeling of regret at the passing away of these old buildings; nevertheless it is useless, we suppose, to protest against their removal, as in every community may be found people who will manage in some way to bring about the destruction of any old landmarks which seriously interfere with business or with pleasure. We do not believe, however, that in this respect our people are much worse than the people of other countries. The antiquities of Rome, for instance, do not interfere with the business of the Roman people, but are, in fact, a principal source of profit to them, and the same is true to a greater or less extent of the antiquities of other countries, which, as a rule, moreover, have been preserved not from design, but from accident or from necessity.

The report of the Spiritualist Protective Committee, now nearly ready, will show, it is said, "that of a score of leading mediums from Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, and other places, who have been tested, more than one-half have proved frauds. One well-known

Boston medium was shown to have practised exceedingly transparent deception in the production of spirit hands; another, who claimed to produce flowers from the spirit land, was detected in bringing to the seance natural flowers from a greenhouse. She also used artificial flowers from a millinery establishment, and some of the wires and colored paper used in the manufacture were found on the carpet of the parlor in which she gave the seance." We do not call attention to this report for the purpose of suggesting that the Committee might do well to examine a little more closely the mediums who have not yet been proved frauds, but to suggest to some medium who has been proved genuine the advisability of attempting to get hold of Bowen's dreadful secret, which he still carries with him, notwithstanding his expulsion from Plymouth Church. We think the spirits might stand it, even if it be thought too strong a dose for the weak mortals of this world; no revelation injures the medium, we believe; Bowen we are sure would feel relieved; and Beecher,—well, of course every one knows that Beecher would not be hurt by it a bit.

There is some prospect, as we write, that Turkish affairs may be adjusted, for a time at least, without the necessity of a general European war. Bismarck, Gortschakoff, and Andrassy, have decided that Turkey shall continue to live, and that the Sultan shall grant the full demands of the insurgents in Herzegovina and elsewhere, furnishing, moreover, guarantees that the promised reforms shall be practically carried out,—under European supervision, if necessary. The trouble at Salopica, the origin of which has not yet been explained, is in process of settlement; numerous arrests have been made, several executions have taken place, and the Sultan has agreed to pay a large sum of money to the widows of the murdered consuls. There is, however, a great deal of fear among the Christians throughout the Empire that Mohammedan fanaticism may at any moment take the form of a general rising against them, and foreign residents of Constantinople have begun to send away their families. The Sultan has been forced, by a Constantinople mob, to depose his Grand Vizier and to reinstate a former occupant of the office,—a Turk of the conservative or extreme Mohammedan school.

ENGLISH SKETCHES.

BY MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

LONDON, May 3, 1876.

Last week I devoted much of my letter to the National Secular Society. Let us journey to-day into more heavenly places, and, comforted by the companionship of peers spiritual and temporal, of archbishops, bishops, marquises, earls, and other exalted personages, let us glance at the Christian Evidence Society, an organization worked with much prayer and fasting to cast out the demon of infidelity in these latter days. The Christian Evidence Society is wealthy, respectable, dignified. Its duty is to resist the inroads of scepticism. It is, in fact, a kind of ecclesiastical Mrs. Partington, trying to drive out the Atlantic Ocean of heresy with the mop of faith. One of its earlier efforts was to start a journal, under the editorship of a Mr. Cowper; a journal chiefly remarkable for the mendaciousness of its so-called evidences, and the virulence and lack of good faith with which it attacked its polemical adversaries. One of its most curiously amusing reviews was directed against the *English Life of Jesus*, by Thomas Scott, the well-known tormentor of the Orthodox, from the bottomless pit of whose hatred of superstition and priestcraft issues the army of locusts like unto scorpions, who have stings in their tails, that innumerable multitude of little white tracts, which are scattered up and down through the land, destroying the rank weeds of Orthodoxy, and falling, like a blight, on the swollen pretensions of the clergy.

Mr. Scott's tracts are much feared and hated by the Christians. Little, innocent-looking things, rolled with special neatness, and delivered harmlessly by the post; doves in appearance, they are as wise as serpents in reality, and spread doubts on every side. Into rectory and parsonage they find their wicked way; the smooth-faced vicar opens one, and, deceived by its title (say, "Beauties of the Prayer-Book"), and believing it to be some publication of the Religious Tract Society, he is sleepily half way through it before he finds himself reading the most atrocious heresy. Some of the darts are sure to remain and rankle in his mind, and the chances are that they prick him to remind him of their presence when he is decorously reciting the "dearly beloved brethren" on the following Sunday. Thus has Mr. Scott made himself a terror unto the faithful, and he was therefore naturally marked down as fit prey for the devouring maw of this Christian Evidence Society. His *Life of Jesus* was seized, stretched on the rack, torn to pieces, *et après?* The victim arose from the dead, and passed into the heaven of a new edition! The review was the most pitiable *fiasco* ever seen. Against the clear facts and strong logic of the heretic it raved and roared like a lunatic, reminding one strongly of a furious cat, which, with arched back and swollen tail, spits vehemently at a large mastiff that walks quietly on without taking the smallest notice. Mr. Scott challenged the society to single combat, but in vain. "Give me a man that we may fight together," quoth he; but no David answered to the summons.

Established to fight for the creeds, the society feared the shock of combat, and consoled itself with an annual meeting, at which it wept copiously over the giant strides of infidelity. The review was only a shot fired just to keep up appearance of fighting where fighting was practically impossible. For before this the society had tried wrestling with another combatant and had sadly failed. The editor of the redoubtable journal had himself bearded the lion in

his den, and had debated with Mr. Bradlaugh on the gospels. He came with flourish of trumpets, a warrior armed to the fray, to crush down the ignorant atheist with the weight of his knowledge and his scholarship. They met; they fought; but, horror of horrors! the scholar was beaten with his own tools. He retreated, shorn of his plumes. "I don't pretend to Greek scholarship," murmured the atheist, as his foe retreated, "but mine is good enough to beat that of Mr. Cowper." Thenceforth, increased bitterness on the part of the *Christian Evidence Society's Journal* and its baffled editor.

Sad to say, the journal died last autumn. Archbishops, bishops, peers, and commons were not sufficient to bear up against its weight. They printed, but few bought; they wrote, but few read. Alas for the indifference of the Christian public! The journal established to crush out the *National Reformer* and the Scott tracts went out, while the others go on their way rejoicing with ever-increasing vigor. But, though the journal was dead, the society survived, and it proceeds with its accustomed labors. It keeps paid lecturers to travel about the country to deliver lectures on God, miracles, prayer, and kindred topics; but it maintains an ever-feeble struggle, and will soon, probably, follow the fate of its journal.

During last winter one of these lecturers, a Mr. Browne, a Cambridge graduate, delivered a lecture on miracles in the large and important town of Leeds. Some members of the local Secular Society challenged him to debate with one of the leading lecturers of the society, and, very reluctantly, he took up the challenge. No hanging back was permitted. He was ruthlessly pursued and nallied down, and the debate was arranged to take place in Leeds on April 27 and 28, between himself on the one side, as official representative of the Christian Evidence Society, and Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, as official representative of the Leeds Branch of the National Secular Society. Preliminaries were duly arranged; a *verbatim* report was to be taken, and a copy given to Mr. Bradlaugh for publication. The simple expenses of the two lecturers were to come out of the proceeds, and, these items paid for and the hall and printing bills discharged, the surplus was to be handed over to the Leeds Infirmary. The question for debate was fixed: "Can miracles be proved possible?" A very large hall was taken, and on Thursday and Friday last the debate came off. The Mayor of Leeds presided on each night, the duties of the chair being of the lightest, as the behavior of the immense audience was exemplary throughout. Mr. Browne is a thoroughly candid, sincere, and honorable gentleman, and showed the most perfect temper and courtesy during the contest. His good feeling was fully reciprocated by his antagonist, and not a shade of unpleasantness marred the debate. Unfortunately for the interest of the argument, the Christian was sadly overweighted; his logic was hanged, drawn, and quartered, in terrible fashion, dry and merciless; he was pushed up into the most uncomfortable corners, and forced into performing the most illogical somersaults. Having, for instance, stated that "Nature is not myself," and having defined Nature as something exterior to consciousness, he was asked whether he was "supernatural, preternatural, extra-natural, or unnatural," and he elected, amid some laughter, to be styled "extra-natural," from which admission so many other extras were deduced, that the natural became "small by degrees and beautifully less." In fact, he was so thoroughly beaten out of his original positions that the conclusion of the debate was somewhat disappointing. Mr. Browne urged Müller's Bristol Orphanage as an illustration of an overruling Providence, it being supported by contributions given in answer to prayer to God; but Mr. Bradlaugh retorted that Müller advertised largely in addition to prayer, and that lately an epidemic of fever had raged there, owing to defective drains, and the sanitary inspector had been called in, suggesting that what was evidently needed was "a little less prayer and a little more drains." Mr. Browne having defended physical evil as a valuable training without which life would not be worth having, it was mildly urged that, in that case, life would not be worth having in heaven, where physical evil was to have no existence; and then, proving how moral evil sprang from physical evil, the one being the parent to the other, Mr. Bradlaugh closed his last speech with a tremendous attack on the Providence who left man to such misery, and, having the power to free him by miracle, left him to be mutilated and crushed out of all semblance of humanity: an attack so vehement, so eloquent, so different from the dry argument that had preceded it, that Mr. Browne seemed, for a while, absolutely petrified, as face to face with some awful view of Nature that he had never before seen. His final speech was hesitating, timid, almost despairing in its tone. It was evidently a protest coming from his heart, a clinging to the hope of some solution to the fearful problem which seemed to press him down, a determination, "were the evidence ten times less than it is," to "cling to my Master Christ." It made one sad to listen to him, so manifestly earnest and so manifestly unhappy, clinging, as a drowning man might cling to a straw, to the sinking creed, and blind to the glorious hope of a redemption for mankind in this world, a hope possible of realization by man's effort and by man's toll, if only man will trust to himself for his own salvation, and work it out with brave heart and clear brain, fearing no celestial antagonist, and trembling before no miracle-working God.

WHAT DIVINES had assumed as the distinctive revelations of Christianity, theologic criticism has matched by exact parallels from the Stoics and poets of Greece and Rome. Read in Plato, and you shall find Christian dogmas, and not only so, but stumble on our evangelical phrases.—*Emerson*.

Communications.

A SUNDAY IN NEW JERSEY.

NEW YORK, April 3, 1876.

EDITOR INDEX:

Dear Sir,—I am glad to notice in THE INDEX of March 30 that the Centennial Commissioners have decided they are not authorized to grant space for Evangelical church-building, within the limits of the Exhibition grounds. Maybe the protests against the closing of the grounds on Sunday, though not changing the plans in that particular, influenced somewhat the Commissioners' reply to the Evangelical Association. Let us be thankful for a half loaf.

Yesterday, Sunday, as I was planning about my yard and summer garden in New Jersey, where I reside, and was working a little (though out of respect for the tender feelings of my neighbors I plan rather than work Sundays), our occasional doctor came along. We talked together a few moments about the Sunday question, and no doubt my frank anti-Christian sentiments were somewhat new to him, though his profession carries him among people of various beliefs. His conversation reminded me of my often-repeated experience, that a Christian rarely comprehends the stand-point from which we reason; as my remark that I desired a complete separation of Church and State was interpreted as meaning the abolition of all churches and Sunday-schools. He confessed that his practice would be soon valueless, were he to express his particular opinion freely to his patients; yet he did not seem to realize that he proved by this remark the charge we make,—that freedom and Christianity are not compatible.

Our conversation impressed me more than ever with the necessity of action on the part of those opposed to the churches ruling this country; and it is to be hoped that the Congress of Liberals will be a success.

I am glad you took notice of the *Tribune's* article on Thomas Paine's bust.

Yours truly,

"A."

THE SAME ON BOTH SIDES.

"Dr. Hogg, of the United Presbyterian Mission in Egypt, reports that two natives have been bastinadoed at Negadeh for meeting with others to read and study the Bible. One of them has since died from the effects of the cruel treatment. This outrage has awakened the indignation of the more enlightened and liberal class."—*Boston Evening Journal*.

Such fanaticism exists where common-sense and common honesty are wanting. Some of our Christian fanatics would like to bastinado those who cannot call the Bible the only divine book, and who do not consider it just to force people to read it.

Do not blame the Indians for murdering on your frontiers. Those poor ignorant men have been compelled to consider the whites as robbers and murderers, and do unto you as you do unto them and others. Uncle Sam has land enough for all; work it, and abstain from your selfish speculations mixed with cheating and lying!

Christian fanatics, do not find too much fault with the fanatics from other sects and churches; they do only what you have done, and what some others would do, if the guard, common-sense, did not prevent them. Assumptions, like your own, that you are in possession of all bliss, monopolize heaven, and leave only a place in hell to all who cannot believe as you do, are one of the causes of such outrages as we hear from Negadeh, Salonica, and other places. Let those people alone, and apply your missions here, and with the money assist the poor around your costly churches. A part of your worship is like the sacrifice of a fat ox, surrounded by hungry people who cannot believe as you do, but who have not cunning enough to get possession of the fat ox.

CARL H. HORSCH.

DOVER, N. H., May 14, 1876.

FREE MASONRY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I differ so much from C. H. H. in his article on "Masonry," in THE INDEX of April 6, that I cannot forbear the expression of a different opinion.

When he says, "Masonry is as broad as humanity," he must forget that a large portion of humanity is excluded from its membership and privileges. I am glad if they make no distinction among their members on account of religious or political opinions; but while they do make distinction in respect to sex and race, they surely cannot justly claim to be on free religious grounds.

The "common" charity claimed for them appears to me very exclusive. A particularly unfortunate man cannot get into the society. If he is very poor, want of money alone will exclude him. If he is very old, he is not wanted; or if he is sick or a cripple, he is not acceptable. In short, if he is in a situation to be likely to be in need of assistance, this charitable institution has no place for him. It looks to me like a combination of the young, able-bodied, and rich men to help each other, in preference to helping the more unfortunate and feeble. If they spent half of the money in real charity outside of their prosperous institution which they spend for banquets and foolish finery to adorn their own persons, the institution might deserve to be called charitable. I have failed to find anything in their professions or practices to recommend the institution to minds imbued with the principles of justice and equality.

M. C. GRIFFIN.

LAWRENCE, Kansas, April 13, 1876.

SWEDENBORG is reported to have said: "The oldest angels in heaven are the youngest."

Sanctuary of Superstition.

THE REBEL FLAG.—When the angels ran up the rebel flag in heaven, God immediately put them in chains, millions of them, and threw them over the battlements, and they remain still chained in hell.—*Rev. A. B. Earle, the Revivalist, in Boston, in 1866.*

BELIEF IN IMMORTALITY INDISPENSABLE.—Why, the man who believes that, when this body dies, all conscious existence ceases, will rob his family, rob his neighbor, and why should he hesitate even to murder, if death will bring oblivion to him as to the beasts of the field?—*Extract from funeral sermon by Rev. J. B. Woodward, Lafayette, N. J., April 15, 1876.*

PRAYER FOR AN INQUIRER.—"Our Father who art in heaven, show us what Thou wouldst have us do. O Father, show ME what Thou wouldst have ME do." My friend, pray this daily in your closet. When you pray the second half, clasp your hands very closely, and SHED TEARS if you can, that the Father may know you are in earnest.—*Printed directions found in the Testament of one of the disciples of Moody and Sankey at the Hippodrome.*

THE LORD'S STONE AT CANTERBURY.—At the distance of about one-half mile from the village of the Shakers in Canterbury, N. H., there is to be seen in a pasture, far from any public road, a marble stone, in height about seven feet, which was brought from Lebanon, N. Y., the head-quarters of the Shakers, about six years since, and erected by special command of heaven, as an object of worship by the holy anointed Elders of this novel sect, and their deluded followers. The devotions around this stone consist of kneeling, tumbling, walling, singing, dancing, and other antics, too numerous to mention, which so forcibly remind the spectator of the worship of the Hindus, that he can hardly persuade himself that he is in America.

The inscriptions on this stone are as follows:—

[NORTH SIDE.]
The Lord's Stone,
written and placed here in
Pleasant Grove
by the command of our Lord and Savior
Jesus Christ.
Erected June 24, 1848:
Engraved at Canterbury, N. H.
[SOUTH SIDE.]
Word of the Lord.

Behold I am the true and living God, and in my infinite wisdom do command my people to worship none but me. Here I have placed a fountain of the water of life, and no soul shall come within the bounds of this my fountain, or pollute this my word, with unclean hands or an impure heart, but shall feel my heavy judgment either in time or eternity. From this holy place my goodness shall go forth from east to west, and from north to south, and many poor souls shall gather into my spirit, and be strengthened by my hand of charity and love. But a heavy curse shall meet the rebel who dares to presume to destroy the word of my mouth which I have caused to be engraven, or that will injure this, my holy stone, which I have commanded my people to dedicate solely to me. For I am Jehovah, and before me and my holy anointed—Shaker Elders—every knee shall bow, and every tongue confess that I AM dwelleth in my Zion, in the midst of my holy people, and I will bless, protect, and prosper them forever and ever. Amen.

Quoted from the "*Lowell Journal*" in Dr. Buchanan's "*Journal of Man*," Vol. 3, pp. 33, 34: December, 1851.

THE "PENITENTES" IN NEW MEXICO.—A noteworthy indication of the intelligence of these people is found in some of their religious practices, chief among which are those of a sect who call themselves Penitentes, which are of so extraordinary and revolting a nature that it is difficult for an Eastern man to believe the accounts of their doings until he has seen them with his own eyes. This order is very extensive among the natives, and in many of the rural districts embraces the greater part of the population, though just what their religious belief is I have not learned. The society is one of great secrecy, and of their secret customs and actions it is impossible to obtain information. Their leading idea, if we can judge from their public ceremonies, is that self-inflicted torture possesses some preëminent virtue. Accordingly, every year during Lent these fanatics go into a season of extraordinary penance. Each community of them has a house or chapel, devoted to their rites, and, from time to time, parties emerge from these houses barefooted, and stripped to the waist, and armed with bundles of branches of the thorny, poisonous cactus. These are tied firmly together at one end, and then fastened to a stick of convenient length, like an old-fashioned flail. Using the stock for a handle, they whip themselves upon the bare backs with the cactus branches, marching along to the music of some barbarous chant. This is kept up until their backs are hideous masses of gore, the blood streaming down at every stroke, and the mangled flesh cut and bruised by the horrible instruments of torture, so that you would scarcely recognize it as a part of a human being. During the last few days of the Lent season I saw several of these parties marching along engaged in this horrible work, of which my description fails to convey any adequate idea. These tortures frequently result fatally.

They also make enormous crosses of heavy timbers, under the weight of which a strong man can barely stand, and the penitent takes it on his back and carries it about until he falls down with exhaustion, the cross on top of him. Often in this condition, at the penitent's own request, others come and whip him with cactus and the sharp stalks of the Spanish bayonet, until he faints away. When they get deeply excited toward the close of the penitential season, they whip themselves on all parts of the body until scarcely a square inch of surface is left which has not been mangled by the cruel thorn of the cactus.—*Letter from Santa Fé, dated April 23, and published in New York Sun of May 2, 1876.*

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Second Proposition.

Property is impossible, because, wherever it exists, Production costs more than it is worth.

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Property is impossible, because, with a

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Each organized Liberal League will be entitled to send five delegates as special representatives—three in addition to its President and Secretary. But all individual Liberals who sympathize with the general objects and aims of the Liberal Leagues will be equally entitled and welcomed to seats and votes in the Congress.

REPORT PROMPTLY!

In order to lessen as much as possible the expenses of the delegates, each League is requested to elect them as soon as possible, and to report their names to the undersigned through its Secretary. All Liberals, delegates, or individuals who desire and intend to participate in the Convention are requested also to forward personally and immediately their names and full post-office addresses to the undersigned, that he may be enabled to make the most favorable terms possible for their accommodation. If notified early, he hopes to secure for them a considerable reduction in railroad fares, and to provide boarding-places at perhaps half the usual rates of the season.

Donations Solicited!

The Centennial Committee on Finance having through their Chairman transferred their duties to the General Centennial Committee, the undersigned has been appointed to attend to the financial department, and hereby appeals to the Liberals of the country for voluntary contributions to the amount of One Thousand Dollars. This amount will be needed to make the Congress a complete success, though the utmost possible will be done with whatever is contributed. The officers of the union of Liberal German societies propose to raise the same amount for their convention, and have already raised \$800 of it. The Young Men's Christian Association here have already spent this year nearly \$100,000 in preparation for the Centennial, in the interest of Orthodox superstition; it would be a pity if all the friends of "Liberty and Light" could not do a hundredth part as much for the cause of national development and free humanity! The money will all be wanted (and much more could be advantageously expended) in providing suitable halls and headquarters, advertising the Congress liberally in advance in the chief dailies of the country, defraying the necessary expenses of desired and invited speakers, paying *verbatim* reporters, publishing a complete pamphlet report of the proceedings, etc., etc. What is done must be done speedily, since the arrangements should be completed, as far as practicable, by the first of May.

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DAMON Y. KILGORE,
Acting Treasurer.

I believe that Mr. Kilgore is a gentleman of unimpeachable personal integrity, and that all money remitted to him as above will be faithfully and economically devoted to the legitimate uses of the Congress.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT,

Chairman of the General Centennial Committee.

At the preliminary Convention held at Philadelphia on Sept. 17, 18, and 19, 1875, for the purpose of making arrangements for the Centennial Congress of Liberals, the following were appointed a

General Centennial Committee:

FRANCIS E. ABBOT,
DAMON Y. KILGORE,
ALEXANDER LOOS,
ISAAC REEN,
BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD,
H. S. WILLIAMS,

with power to increase their number to fifteen. The completion and success of the arrangements must depend on the liberality of the friends of the movement, who are respectfully and earnestly solicited to contribute the necessary funds.

The Index.

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LIBERTY AND LIGHT.

Single Copies Seven Cents.

VOLUME 7.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, JUNE 1, 1876.

WHOLE No. 336.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF —.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in —, and thereby to effect the total separation of Church and State in fact as well as in theory.

Also to send delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League, when organized, and to cooperate heartily with all the liberals of the country in furtherance of the above-named object.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

ion. No person shall ever in any State be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious practices shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

THE SECOND Radical Club of Boston will hold their annual picnic at Waltham, on Sunday, June 11.

CATHOLIC PAPERS announce that the "Second Annual Convention of the National Union of Young Men's Catholic Associations" will assemble in Cathedral Hall, Eighteenth and Wood Streets, Philadelphia, on June 28. Catholics and Protestants equally well comprehend the absolute necessity of organization to carry out their purpose of "conquering the world for Christ"; shall lovers of liberty be less intelligent in defending the world for Man?

IT IS RELATED that "the late John P. Hale, well remembered for his readiness and wit in the United States Senate, was not remarkable in college for scholarship, but was liked for his geniality. In his Latin not infrequently the author's meaning escaped him, but it was strangely clear to him when he edited the class by rendering Horace's saying, *Dimidium facti, qui cepti, habet* ('He who has begun is half done'), 'He that is well lathered is half shaved.'"

PUBLIC MEETINGS were held last week in Philadelphia to sustain the Commissioners in shutting the Exhibition on Sundays. Telegrams favoring the purpose of the meeting were received from Buffalo, San Francisco, Pittsburgh, and Williamsport. It is stated that the Commissioners promised the Presbyterian General Assembly's committee to keep the present rule in force. It is a trial of strength between the church-party and the people, and want of organization will probably cause the defeat of the latter after all. But the end is not yet.

REV. R. L. DABNEY, a Protestant Evangelical clergyman of Virginia, and a Professor in a theological seminary, lately published a letter to the Superintendent of Public Schools in that State, in which he took ground similar to that of Bishop McQuaid against State education, and urged the same argument of "parental rights." It will be found that Catholicism and Evangelical Protestantism, just so far as they oppose secular education, will be irresistibly driven to close union; and it is a delusion to expect much help from Evangelicalism in this great issue.

MR. MORSE, determined not to be behind hand in case the subscription to the Paine bust shall be completed by July 1, has been quietly at work upon the marble, and the bust is now well under way. It will be ready in good time, and we hope the amount now steadily increasing will be at once carried forward. The bust should be in Philadelphia in season for the Centennial Congress of Liberals, and it can be if the subscription is speedily completed. It should be understood that the \$1200 includes with the bust a fine marble pedestal four feet high, and the transportation of the whole work to Philadelphia.

THE STRUGGLE in France over the relations of Church and State is to be a long one, and will turn in great measure on the educational question. Which shall control the education of the people—the State or the Church? If the State does not, the Church will; and the Church's control of popular education is the certain destruction of popular liberty. M. Lallemand said at the session of the General Assembly of the Catholic Committees of France, on April 18, that "it is a great mistake to think that Catholic journals should not interfere in politics."

Of course! Catholicism is a political power, and so is Evangelicalism; America is finding this out to her cost. If the liberals remain politically inactive, they must ultimately share the fate of all who neglect to protect their own liberties.

SAYS THE New York Tribune, mentioning a speech of Rev. Dr. Dickson at the Presbyterian General Assembly last week: "The prolonged applause which followed his declaration that the Bible must not be taken out of the public schools was significant." That applause tells more of the coming struggle on the school question than all the scattered "liberal orthodox" voices on the other side. Why should liberals be willing to deceive themselves on this point, or to talk foolishly about the progress of liberal principles among the Orthodox? That there is such progress in certain directions is true enough; but the action of the great representative bodies is the only safe measure of its amount. Nothing is more delusive than to catch up some impulsive utterance of a half-heretical preacher like Professor Swing or Mr. Murray, and noise it abroad as a proof that Orthodoxy is "liberalizing." This applause reveals how stubborn and tenacious it is of unjust privileges.

THE MAJOR PART of the space of THE INDEX this week is devoted to a republication of the various press notices of the volume published a year ago by the Free Religious Association. We requested our readers at the time to forward to us all such notices as came to their hands, and now heartily thank those who were so kind as to comply with this request. Probably there are many which we have not seen, but all we have seen are here reproduced. The fifty-odd journals whose criticisms are thus marshalled side by side express fairly enough the general impression made by *Freedom and Fellowship in Religion* on the public mind; and this week, when the Free Religious Association hold their ninth Annual Meeting in Boston, we thought that the members would all be interested in seeing this compact exhibition of the general results of their first literary venture in book form. It will be of great value as an essential part of the record of their public work; and we therefore respectfully and cordially dedicate this number of THE INDEX to the Free Religious Association.

THE NEW YORK Sun is sometimes reckless and over-sharp, but in this paragraph it flies like an arrow to its mark: "Advertisements of patent medicines furnish support to many so-called religious papers. Not a few of them would perish but for the aid they receive from medical quackery. Hence the importance of the movement in the Baltimore Conference to exclude these advertisements from the organs of the Methodist denomination. The editors and the quacks can make a strong argument for their union. The editors may go on arguing that they are enabled to propagate religion with the resources of quackery; and the quacks can show that the so-called religious press is the best field for their operations, the place where they can put their money so as to do the most good. Of the quacks who thus advertise, there are some whose medicines are injurious to the men, women, and children who use them; and we often see, in so-called religious papers, quack-medicine advertisements which are an outrage upon decency. If religion be a matter of truth, how can its organs sustain themselves by such falsehoods?" THE INDEX needs all the resources which are honestly available, but it has refused hundreds of dollars of quack advertisements, and will continue to do so. We had a visit two or three years ago from a man interested in patent medicines, who impudently took us to task for our published standing rule on this head. Finding little encouragement, he left in a passion; and THE INDEX lost a subscriber! But it would lose them all before it would either annul or disregard that rule.

"Freedom and Fellowship in Religion."

NOTICES OF THE PRESS.

FREE RELIGIOUS ESSAYS.

FREEDOM AND FELLOWSHIP IN RELIGION. A Collection of Essays and Addresses. Edited by a Committee of the Free Religious Association. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1875. \$1.50.

We approach a volume issued by the Free Religious Association with a strong desire to be thoroughly just toward it. For, in the first place, desiring as this paper does to treat with fairness men of all creeds and all beliefs, we are especially anxious to be fair toward such as through unpopularity are in danger of receiving less than justice. "Free Religion" is a term which to most readers carries in it something of opprobrium, and on this account we would guard ourselves against hasty or harsh judgment of those to whom it applies. And, further, we are disposed to listen considerably to any thoughtful and earnest man whose position is different from our own, hoping to learn something from him. *Fas est ab hoste doceri*; much more is it right to learn if we can from those who are not enemies, but who are seeking truth by a different path from ours.

By its principle, the Free Religious Association assumes no uniformity of belief among its members; and no absolute consistency is to be expected among the dozen essays by different authors which make up this volume. Some of them express views which harmonize with a large conception of Christianity; others at least imply a negation of all distinctively Christian doctrine; and one or two are in pronounced and emphatic opposition to the very name of Christianity, and all that goes with it. It will be better, therefore, to speak of the chapters in detail than to generalize upon them all.

The Introduction, by Mr. Frothingham, is upon "The Religious Outlook." He notes in a page or two the decay of theology, the establishment of the scientific method, etc., and devotes the bulk of the essay to establishing the proposition that Christianity is on trial before the world, and the verdict is going against it. We wish Mr. Frothingham had been more explicit in telling us what he means, in this connection, by Christianity. For the most part, he seems to identify it with dogmatical and ecclesiastical systems. In this view we can at least understand his satisfaction in the prospect of its downfall. The "devout intelligence of modern times," he tells us, is going to press its demand "till every vestige of the Christian theology is swept away, and reason is alone and supreme in the domain of truth." It seems a little hard on us Christian believers to allow not even a "vestige" of truth to our cherished faiths; but, if Mr. Frothingham believes them all false, he may well rejoice in the expectation of their being swept away. But we can hardly understand his state of mind when he goes on in the next paragraph to expatiate on the failure of Christianity to affect the practical conduct of society, and to declare that "the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount are as irreconcilable with the cardinal principles on which modern society is based as are the implications contained in the Thirty-nine Articles, or any other Christian confession." Is it all, then, a part of the same beneficent revolution? Is it owing to the "devout intelligence of modern times" that society discards the principles of the Sermon on the Mount? Is that, too, an omen of the new heavens and new earth which science, "devout intelligence," etc., are bringing in? We own we should ourselves suppose it not amiss to go on preaching the Sermon on the Mount a little longer.

This Introduction, which in its polemical spirit seems to catch at whatever makes against the abuses or the uses of Christianity with indiscriminating haste, is hardly a fair representative of the spirit of the book as a whole. Mr. Wasson's essay, which follows it, is on "The Nature of Religion." It is highly abstract and philosophical in its forms of thought, enthusiastic in its temper, and can hardly with justice be described in a few lines. It asserts with great emphasis and ardor man's interlinked relations with the whole universe,—a universe which is divine, and contains an element higher than man. The reality of human freedom and of duty, and the grand obligation of sympathy, are ardently enounced. For worship the provision would seem to be somewhat vague. The next paper, by Samuel Longfellow, on "The Unity and Universality of Religious Ideas," is in some respects the most pleasing and satisfactory in the book. The great religious ideas, says Mr. Longfellow, are these: God, Duty, Benevolence, Immortality. Taking these up one by one, he gathers the testimonies to them contained in the religions of every land and every time. This collection of noble religious utterances, from the widest range of sources, is delightful and inspiring. We cannot refrain from adding that if all the prominent representatives of "Free Religion" were as emphatic in their testimony to these very ideas—including God and Immortality no less than Duty and Benevolence—as they are in asserting the principle of Freedom, we should see more power and promise in the work of some of them.

Mr. Samuel Johnson has an essay on "Freedom in Religion," metaphysical in its cast of thought, but satisfactory in its assertion of the reality of spiritual facts, and its connection of them with the practical concerns of life. "Religion and Science," by John Weiss, is extremely readable. Mr. Weiss is a brilliant writer; and his vigorous thought and glowing imagination are matched by a style clear, crisp, and telling. At times his strokes fall with needless recklessness. But there is a temper of courage and faith

in this essay which we greatly enjoy. To the facts of science he gives a lofty, spiritual interpretation. He laughs at the idea that any explanation of man's development from any inferior being is going to lessen the nobility of his present estate. "Why need one care how he grew into a being who throbs with the instantaneous purpose of salutary ideas, with the devotion of his thought and conscience to the service of mankind, with a ravishing sense of harmony and proportion that breaks into his symphony and song? When a man reaches the point of being all alive, thrilling to his finger-tips with all the nerves a world can contribute, shall he distress himself because, upon examining his genealogy, he discovers no aristocrat, but a plebeian, for his ancestor?" "I do not care for the path, when I come in sight of the mansion of love and beauty that has been prepared for me. Its windows are all aglow with 'an awful rose of dawn.'"

We must omit all comment on the essays of Messrs. Potter, Frothingham, Chadwick, Higginson, and Mrs. Cheney, to give what space we have left to Mr. F. E. Abbot's paper on "The Genius of Christianity and Free Religion," which seems to us the strongest and most remarkable chapter in the book. Mr. Abbot places Christianity and Free Religion in direct opposition to one another, in which, it should be said, not all his fellow-essayists would agree with him. He argues that Christianity as a distinctive system is based on a mistake; that its vital elements are not its peculiar property, but shared with other religions, and expressed in a higher form in that Free Religion which is to possess the future. We, who stand on the name and the fact of Christianity, and associate with it our own most sacred experiences and our highest hopes for the race,—we yet recognize in this paper of Mr. Abbot's a sincerity, a nobility, and ardor of moral feeling, which we deeply honor. And wide as is the difference between his position and ours, we believe that our agreement is deeper than our disagreement.

Briefly, Mr. Abbot's word is that the corner-stone of Christianity is allegiance to Christ, and that its radical defect lies in the spirit of servitude which this carries with it. He thinks that the assumption of the Messiahship by Jesus was due to an honest mistake; and that this personal exaltation of himself was the flaw in his otherwise sublime career. He regards Jesus as born within the circle of Jewish ideas, becoming filled with a profound and genuine sense of having a divine work to do, and falling in with the current belief of his people in identifying the highest possible work with the Messiahship. His originality and greatness lay in the conception that he was to win power by renouncing it; that he was to reign by serving, and govern men by love. In this, says Mr. Abbot, was wonderful nobility,—yet, not the highest nobility of absolute self-forgetfulness. "There is but one ambition sublimer than to REIGN BY SERVING, and that is, to SERVE WITHOUT REIGNING. I cannot shut my eyes to the nobler purpose; I cannot forget that Socrates both lived and died to make it real."

At that comparison we pause. Was, then, the life of Socrates nobler than the life of Christ? To the most dispassionate view, was he more truly self-sacrificing? We own we see but one answer. It seems to us that Mr. Abbot has misread his subject, and that the lordship which Jesus claimed was but the instrument to the work he would do, and not the end for which he did the work. The theme is far too great for us to more than touch. But is it not matter of observation that from this life—which Mr. Abbot thinks was, after all, self-centred, though in a noble way—unnumbered men and women have caught the spirit of pure and passionate devotion to the service of mankind? Have not ten thousand lives been set upon the noblest ways of self-sacrifice by the influence of Christ, where one has been moved by the influence of Socrates? And have the sweeter and more plentiful waters come from the narrower and less pure fountain?

Mr. Abbot will have it that wherever in the historical development of Christianity there has been subjection to human authority, magnifying of dogma and ordinance, usurpation on the one hand, and servility on the other, there has been its normal and natural course. Romanism, he declares, is the true Christianity. To all which mode of treatment we have one word to say: In so far as by Christianity you mean what we call the abuse of Christianity, then we agree with you that the sooner it goes by the board the better for mankind. But, further, we protest against any such interpretation of the facts. There is a real and a very serious difference between Mr. Abbot's position and that of the believer in free and spiritual Christianity. But he unduly magnifies that difference, by identifying the perversions of Christianity with its true ideal.

We have studied with great interest Mr. Abbot's analysis of the contrast between Christianity and Free Religion. It is impossible not to respect the loyalty to conviction, the loftiness of moral feeling, the rare vigor of thought and directness of expression, with which he writes. We have found not only mental stimulus, but spiritual enrichment in these glowing pages. Mr. Abbot represents—we might almost say embodies—an intense reaction against the servility, formalism, and externality which are the reproach of Christianity. In the rebound he seems to us to fall into the opposite extreme; to largely misconceive the true genius of Christianity, and, still further, to relinquish some of its elements which are vitally true, and to mankind at large indispensably true.

As "the two corner-stones" of the two systems he puts "faith in the individual Jesus" and "faith in universal human nature." We should amend the first, to read: "Faith in that God whom Jesus declares and interprets." And it would seem to us

that, from Mr. Abbot's own stand-point, "human nature," in its extraordinary blending of good and evil, is a far less worthy object of faith than that Divine Soul of the universe toward which the noblest elements in human nature reach out with longing unspeakable. To the reality of that longing, and to the satisfaction which it finds, Mr. Abbot has borne noble testimony. Why does he here put human nature as its own divinity, rather than that God in whom, by his own belief, it seeks and finds its home?

The fellowship of Christianity, says Mr. Abbot, is confined to Christians; that of Free Religion is as wide as humanity itself. The social ideal of the one is to Christianize the world; that of the other is to humanize the world. These two propositions we may set over against each other. Christianity includes as one of its central elements the obligation to bring all men into the highest and best estate; the only question is, what is the best estate? That question comes up when he proceeds to consider "the two spiritual ideals." That of Christianity is contained in the exhortation, "Be like Christ"; that of Free Religion in the word, "Be thyself." The former, he alleges, leads to servile attempts at reproduction of a single type, and to lifeless and mechanical imitations. This seems to us wholly fanciful. Was Paul's character wanting in individuality? Was Augustine's, or Luther's, or Wesley's? The history of the Church in all its branches shows an infinite variety of types of character; to say that Fénelon, or St. Francis of Assisi, represents a uniform ideal is to take an utterly one-sided view. Yet, unquestionably, Christianity attributes to Christ that characteristic quality which is noblest, and is to be sought of all; and in taking as its ideal a character whose central force is supreme, self-sacrificing love, we think it rightly expresses the very highest truth in regard to character, a truth which finds no adequate expression in Mr. Abbot's scheme.

He goes on to consider, finally, "the two essential spirits." That of Christianity he conceives to be "self abnegation, self-distrust, self contempt," and "utter spiritual prostration before Jesus, and utter submission to his authoritative will." Hence, "the suppression of the free self, the paralysis and humiliation of the individual will, in order that the will of the Master may be accomplished." The language is invidious, but we recognize and accept the truth underlying it. We believe that the dependence of the soul upon a Higher Power, the subordination of its personal desires and claims to a perfect Will which is ordering all things, is its highest attitude; and that in this dependence upon the Highest and Best is the spring of a loftier energy and nobler freedom than can elsewhere be found. Mr. Abbot himself we think intimates this truth; and the opposition which he assumes between his own view and that of Christianity lies partly in his own fancy.

But in his exaltation of humanity he appears to lose sight of that lower element in human nature which has to be renounced and put under foot: that which Paul meant when he said, "Put off the old man and his deeds"; the qualities of bestiality, ferocity, exaltation of self, and contempt of others, which darken all the pages of history, and against which the best of mankind has to maintain unceasing warfare within himself. And, by as much as Mr. Abbot underrates this enemy within man, we think he overlooks man's necessity of a constantly realized dependence on a Divine Helper. In the gospel of freedom, as he interprets it, we recognize many noble elements—which we believe harmonize perfectly with true Christianity,—yet we find nothing so high as the supreme word of Jesus: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbor as thyself."

We will not here pursue the controversy with Mr. Abbot; rather, we will quote from his description of "Free Religion," and say: This, by whatever name it be called—you call it Free Religion, we should call it Christianity,—this we recognize as belonging to the very inmost nature of true religion; and he who stands for this is our brother, by whatever name he be known:—

"It is the soul's deep resolve to love the truth, to learn the truth, and to live the truth, uncoerced and free. It is intellect daring to think, unawed by public opinion. It is Conscience daring to assert a higher law, in face of a corrupted society and a conforming Church. It is Will setting at naught the world's tyrannies, and putting into action the private whispers of the still, small voice. It is Heart resting in the universal and changeless Law as eternal and transcendent Love. It is the soul of man asserting its own superiority to all its own creations, burning with deep devotion to the true, and just, and pure, and identifying its every wish with the perfect order of the universe."—*New York Christian Union*, June 23, 1875.

FREEDOM AND FELLOWSHIP.—The famous English volume of *Reviews and Essays* has had a number of imitations, but none worthier or more notable than the volume just published by Messrs. Roberts Brothers, entitled *Freedom and Fellowship in Religion*. It contains ten independent essays, "written by different minds, in different moods, for different occasions, working without the least reference to one another, and associated here by no other bond than that of a common feeling of intellectual need, a common persuasion of their personal responsibility to meet it as they can, and a united conviction that sooner or later it will be met adequately and triumphantly." The reader will form some idea of its scope and variety from the following list of contributors and contents: "The Nature of Religion," by David A. Wasson; "The Unity and Universality of the Religious Sentiment," by Samuel Longfellow; "Freedom in Religion," by Samuel Johnson; "Re-

ligion and Science," by John Weiss; "Christianity and its Definitions," by William J. Potter; "The Genius of Christianity and Free Religion," by Francis E. Abbot; "The Soul of Protestantism," by O. B. Frothingham; "Liberty and the Church in America," by J. W. Chadwick; "The Word Philanthropy," by Thomas Wentworth Higginson; "Religion as Social Force," by Ednah D. Cheney,—with an Introduction by Mr. Frothingham.

The editor modestly calls it a "contribution towards the religion of the future." Perhaps that phrase most happily describes its intent and ultimate result. But it is a good deal of a contribution, a whole bundle of them in fact; yet the religion of the future has no place in them, is not outlined or even guessed at by them, and is only vaguely referred to as a remote but certain something that is to be, and to be vastly fairer, and truer, and more comprehensive, and more beneficent, and sufficing than anything that has yet been realized or even imagined. All the essays palpitate with unspoken prophecies; all the writers are inspired with expectancy; yet they all deal with present and vital themes, in the spirit of to-day, and with the least reference to the designs of the temple that is slowly rising under their hands and over their heads. In no recent volume has the future made itself so conspicuously visible or so palpably felt as in this, in which it appears as sentiment rather than substance, as inspiration rather than idea. The freest thinking, yet a faith that is almost enough to remove mountains,—the two are together. Mr. Frothingham admits that among rationalists the intellect has thus far been chiefly active. But this was because the need of criticism was the most imperative. "For a long time yet the relentless armor must be worn, and the pitiless weapon kept sharp and bare; but sentiment and imagination, recovering from the shock occasioned by the fall of their old idols, are rallying courage to do their part in peopling the new heavens with worshipful ideals, and clothing in robes of glory the august forms which the seraphs at the gate of knowledge allow passage to the upper skies."

This volume marks the direction religious thought is unmistakably taking. Right or wrong, true or false, the tendency is clear. The significance of these essays is quite as much in their leading as in their contents. In fact, the way is more than the station yet reached. The road determines the goal. Liberals are often accused of having no positive beliefs; it is forgotten that rationalism is not a result, but a method, with all it leads to. The differences between the old freethinkers and the new are marked enough; but one of the chief differences is that the latter have a method, while the former had none, but wrought with no law but whim, and no determination but habit. They were too conscious of their liberty to use it, and their antagonism to systems which had been tyrannical and imprisoning overmastered their desire for truth and their ability to acquire and organize it. Voltaire, and Bolingbroke, and Herbert, and Paine were fugitives from a slavery whose iron had entered their hearts and twisted their faculties askew,—not the pioneers of a colony, nor hardly the explorers of a new region of truth; they were simply prisoners at large, with all the results of their prison-life registered in their experience. There is something of this unscientific antagonism in the essay of Mr. Abbot on the "Genius of Christianity"; a shaking of the fist, a throwing of missiles, a terrific and ill-suppressed impatience, as of the prize-fighter in a procession where he is bound to keep step with pacific people while he aches to lay hold of his old enemy from whom he can hardly keep hands or eyes. But even in his essay this element is subordinate to other and nobler qualities. The new faith bears no relation to the old denial, and should not be mentioned in connection with it.

These essays treat of so many important topics, and treat them all so vitally, that it is difficult to compress their total meaning into a word. They mark the new religious departure, not only from the existing types of Christianity, but from all supernaturalism and all systems founded on tradition and authority. They indicate a more radical movement than is recognized at first, away from Unitarianism and Universalism as well as from Evangelical Protestantism. It is a movement away from Christianity as a system of religion, away from all organized religions, towards those universal ideas, and sentiments, and faiths, and aspirations which belong to man in virtue of his manhood, and are the birthright and endowment of human nature. All of Christianity that is true, and universal in its application, and helpful to society and man, it carries and joyfully absorbs; it takes every brick, and stone, and statue out of the old Church that can be used in rearing and adorning the new temple of humanity, but puts Paul by the side of Plato, and Solomon and Seneca together, and Epictetus along with John, and Jesus with Sakya-Muni, and Confucius, and Zoroaster, and Savonarola, though he may overtop them all. It is the boldest religious eclecticism that the genius of man has yet attempted. Take the fine essay on "Christianity and its Definitions," by Mr. Potter, as an illustration. It attempts to discover and state the final fact, the distinctive entity, in the Christian religion; and it does this in a spirit as reverent, and sympathetic, and believing as any Christian ever exhibited. It is no part of his intention to show how the errors that became incorporated with the religion helped its diffusion; how the Messianic idea gave it a loving lodgment in the hearts of thousands of disappointed Jews; how the delirium of Jesus fitted it to take the place of polytheistic religions; Providence uses even the errors and superstitions of mankind as hooks to fasten them to a chain which draws them to himself; he is concerned only with what is distinctive in the religion, and that, however stated, must yield to what is universal in it, and will ultimately

blend with what is universal in all other faiths.

One of the most striking essays in the volume is that of Mr. Higginson on "The Word Philanthropy," a Greek word for a quality older than Christianity, and which almost seems to have come into Christendom, like the word that designates it, from a Greek source. Mr. Wasson's paper, like all his efforts, is full of incisive thought. He defines religion as "the sense of relation, of unity, with the infinite whole; and morals, reason, freedom, are bound up with it." Mr. Longfellow's admirable essay on the "Universality of Religious Ideas" shows how much larger is the kingdom of truth than any of the churches, and that the benevolent and moral elements which have been claimed as the peculiar property of Christianity belong also to other religions, and are the product of human nature. But the essay that will be read with most interest, perhaps, and in some respects is the most remarkable in the volume, is that on "Religion and Science," by John Weiss. It is a truly brilliant production. He shows that religion is not imperilled by any scientific discovery, and that however *savants* and scholastics may quarrel, facts never fall out by the way. The antagonism is in our weak heads and not in the universe, and the attempts to dissolve consciousness and analyze the moral instincts into registered reminiscences are as futile and foolish as to try to explain away the law of gravitation and reduce the multiplication table to a pulp. He is not afraid of evolution. "If Mr. Darwin could prove to-morrow that we have descended from an anthropoid ape that tenanted the boundless waste of forest branches, we should as cheerfully accept our structure created out of dust in that form as in any other. There is dignity in dust that reaches any form, because it eventually betrays a forming power, and ceases to be dust by sharing it. I am willing to have it shown that I travel with a whole menagerie in my cerebellum; your act in showing it to me shows that you nor I are members of that menagerie. We are its feeders, trainers, and interpreters. We act God's part towards it, as He does upon the scale of zones and continents. In us, in fact, he improves upon his natural action by bringing all his dumb creatures under one roof, where he enjoys the benefit of knowing that his motive in creating them is understood and delighted in." "Manhood ennobles all ancestors, and they enjoy princely revenues in its vitality. Must I make myself miserable because I am told that for nine months of my existence I was successively a fish, a frog, a bird, a rabbit, a monkey, and that my infancy presented strong Mongolian characteristics? This, then, was the path to the human mind, that outwims all fishes in a sea where no fish can live, that leaps with wit and analogy more agile than frogs and kangaroos, that travels by aerial routes in spaces where no bird's wing could winnow. So be it, if it be so. I do not care for the path when I come in sight of the mansion of love and beauty that have been prepared for me!" This, and forty-two pages in the same vein. Of course there is enough in the volume that a keen critic may fasten upon for objection. It would be very tame and almost profitless but for its constant provocatives to thought. But it is a striking volume, more remarkable for its affirmations than for its criticisms, and especially significant as a finger-point.—*New York Golden Age*, June 5, 1875.

FREEDOM AND FELLOWSHIP IN RELIGION.—These essays and addresses are by different individuals, and upon various subjects. The writers agree only in a desire and a determination to oppose everything distinctively Christian, or, as one of them puts it, in the introduction of the volume, they "demand the indefinite modification of the Christian theology"; and they will "press the demand till every vestige of theology is swept away, and reason is alone and supreme in the domain of truth." We have, therefore, in these pages, we presume, the latest and brightest outcome of the "advanced thought of New England," the gleanings of those starry intellects that stand enthroned far above the mists and clouds that wrap other mortals. It is wonderful to see how their elevation enables them to take "broad views." They have ceased to confine their study or their faith to narrow limits. Boundary-lines that mean something to other men have faded from their sublimated vision. They have become the representatives of pure freedom, and their views are supposed to be a little nearer absolute truth than were any which Moses, or St. Paul, or St. John held. It is very interesting to know how things look to them up there in the heaven of unhampered reason. For example, Mr. Wasson tells us "religion in its broadest, simplest definition, is the consciousness of universal relation." There is no occasion for us to trouble ourselves about the seemingly divergent teachings of St. James, and of the Apostle to the Gentiles; or even about the differences between Christianity and Paganism, or even about the distinction between truth and error, or virtue and vice. For these opposites are related to each other—they could not otherwise be opposites,—and the consciousness of that relation constitutes religion.

But alas! this kind of religion is not faithfully practised by its preachers. They fail either to represent or to discover; we are not sure which. The exact relation between things, the schism of Dr. Cummins, and the present position and strength of the Church which he abandoned, must come under the head of that "universal relation" the consciousness of which lies at the foundation of religion. Here is an instance of the way in which one of these religionists applies his creed:—

"The debates on the subject of ritualism, at the late conference in New York, disclosed an unsuspected gulf of separation. The departure of Dr.

Cummins with a large following is ominous of dissolution in that communion."

We call attention to this statement, not because of its utter falsity, though it is about as inaccurate as it could have been made, but for the purpose of showing that the author's idea of "relations" is sadly obscure. The man who calls the following which Dr. Cummins has "large," must be comparing it with something exceedingly small, possibly with those who agree with him in his statement as to what religion is.

We quote a few examples of the teaching furnished in these papers:—

"The faculty by which we perform the act of idealization is the soul. . . . The idea of God has a twofold origin,—the craving of the intellect for a cause, and of the soul for perfection. Confident that nothing he sees is self-existent, man necessarily postulates something that is self-existent, and as necessarily proceeds to invest that something with a nature and attributes. . . . It was the Catholic principle that God, translating himself into the finite, had made man in his own image; so man had no option but to make God in his image, by retranslating himself into the infinite, and imagining himself as divested of limitations."

The process is further shown in the case of the doctrine of the Trinity. We call attention to the wonderful facility with which the key works. What a pity that Job, in his useless searchings, could not have read this book.

"We want to imagine Deity as absolute and infinite. But no sooner do we attempt to do so than the idea of absolute negation of Deity forces itself upon us. Having one absolute Being, then [note the logic], we must have two; so the idea of dualism appears as a necessary idea:—

"But the laws of thought forbid us to stop there. We cannot imagine two Beings to co-exist without imagining also the effect of their action upon each other. But such effect constitutes a third form of existence, so that, given the human consciousness of being at all, we are absolutely unable to exclude from our thought a trinity of beings."

And thus the man goes on, chapter after chapter, explaining the Creation, the Incarnation, the Atonement, the nature of the Church, and numerous other points—taking at his starting-point this principle: "The supernatural of the theologian is no other than the product of man's faculty of idealization."

Some of the explanations are absurd, and some would shock all sober-minded readers, and therefore we pass them by in silence.

The nature of the work can be easily seen. The origin of all truth and of all being is in man. The profoundest mysteries of Revelation are the product of his mind. It is no longer true that God spoke through his Prophets and by his Son. The order is reversed, and St. Paul's words should read, "Man has ever spoken through his own imagination."

The theory, when carried out to its logical results, as it is in this work, needs no confutation. But, as a theory, it is identical with a great deal of the teaching which is given in Christian pulpits. The principle that man's wants are supreme, that the Church and the Sacraments, and the whole outward order of religion, are just what we choose to make them, and must be the outgrowth of human needs, and take shape according to human devising, involves logically all the repulsive and absurd things set forth in these pages. But Christians do not perceive it, and thus are led on, step by step, to an idealism which leaves of Christianity nothing but a dream.—*New York and Hartford Churchman*.

FREEDOM AND FELLOWSHIP IN RELIGION.— . . . The introductory essay by Mr. O. B. Frothingham offers, on the whole, a very fair presentation of the religious world to-day. He thinks that there is not so much danger lurking in Roman Catholicism as some alarmists seem to apprehend. He shows how in ordinary Evangelical denominations the Church is everywhere coming into alliance with the world, on the terms of the world. Of course he has a sting at Unitarianism, which we forgive him, in consideration of the fact that there is some truth in his criticism. In the short space of fifteen pages Mr. Frothingham shows us the religious situation in a clearer and more forcible light than many authors have done in ponderous volumes.

The first essay, by David A. Wasson, on "The Nature of Religion," is marked by all the poetical grace and spirituality of that earnest writer. His definition of religion, as "the sense of relation, of unity, with the infinite whole"—or "the consciousness of universal relation,"—seems to us as good as anything that has been said in defining that which by its very nature must always be partly undefinable. We feel what religion may be, in our highest and best moments, but we cannot always put that feeling into words. Mr. Wasson's arguments concerning the unity of the world and man's relation to it are excellent. There are sentences and whole passages in this essay which remind us of Emerson, so full are they of thought and spiritual power.

"The Unity and Universality of the Religious Idea" is a very helpful paper. Its aim is to show that the ideas of God, Duty, Benevolence, and Immortality are to be found in all of the great religions of the world,—and are not confined, as so many suppose, to Christianity. This Mr. Longfellow proves with a wealth of scholarship and an appreciation that make this discourse an able contribution to that literature which seeks to show the sympathetic relation—not the mere occasional differences—existing between all religions known to men.

Many will turn first to Mr. Abbot's essay on "The Genius of Christianity and Free Religion." Like everything this sharp, trenchant thinker writes, it is an able paper, but also, we are sorry to say, like al-

most everything he has given us, it contains too strong a flavor of bitterness,—a bit of wormwood that is not pleasant to take. His examination of the claims of Christianity, the character and mission of Jesus, is very interesting, though, of course, he is bound to come to the foregone conclusion "that Christianity is based on forgetfulness of liberty; the love of perfect freedom is not in it." Mr. Abbot stands staunchly to his colors; if he were Campbell's "last man," he would go down shouting: The great enemy to progress and civilization is the Christian religion! In opposition to the narrowness of Christianity he offers the breadth and length of Free Religion, whose corner-stone is "the universal soul of man, the common nature of humanity, as the source and origin of the world's religious life." Some of us claim that the Christianity of Christ—not the Christianity of the popular churches—has the same corner-stone in "the universal soul of man" and "the common nature of humanity." But Mr. Abbot can never see this. He cannot "conceal from himself that Christianity is not adapted to the present as it has been to the past, and that a deeper, broader, and brighter faith is to-day silently entering the heart of humanity." He feels the "galling pressure" of Christ's yoke and can wear it no longer.

Mr. Frothingham's learned and brilliant paper seeks to show "The Soul of Protestantism"; i. e., its cardinal idea and principle, and after tracing it through the centuries of history, he arrives at the conclusion that Protestantism is not identical with liberty of thought, and that already many who bear the Protestant name have outgrown it, and "the whole Protestant army will go over at last to the enemy, of course without knowing it, simply because they wear the old badges and carry the old flag." Is there, then, no possibility of enlarging the meaning and significance of a name? Must it mean to-day just what it meant six or eight hundred years ago? Is growth in religious ideas something "very tolerable and not to be endured"?

Mr. Chadwick's essay on "Liberty and the Church in America" discusses in admirable style the relations that should exist between Church and State, and such matters of special interest as the "putting God into the Constitution," Sabbath laws, and the Bible in the public schools. Of course it is easy to imagine beforehand Mr. Chadwick's position on these subjects. He takes the ground of common-sense. As to putting the name of God into the Constitution, he says finely: "We might formally acknowledge God and Christ in the Constitution, and not a man, woman, or child would believe or trust in either any more afterward than before. Nay, some would believe less and trust less, for real sanctities are always jeopardized by insisting upon things as real and important which are not so. From the top of a new Sinai I seem to hear the old commandment thundered with a new meaning and a higher than it had of old, Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain. It would be taking it in vain to put it into the Constitution, there to be exhibited, like a fly in amber,—a striking curiosity, but very useless, very dead."

We have no space to notice other essays by Samuel Johnson and John Weiss, William J. Potter and Thomas Wentworth Higginson. They discuss subjects of vital religious interest from the radical standpoint, and it is needless to say that people who read them will find much food for thought.

In the seventy pages of extracts from annual reports of the Free Religious Association there is a great deal which is interesting and strong. We are particularly glad to read the words of Mr. Emerson, Dr. Bartol, and Lucretia Mott.—*New York Liberal Christian*. [The opening paragraph of this notice was missing.]

FREEDOM AND FELLOWSHIP IN RELIGION.—The foremost man of the Free Religious Association seems to be O. B. Frothingham, who writes the introductory paper to this volume, and also another essay, entitled "The Soul of Protestantism." The other writers who here represent the Association are, David A. Wasson, Samuel Longfellow, Samuel Johnson, John Weiss, William J. Potter, Francis E. Abbot, John W. Chadwick, T. W. Higginson, and Ednah D. Cheney. Most of these gentlemen will be recognized as whilom Unitarian ministers, who have foresworn the distinctively Christian name, and have planted themselves on the platform of the universal religious sentiment underlying the human history in every age. Mr. Wasson, it may be remembered, however, by some, was for a short time settled as an Orthodox Congregational minister, but very early struck off as an independent preacher, and very soon ceased to be, technically, a preacher at all. John Weiss was the earliest biographer of Theodore Parker.

These essays are a specimen of the way in which this company of advanced, or retrograde, thinkers are accustomed to look at the religious question. Advanced they are wont to style themselves. The religion they announce is spoken of by them as "the religion of the future"; but from a Christian point of view they are retrograde, for they only go back again to the effort which has been made again and again to explain the Christian religion as only the offspring of the general religious sentiment. Mr. Wasson defines religion as "the consciousness of universal relation." Mr. Longfellow gathers from a pretty wide reading many illustrations of the universality of the great religious ideas, which he states to be God, Duty, Benevolence, and Immortality. Mr. Johnson defines religion as "the natural attraction of mind as finite to mind as infinite," and argues that it is freedom. Mr. Weiss is not troubled at the questions which connect religion and science, for he ventures on another definition of religion. It is simply "the recurrence of human nature to the facts of the universe." Mr. Potter examines the various defini-

tions of Christianity. The first is the ordinary Evangelical one, that Christianity is the acknowledgment of Jesus Christ as the Messiah and Savior; the second is the "liberal"—it is the substance of what Jesus taught, "Love to God and love to man"; the third is the sentimental,—it is enthusiasm for the central person, Jesus, as the founder of a new era in humanity; the fourth is a definition which traces Christianity to a religious element in the race, which was bound to develop in some such way as it did in Jesus. By the way, how the word "develop" does elucidate almost every theme! If it were not for that word and "evolve," it is doubtful whether we should be able to think the modern thought at all. Francis Ellingwood Abbot approaches the same subject under the name of the "Genius of Christianity." He considers it to be the grandest and most original trait in Jesus that he attempted to become the Universal Lord of Men by serving them. "There is but one ambition sublimer" than his; i. e., "to serve without reigning. I cannot shut my eyes to the nobler purpose. I cannot forget that Socrates both lived and died to make it real." We have long heard Jesus classed with Socrates, but we do not remember having heard before from the lips of an earnest and candid soul, Socrates put in the first moral rank, and Jesus in the second. But Mr. Abbot is nothing unless he be bold. For he says: "The time has come to see and say that the Christian confession is not a truth. Jesus was not the Christ of God." The italics are Mr. Abbot's own. He says further: "The highest possible exhortation of Christianity is, 'Be like Christ.' . . . But the highest exhortation of Free Religion is, 'Be thyself.'" This is the high-water mark of this volume. We should be glad to see Mr. Abbot set to work to prove the negative proposition mentioned above. If it is time to see and say that Jesus was not the Christ of God, it is surely about time to prove that proposition. If Mr. Abbot thinks "Be thyself" is really a higher exhortation than "Be like Christ," he is welcome to the opinion. If he would show that the practical adoption of the former exhortation is more efficacious than the practical adoption of the latter, his thought would be much more to the purpose. Or if he would show that there is any necessary opposition between being like Christ and being true to one's self, his showing of that opposition would be a real contribution to human thought.

Indeed, the vice of these thinkers is extreme one-sidedness. They are narrow after all their worship of breadth. They look upon Christ as somehow a good and great person, left behind in the march of their and the world's thought. But as we read the Scriptures, all these men's best thoughts were long ago in those pages uttered, and uttered in such a way as to be the engrafted word which is able to save, and actually did save, and continues to save, men's souls.

We are not blind to the excellences of spirit, the earnestness of tone, the grace or the vigor of expression, the truth of reasoning and of philosophy, which are exhibited in these essays; but these are exhibited in connection with so much that is not excellent and is only by assertion true, that we lay down the volume as, on the whole, of little value except as provoking thought, in more than one sense of the word.—*The Pacific*, July 1, 1875.

FREEDOM AND FELLOWSHIP IN RELIGION.—It is unnecessary to say that this collection of essays is of the highest order, in the matter both of style and thought. The names of the writers are the guarantee of that. Whatever other sins may be charged against the members of the Free Religious Society, all agree that they know how to write excellent English, and that they never descend to vulgar arts. Every one of these discourses is strong, dignified, and pure in tone, and an earnest spirit runs through them all. A religious spirit, too; for there is no scoffing, and no undertone of doubt about that Great Presence, that Soul of the Universe, that Living God who is the object of highest reverence to the men of all sects and faiths. These essays are anything but "infidel." They do not even suggest more doubt than the discourses which bear the Christian name. They discuss religion, they define religion, and they vary in their definitions; but they all assume the reality of religion,—that it has a genuine object, that it is a real force in the spiritual life and in the outward ways of men.

And they are hopeful, too, as well as believing. Not one has any pessimist wail over the impending doom, or sees despair in decay of creeds, or the increase of scientific scepticism. They see a larger and nobler future, a better time coming, a grander kingdom of God. They have nothing of that refrain of the preacher that all is vanity. They are as Messianic as Judaism in their confident prophecy. No reader will lose heart in their criticism of the things which are and have been, as he has all along the vision of what things ought to be and shall be. Their hope outruns the cooler judgment of common men, who cannot see the universal and spiritual Church so near in time, or that the narrower religions are so far on in their decay, or so close to their transformation. Men as intelligent and as earnest as these writers will pronounce this prophecy of the near death of the Christian religion, even in its limited form of a confession of the Christ, much more in its larger form, too fondly optimistic: there will be a long northern twilight before the rising of the new sun. But in this hopefulness there is no more cheer and inspiration than in the Christian gospel.

The essays, moreover, are but slightly polemic. Their only bugbear seems to be the "Christian" name,—how it ought to be applied, to what it properly belongs. With the essence of Christianity, its inner soul and its practical work, they are in hearty sympathy, and they propose the same ends of the

glory of God and the good of man which the Christian pulpits propose. Morally and practically they harmonize with the Evangelical call for a good life upon the earth, and an entrance into the higher life of the soul. It seems hardly worth while to spend so much breath in criticising the name, when the ends are so nearly identical. If the essays taught materialism, taught atheism, taught annihilation of soul at death, taught the grosser epicurean maxim instead of the precept of Jesus, then they might fitly denounce the Christian name as the sign of error, falsehood, and injustice,—might wish to "crush the infamous." But why they should be so zealous in fighting an epithet, which is by its very sound the sign of hope and of promise, as well as of a life which they consent to call pure and divine, bringing near the very Spirit of God, it is not so easy to understand. One of the essays, indeed, seems to reject the type of the Christian life as effeminate, and prefers to Christian humility a stoical "self-respect." But, after all, is not the best self-respect a modest self-estimate? Have not some of these very writers shown how the Stoic and Christian moralities are only different statements of the same idea, different sides of the same shield? And is not philanthropy, which "Free Religion" as much as Christianity commends, a losing of self-regard in the broader service of the race of man?—*B., in Boston Christian Register*, Dec. 4, 1875.

FREEDOM AND FELLOWSHIP IN RELIGION.—We are used to everything in these days, and a volume of essays in which Christianity is quite thoroughly eliminated from religion does not startle one; yet, as religious teachings, no more radical statements have been put forth than are contained in these pages. It is a deliberate attempt to challenge the attention of those who wish to know what the believers in "Free Religion" have to say. It is the statement of the conclusions which they have so far reached, and the reason they have for their existence. It is made up from the contributions of those who have taken the lead in recent years in these religious discussions, and is by no means deficient in literary ability or careful writing, but contains few pages with which a Christian can agree, and very many which are graphic illustrations of the vagaries of intelligent men.

Mr. O. B. Frothingham begins with an essay upon "The Religious Outlook." He believes that the theological epoch is drawing near its close, that Christianity is now on its trial, that the truths and facts of science are taking the place of religion, that the evidences of union among Protestant sects are evidences of weakness, and that in time every vestige of theology will be swept away, and reason will be alone and supreme in the domain of truth. He gathers hope for the human race from "the sympathy of religions," and believes that the constructive period of the religion of the future has begun. It is the re-statement of the opinions which, with great diversity of form, the reading public are noticeably familiar, and embodies the substantial teachings of the other essays. Mr. David A. Wasson follows him in a vague essay on "The Nature of Religion." Mr. Samuel Longfellow then gives an interesting chapter upon "The Unity and Universality of the Religious Ideas." Mr. Samuel Johnson contributes a metaphysical paper upon "Freedom in Religion." Mr. John Weiss, who is a brilliant and thoughtful writer, furnishes an article on "Religion and Science," which is well worth reading. Mr. Wm. J. Potter writes upon "Christianity and its Definitions." Mr. Francis E. Abbot has a strong and original, but thoroughly perverse, essay on "The Genius of Christianity and Free Religion." Mr. Frothingham contributes "The Soul of Protestantism." Mr. John W. Chadwick discourses upon "Liberty and the Church in America." Mr. T. W. Higginson furnishes an essay on "The Word Philanthropy." Mrs. Ednah D. Cheney concludes the list with "Religion as a Social Force." Then follows a series of extracts from various writers in sympathy with the movement, entitled "Voices from the Free Platform." It is thus the most pronounced statement of the views of the Free Religionists which we have yet had. Such a volume is worth reading, and yet is worthless. It gives the honest views of a large class of people. It is useful to know what people are thinking about, the average thought of the unbeliever. It shows the unrest of the age, the aspirations of those who are unhinged from the Catholic Creeds, the vagaries into which all men fall who abandon Christianity. It reveals very much to the careful student. But for general reading, for those who hope to increase their own knowledge of religious truth, for those who hope to tread the firm ground of a reasonable religious faith, it is the poorest trash imaginable. It is the latest outcome of Unitarianism in its worst form, and teaches what all believing Christians must repudiate.—*Unknown*.

FREEDOM AND FELLOWSHIP IN RELIGION.—This is a volume of essays and addresses by such men as David A. Wasson, Samuel Longfellow, John Weiss, John W. Chadwick, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Ednah D. Cheney, and others of their Boston school, who, having abandoned Christianity, or at least its dogmatic form, are attempting to build up something that shall serve for a substitute. They are introduced by a paper on the religious outlook by O. B. Frothingham, in which the breaking down of the old creeds is strongly set forth. This extract from it indicates the character of the essays:—

"The chaotic state of opinion on religious questions is simply the result of the general breaking-up of the Christian system. Intelligence, being thrown upon its own resources to find a path over heaps of ruin, looks in every direction for an issue out from the falling city. Spiritualism, materialism, atheism, positivism, sentimentalism of every mode, fanaticism of every phase, mark the efforts that are making to

overleap, burrow under, dig through, blast away the piles of ignorance, dogma, tradition, that cumber the ground. They are efforts of the human mind to come to an understanding with things as they are.

"The faith that such an understanding can be reached gains in force every day. The destructive period has about passed by; the constructive period has begun. In science, the greatest men are distinguishing themselves by positive generalizations. In philosophy, the lines are converging towards certain central principles. The outlook of Mr. Herbert Spencer's system is prefigured in John Fiske's *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy*,—a remarkable book, which, if it establishes nothing, indicates some of the highways that the future intelligence will tread. Lewes' *Problems of Life and Mind*, and Strauss' *Old Faith and New* are contributions to the structure that is rising on the ruins of the old creed.

"To those interested particularly in religious speculation, cheers come from Owen, Müller, Lubbock, Rawlinson, Legge, Muir, Elliot, Tylor, Ellis, Newton, Oppert, Dillman, Weber, and the noble fraternity of scholars who are showing the identities and sounding the unison of faith in all ages of mankind, and are laying the foundations of a religion inclusive of all special faiths, and more intellectual, more spiritual, more uplifting and commanding than any one. The beautiful idea of the sympathy of religion has already become familiar, and not to rational thinkers alone. No less eminent a person than Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, within the solemn walls of Westminster Abbey, has countenanced the noble conception, not in so many words, but in sentences of grave admonitions to Christians, and honorable recognition of the merits of those whom Christians go forth to convert. Up to this time, outside of Christianity the intellect has had the field of religious inquiry mainly to itself; as was fitting, seeing that the need of criticism was the most imperative. For a long time yet the relentless armor must be worn, and the pitiless weapon kept sharp and bare; but sentiment and imagination, recovering from the shock occasioned by the fall of their old idols, are rallying courage to do their part in peopling the new heavens with worshipful ideals, and clothing in robes of glory the august forms which the seraphs at the gate of knowledge allow passage to the upper skies."—*San Francisco Post*.

FREEDOM AND FELLOWSHIP IN RELIGION.—This is a volume of 424 pages, made up of papers by various authors, with the object of advocating a greater freedom of individual thought in religion. We give the table of contents: Introductory; "The Religious Outlook"; "The Nature of Religion," by David A. Wasson; "The Unity and Universality of the Religious Ideas," by Samuel Longfellow; "Freedom in Religion," by Samuel Johnson; "Religion and Science," by John Weiss; "Christianity and its Definitions," by Wm. J. Potter; "The Genius of Christianity and Free Religion," by Francis Ellingwood Abbot; "The Soul of Protestantism," by O. B. Frothingham; "Liberty and the Church in America," by John W. Chadwick; "The Word Philanthropy," by Thomas Wentworth Higginson; "Religion as Social Force," by Ednah D. Cheney; "Voices from the Free Platform" (introducing extracts from Ralph Waldo Emerson, Charles H. Malcom, Celia Burleigh, C. D. B. Mills, Rabbi Isaac M. Wise, Julia Ward Howe, C. A. Bartol, Wm. C. Gannett, John Weiss, Lucy Stone, A. Bronson Alcott, F. B. Sanborn, Wendell Phillips, Horace Seaver, Lucretia Mott, and others). These authors are vigorous thinkers and writers, and the book will be read by many who cannot accept all that is said. At the present day, there is scarcely a concern of any moment in which religion does not hold a conspicuous rank. It is debated in the highest places; it is the business of empires; it occupies the thoughts of princes and administrators; politicians make account of it; statesmen and demagogues alike take bearings from it. It haunts the scientific mind; literature cannot leave it unrecognized; philosophy finds it mingling in all its problems. Close observers of the times can see no declining interest in religion. The forms the interest takes may be changed, but the interest was never more vital. The thinking man who sincerely asks, What is truth? will find in this volume ideas advanced that are not in sympathy with the religious convictions of the great majority of the people, and not a few will be shocked at the tendency to lessen faith in doctrines rooted and grounded in the popular mind. For instance, the essay by Mr. Chadwick opposes the introduction into the preamble of the Constitution of the words, "Humbly acknowledging Almighty God as the source of all authority and power in civil government, the Lord Jesus Christ as the ruler among the nations, his revealed will as the law of the land, in order to constitute a Christian government." He says it would commit the nation first to a belief in God, then to the lordship, messianic office, and deity of Christ ("his revealed will" implying this), then to the establishment of a Christocracy. But while there is much in the volume contrary to the popular belief, there is much that is valuable and good, and that will incite research to ascertain the foundation upon which our religious faith rests. It is much more important to establish what true religion is, than to build up any favorite theory, from whatever source it may have come, short of the infinite source of all truth.—*Salem (Mass.) Register*.

FREE RELIGION.—A company of the scholars and thinkers of Boston have founded an organization called the "Free Religious Association," which has for its object the encouragement of inquiry after religious truth. Freedom of discussion and opinion, and fellowship in spirit and purpose, are avowedly its paramount provisions. It is no part of the aim

of the Association to direct the spirit of religious inquiry into any particular channel, or to commit the members of the organization to a uniform course of thought and action. Absolute liberty of opinion and expression is, on the contrary, pledged to the individuals joining the fraternity. The first article of its Constitution explicitly declares its objects; viz., "To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history." By means of lectures, conventions, and publications, the Association brings its discussions of religious problems before the public. The volume before us is among the first fruits of its efforts to find and to disseminate the truth. The book contains a series of essays and addresses that have been spoken on the platform of the Association in different times during the six or seven years of the Society's existence. The more elaborate of the papers—numbering eleven—are entitled as follows: "The Nature of Religion," by David A. Wasson; "The Unity and Universality of the Religious Ideas," Samuel Longfellow; "Religion and Science," John Weiss; "Freedom in Religion," Samuel Johnson; "The Word Philanthropy," T. W. Higginson; "The Soul of Protestantism," O. B. Frothingham; "Religion as a Social Force," Ednah D. Cheney; etc., etc.

An extract from the essay by Mr. Longfellow will show the tone and temper of the whole collection:—"Religion is a higher and broader word than *Christianity*; and so is *human*. Jewish, Brahman, Buddhist, Parsee, Mohammedan, these, too, are churches of the One Living God, the Father of all. With advancing light, thoughtful men in all of them will come out of what is peculiar and special in each, and so local and temporary, into the broad ground of universal, spiritual religion, which is Piety, Righteousness, Humanity: that belief in God and in man which is the creed of all creeds. . . .

"Look beneath names and words, and feel the life of the invisible, spiritual host of all righteous, true, heroic, saintly souls, made ours, if we are in sympathy with them, not by external organization, but by a spiritual law. Its sacramental words are God, Duty, Love, Immortality. These, written in many tongues upon its banner, have given vigor to more hearts and met more eyes lifted unfaltering in death, than any one church or one religion can count within its pale. This is the Eternal Gospel; this is the true Church Catholic; the Church not of Rome, nor of England; the Church not of Buddha, nor of Moses, nor of Christ; but of God and Man."—*Chicago Tribune*, June 5, 1875.

Roberts Brothers will publish, this week, two religious books of a widely different character. Or, perhaps, Orthodox believers would think I ought to say that one is an irreligious book, inasmuch as it is made up of contributions from the great lights of freethought. I refer to *Freedom and Fellowship in Religion*. It is a collection of essays and addresses, edited by a committee of the Free Religious Association. Most of these addresses have, I think, been delivered at Horticultural Hall; and they form one of the most brilliant collections of papers I have seen anywhere. Whether one agrees with them or not—and certainly I do not,—one must admire the wonderful ability with which some of these arch-heretics present their views. Moreover, it is impossible to doubt their sincerity. They tell the truth as they see it,—and feel themselves as much called to its utterance as ever was prophet or seer of old. "The Soul of Protestantism" is O. B. Frothingham's contribution to the work; and it is one of his most brilliant and incisive papers. "The Nature of Religion," by David A. Wasson; "Religion and Science," by John Weiss; and "The Word Philanthropy," by T. W. Higginson, are among the most brilliant of these articles,—where all are able. The best work of the best minds in the Free Religious organization has been given to this book. It would be a very dangerous volume if free thought were dangerous, which I do not believe. That faith seems to me worthless which hides itself from the arrow of another's doubt. The virtue which has never been tempted, the fortress which has never been besieged, the strength which has never been essayed, may all be genuine; but their worth can only be certainly proven in the hour of temptation, of conflict, and of trial. The Christian who would not remain a Christian after reading all the literature of Free Religion might as well be a Pagan in the first place.

If *Freedom and Fellowship* is the Gospel of the Doubters, the other book I referred to is the expression of a faith against which that Gospel of Doubt has no weapons. It is entitled *Through the Year: Thoughts Relating to the Seasons of Nature and the Church*. The author is the Rev. Horatio N. Powers, rector of St. John's Church, Chicago. I supposed, from the title, it would be a volume of devotions; but it is, instead, a volume of brief essays on religious themes. It is a book to lie on the dressing-tables of good women, and to be taken up when one is tired; when one feels the weariness of living, and longs to turn to the rest that remaineth for the people of God. It is a helpful book—one which makes you stronger to live, and fitter to die,—a most tolerant and liberal book, too, although the author belongs to a church which is the stronghold of conservatism.—*L. C. M.*, in *New York Tribune*, May 25, 1875.

FREEDOM AND FELLOWSHIP IN RELIGION.—It is natural that the sect known as the "Free Religious Association" should seek, like all other sects, to create its own distinctive literature,—its own "body of divinity." Accordingly a committee of the Free Religious Association have edited a collection of essays and addresses, and the Roberts Brothers have published it, under the title *Freedom and Fellowship in Religion*. The essays are all well written, and are

interesting reading. There is much in them to be admired. If they have a cant of their own, it is not of the traditional sort. They give utterance and noble emphasis to certain truths which we all admit. To our view, however, they possess a common, all-pervading fault—an unnatural, unreasonable, exaggerated, and really absurd notion of "liberty," as if the finite creature could be its own supreme teacher and guide. The "freedom" they advocate borders close upon rebellion. The idea of submission to anything like personal authority, even that of God, is most irksome. Mr. Abbot, quoting those words of Jesus, "Come unto me," etc., and referring to "how many aching hearts and wounded spirits have taken upon them the easy yoke of Jesus and found the promised rest! how many more will find repose and peace in the same gentle bondage," adds, very significantly, "If the free spirit could indeed wear a yoke—if it could indeed purchase rest on such terms without abjuring that spiritual independence which is its very life and breath,—then might it wear the yoke of Jesus. Once I rejoiced to wear it; but I can wear it no longer." And in another passage, in the same

Continued on Page 261.

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THE "THOUSAND DOLLAR FUND":

SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF \$100 EACH FOR THE
CENTENNIAL CONGRESS OF LIBERALS.

April 15.	A. Friend in Boston (paid).....	\$100.00
April 28.	Miss Marian Hovey, Boston (paid).....	100.00
April 17.	Wm. H. Sayward, Dorchester (paid) \$25	100.00
May 3.	Free Lecture Ass'n, New Haven, " \$75	100.00
May 8.	Nath. C. Nash, Boston (paid).....	100.00
May 13.	Samuel L. Hill, Florence, Mass. (paid).....	100.00

\$500.00

FRANCIS E. ABBOT, in trust.

The Index.

BOSTON, JUNE 1, 1876.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 11, TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON. TOLEDO OFFICE, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

FROM the first of June to the fifth or sixth, we shall be absent from Boston in order to attend the meeting of the Index Association at Toledo. Will correspondents please take notice, and excuse delays in meeting their requirements?

MANY EXCELLENT but unavoidably delayed communications are waiting to be published in THE INDEX. With cordial thanks for their favors, we must crave our contributors' patience at this season of unusual demands upon our space as well as upon our time.

THE GATHERING AND ITS CAUSE.

The following was the resolution offered on May 20 in the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Baltimore, as published in the New York Tribune of May 22:—

"While it is not the policy or purpose of the Methodist Episcopal Church in any manner to connect the Church with the State, or to bring politics into our religion, yet, in view of the impety, unfaithfulness, and corruption that has come in many instances to prevail in places of public trust; and in view of the fact that the Christian graces have had so little prominence as qualifications for official positions; and being profoundly impressed that all the blessings of civil liberty which we so abundantly enjoy are due directly to the enlightening influence of the Christian religion; therefore,

"Resolved, That we, the delegates to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in conference assembled, at this the dawn of the new century of our freedom, do most earnestly recommend to the members of our Church throughout the country that they endeavor by every just and proper means to place in all the civil offices of our government only such men as are known to possess and maintain a true Christian character and principles."

When such a resolution as the above is offered in a Methodist Conference, it is quite unnecessary to consider any quibbling or hair-splitting as to what constitutes "Christian" character; we all know that, whatever else it includes, it includes also faith in Orthodox doctrine. Of course the proposal to elect only "Christians" to office is made with a plausible disclaimer of any "policy or purpose" to "connect the Church with the State"; of course it is made with a most plausible profession of concern for the public morals. This is the way in which the Church in all ages has disguised its hostility to the equal rights and liberties of non-believers—the very way in which the Roman Catholic Church itself makes its secret and open attacks on the fundamental principles of constitutional freedom. But if the American people are such imbeciles as not to see through these transparent pretences, or such incorrigible slaves as not to resist the daily increasing arrogance and ambition of what Gambetta so well described as "the clerical policy," then they deserve the subjugation in store

for them, the total suppression of the religious liberty they now enjoy.

Moreover, the Methodist General Conference and the Presbyterian General Assembly, two of the largest Orthodox bodies in the land, have both passed resolutions condemning an Act of Congress, in transferring the Indian Bureau to the War Department; and the Presbyterians are to send a formal protest to Congress against it. The same great bodies have also successfully protested against opening on Sundays the Centennial Exhibition, a semi-national affair for which the whole people have been taxed by State and National appropriations,—to the great infringement of the people's rights. Such instances of open interference with the State by the Church as such are multiplying on every hand. In proportion as the churches become more closely consolidated and more powerful by union, their disposition to interfere with the government increases; and every act of interference not protested against and defeated creates a dangerous breach in the defences of the public freedom. It is in just such ways that all free institutions perish. Not to prevent these usurpations is like permitting a leak in a dam: by-and-by the final rush of the flood sweeps away all before it in common ruin.

Now there are self-supposed liberals who chirrup as cheerfully as grasshoppers under the very beaks of the fowls stooping to swallow them whole, with all their music and molasses in them; and if all their comrades were of the same hopelessly inefficient temperament, the only course left would be to shrug one's shoulders and leave them to their fate. But a new spirit is stirring in the people to-day; a new wind of enthusiasm for liberty is blowing over the land; a new determination to put forever a summary stop to all these misguided or unscrupulous assaults on the safeguards of religious freedom is blazing up visibly in the hearts of the multitude. Letters full of enthusiastic approval of the Congress of Liberals and the National Liberal League come pouring in now by every mail; the movement is unmistakably one of the people; and, despite all sneers and futile opposition, the people will see it through.

For the information of those who mean to protect the great principles of religious liberty and equal religious rights against all such attempts to subvert them either now or hereafter, some of the arrangements already completed by the Centennial Committee should be communicated to the public through these columns. A large number of copies of the following blank form of application for a certificate of membership of the Centennial Congress of Liberals, after deliberation and approval by the Committee, have just been sent out by mail:—

CENTENNIAL CONGRESS OF LIBERALS:

PHILADELPHIA, JULY 1 TO JULY 4, 1876.

Approving the general objects for which the CENTENNIAL CONGRESS OF LIBERALS was called by the PRELIMINARY CONVENTION held in Philadelphia, September 17, 18, and 19, 1875; namely, "to take active measures for the IMMEDIATE AND ABSOLUTE SECULARIZATION OF THE STATE," and, as a means to this end, "to organize a NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, and promote the organization of local auxiliary Liberal Leagues throughout the country," I hereby declare my wish to be an individual member of the said Congress, and my intention to attend its sessions, provided circumstances shall permit. [Signature and address.]

Whoever desires to be an individual member of the Congress should immediately write to "Francis E. Abbot, Chairman, 1 Tremont Place, Boston," for a copy of this blank form. On returning it signed, a handsome "Certificate of Membership" of the Congress will be forwarded to the signer; and the presentation of this "Certificate" at Philadelphia to the Committee on Credentials will be necessary to entitle individuals who do not go as delegates to the rights and privileges of membership. This provision, the necessity of which will be at once perceived, has been adopted in order to secure a convention of those who sympathize heartily with the fundamental purpose of the gathering, and to avoid the danger of being swamped by a mere crowd of miscellaneous attendants at the public festivities of the Centennial Fourth of July. No one who approves the movement will be excluded; blank forms of application can be signed at the time; but very vexatious delays and great inconvenience will be avoided by prompt application now.

All Liberal Leagues, however, and all liberal societies which desire to join in the Liberal League movement, are each entitled to elect and send five delegates, who should receive credentials to the Centennial Congress of Liberals from their own officers. It is to be hoped that every such organization will take immediate action for the election of delegates, a list of whom should be promptly forwarded by the local

Secretary to "Mr. Damon Y. Kilgore, Secretary of the General Centennial Committee, 605 Walnut St., Philadelphia." If this is done immediately, he will make arrangements for the accommodation of delegates and members at the lowest obtainable terms. No one who expects to be present should fail to notify him without delay. It is necessary to state here that the expenses of delegates or members cannot be assumed in any case by the Committee; the funds raised will be scrupulously devoted to the general purposes of the Congress, and no one should ask (as several have thoughtlessly done) to be entertained at the expense of those who have generously donated their money for these general purposes alone.

The programme of the proceedings cannot yet be announced in detail; but it may be said that business, and not speech-making, is the grand object of the Congress of Liberals. A very carefully-drawn Constitution of the National Liberal League will be submitted to the Congress for its deliberation and action; officers are to be elected; resolutions proposing important practical measures are to be debated and voted on; in short, the Congress is not to be a mere audience listening to orations and addresses, but a deliberative body organizing for public work and lasting public influence. The Committee have spared no pains to mature wise and efficient plans of action, and will submit them for approval to the independent and vigorous minds of the Congress; if they can be improved, no one will rejoice more than the Committee themselves. Let all the wisdom, the moral earnestness, the personal disinterestedness, and the executive ability of the liberals of America be brought to this most memorable assembly, which, if present indications are to be trusted, will constitute the most important historic event of this historic year. The general public will be astonished to learn what weighty sanction has been already given in advance to this Liberal League movement; but the permanent influence of the Congress must chiefly depend on the mental and moral force of its members, as evinced in the measures they adopt. Only the wisest, the bravest, the best, are wanted there; the windbags and "convention fleas" should stay away. Let no earnest liberal who has at heart the practical embodiment of liberal principles in the permanent institutions of the country absent himself from this gathering at Philadelphia: he is precisely the man that cannot be spared. Shall "all the civil offices of our government" be filled by those whom the churches themselves recognize as "Christians"? That is exactly what the country is tending to, unless the efficient organization of the liberal element can be secured for the simple preservation of religious liberty and the equal religious rights of ALL.

Come, then, fellow-citizens,—all you who are too intelligent to be seduced by silly cries of "peace, peace! when there is no peace,"—and do a work for which your children and your children's children will bless you, so long as liberty is loved and justice prized. Not the idle, not the listless, not the curious, not the timid, not the purposeless, not the selfish, not the jealous, not the mean, not the slavish in spirit,—it is not such we want: but come, all you who can comprehend the vastness of the opportunity, can be thrilled with a great and sublime purpose, can be nerved to meet and to make the inevitable sacrifices it demands. Only come—and America shall rejoice for centuries on centuries that you came!

PROGRESS AT THE WEST.

The two subjoined articles, though not accurate in all particulars, show that the Liberal League movement is growing rapidly in power and influence in the West. The first is from the San Francisco Daily Evening Post of April 15:—

THE LIBERAL LEAGUE.

This society, recently organized in this city, is a branch of the Liberal League of the United States. It differs widely in its aims and its proposed methods from the "liberal" societies already described. Nearly every large city of the Union has a branch of the Liberal League, there being now about thirty auxiliary societies. Its primary object is not discussion, but the concentration of forces in a practical endeavor to accomplish so-called fundamental reforms. The Liberal League has a thorough organization, a definite platform of principles, and the discussions in its meetings are confined to its own members, excepting occasional addresses given by invitation. The society aims to be "a power in the land," and seeks to secure by all legitimate means the general adoption of those measures which it deems essential to the interests of the Republic, and its debates are most frequently as to the best and most practicable mode of carrying into effect

ITS PRINCIPLES.

The society is based upon the conviction that the safety of Republican institutions is imperilled, the

advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the interference of the State in any manner in matters of religion. It declares that certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution and the Declaration of Independence still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the country. It is to the specific object of averting these threatened evils, and conserving the liberties of the land by the complete secularization of the State in accordance with the principles of our organic law, that Liberal Leaguers avowedly consecrate their endeavors. The following is a brief summary of the special reforms which they consider requisite to that end:—

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

The equal taxation of property, including (as in California) church and ecclesiastical property; the non-employment of chaplains in our legislative bodies, the army and navy, and in all prisons, asylums, and all institutions supported by the State; the cessation of all public appropriations for educational or charitable institutions which are under the management of any sect or sects; the exclusion of the Bible and all religious instruction from our public schools; the substitution of simple affirmation, under the penalties of perjury, for the judicial oath in our courts and in all other departments of the government; and the repeal of all Sabbath laws. This is their platform, and they propose to secure practical compliance with its requirements by gathering and circulating information bearing upon the subject; by preparing and forwarding to the State and National Legislatures petitions numerously signed for the specific reforms proposed, and by personal and persistent application to public men who have large influence in the councils of State, but who, in the pressure of other matters, or possibly from an unworthy fear of religious bigots, have failed to give this subject the consideration which they deem its importance demands.

THE COMING STRUGGLE.

The members of the Liberal League acknowledge that their views are radical, and that they expect to meet great opposition from those who are honest in their opinions, as well as from interested parties and selfish schemers. They set forth in their invitations to others to join them that the work they have to do requires bravery, devotion, and willingness to incur present unpopularity; but they assert that they have counted the cost, and that they consider the good to be gained worth any individual sacrifices they may be called upon to endure. They propose to make a straight fight of it; accept no compromises, and count temporary defeat only an incentive to greater exertion.

This Liberal League movement, it is claimed, is favored by some of the best minds of the country, including many men in high official position, and is rapidly growing in numbers and influence. Its special organ is THE INDEX, of Boston, a weekly journal of considerable circulation, having a guaranteed fund of \$100,000, and edited by F. E. Abbot, formerly a minister of the radical Unitarian school. The Pacific Coast organs are a monthly, the *Pacific Liberal*, edited by A. J. Boyer, and the German monthly before referred to. A convention of all the Liberal Leagues of the country will be held at Philadelphia on the first and second days of July next. The President of the San Francisco League is J. L. Hatch; the Secretary, A. J. Boyer; Vice-Presidents, Professor Vandervallen and Mr. Lowenthal; Chairman of the Executive Committee, Dr. Hoadley. The meetings are held each Friday evening, at the hall of the German Freethinkers, 310 O'Farrell Street.

The other article is from the St. Joseph, Missouri, Gazette of May 23:—

HUMAN FREEDOM.

Election of Delegates to the National Liberal League Convention at Philadelphia.

At the regular meeting of the St. Joseph Liberal League, held at their hall on Sunday last, H. W. Kaster and P. V. Wise were elected delegates to attend the National Liberal League Convention, to be held in Philadelphia on the second day of July next.

It will be one of the most important conventions ever held, as the leading minds of freethought and human individuality will form a thorough organization, and propose to act not only on the defensive, as heretofore, against that great engine of oppression, the Church and State, but become aggressive and fight for humanity, and against all restrictive laws, rules, and bondage. The doctrine that one part of mankind are born with saddles on their backs, and the other and smaller number booted and spurred to ride them at will by the grace of God, must be exploded, and the last vestige of it wiped out.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

"WHEREAS, For the purpose of commemorating the Centennial anniversary of our national existence, and the heroic struggles of the great master-spirits of the American revolution, and exhibiting to the nations of the earth the results of our industries and our liberal institutions, large sums of the people's money, the Freethinkers, Atheists, Infidels, Jews, and Christians, without regard to creed or nationality, has been voted by the several States, and \$1,500,000 by the Federal Government; and

"WHEREAS, After all the necessary arrangements have been made, and such a collection of the works of men and women have been collected together as eye has never before looked upon, the management, at the instigation of the Puritanical, narrow-minded priests, have determined to close the great exhibition

on Sundays, thus depriving a large number of people, and especially the working men and women, from attending the exhibition, thus restricting them of their natural, inalienable rights, and entailing a loss of over three millions of dollars; therefore

"Be it resolved, That we regard the arbitrary and illegal closing of the Centennial grounds on Sundays at Philadelphia as a gross outrage upon the common liberties of man and in conflict with the Constitution of the United States, and the most absurd and wicked blunder of the nineteenth century."

The meeting then adjourned.

In every town where a dozen liberals of earnestness and activity can be assembled, let them call a meeting, organize a Liberal League, and elect five delegates to the Centennial Congress of Liberals. The more delegates there are, the better. The movement is already fairly started, and we believe it is yet destined to "run like wildfire," as the papers say. The people everywhere are waking up, and will wake faster than ever after the Philadelphia meeting; but that meeting will have all the more influence, if it is composed mainly of delegates chosen for the purpose.

Now is the time for every lover of liberty, every friend of free institutions, every true and enlightened patriot, to "stand up and be counted" on behalf of humanity's most sacred and precious interests. Those who do not wilfully or recklessly misrepresent the Liberal League movement know that it is the most pacific and cosmopolitan movement of the time; for there is no permanent peace without justice, no universal brotherhood without universal liberty. The friends of this bold agitation for EQUAL RIGHTS IN RELIGION are actuated by no spirit of bitterness or hostility to any class of citizens, not even the churches whose ambition is fomenting discord by stubbornly insisting on grievously unjust privileges and advantages; on the contrary, they aim simply to secure the establishment of that universally revered equity which is the only possible guarantee of kindly feeling and mutual helpfulness. It is a conscious or unconscious slander to accuse the Liberal League of fostering partisan narrowness or stirring up aggressive warfare on neighbors at peace; its friends know their own purposes and hearts too well, and will yet prove that the measures they are so earnest to carry constitute the true bulwarks of tranquillity and general good-will. "First pure, then peaceable"—that is the teaching even of the Christian Scriptures; let it read, "first just, then peaceable," and it will become the key-note of the Liberal League movement. But never mind the slanders or the misrepresentations: we who know that what makes for justice makes also for love must press steadily forward, untiring, undismayed, undeterred, till even those who now are clamorous in opposition shall be compelled to say—"These men were not drunk with new wine, but faithfully obeyed the noblest inspirations of humanity."

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY R. C.

The Republican State Conventions which have been held during the week have increased Mr. Blaine's chances for the nomination by giving him nearly or quite one hundred additional delegates to Cincinnati. Some of his enthusiastic friends are already advising him to begin the selection of the members of his future Cabinet. On the other hand, however, many politicians predict that after the first ballot at Cincinnati his followers will rapidly fall away, and that the nomination will be given in the end to either Washburn or Hayes. Grant's appointment of a son of Simon Cameron to the position of Secretary of War—following the transfer of Judge Taft to the Attorney-Generalship—is supposed to have been the result of a political bargain made in the interests of his favorite, Conkling, who will accordingly receive the vote of Pennsylvania after the delegates have been allowed to throw a complimentary vote for Hartranft. Morton's chances have not increased of late, and it cannot be said that Bristow's prospects have greatly improved, although the Independents become daily more decided not to accept of the result at Cincinnati unless a thorough-going reformer be placed in nomination.

Mr. Pierrepont, as Minister to England—although not nearly as good as Mr. Dana,—is, nevertheless, an appointment so much better than those which Grant sometimes makes that it may be accepted with thankfulness, a thankfulness which the unregenerate man may be allowed to increase a little by the reflection that Pierrepont's confirmation puts a stop to any further payment of salary to Mr. Robert C. Schenck. The House Committee on Foreign Affairs has presented a report upon the connection of Schenck with the Emma Mine swindle, and, after a review of the evidence, presents the following resolution, with a unanimous recommendation of its adoption: "That this House condemns the action of General Robert C. Schenck, United States Minister at the Court of St. James, in becoming a director of the Emma Silver Mine Company of London, and his operations in con-

nection with the shares of said company and the vendors thereof, as ill-advised, unfortunate, and incompatible with the duties of his official position." The *Nation* announces that it will give this week a full history of the connection of Schenck with the Emma Mine, to be followed next week by a similar history with regard to Park. The articles will undoubtedly repay perusal.

The Senate still continues the discussion of the question of jurisdiction with regard to the impeachment case, and has given but little attention to other matters. A bill was passed giving the Paymaster-General of the army the rank of Brigadier-General; and a bill to restore the franking privilege was introduced. Those theorists who believe that the country should be governed by the House of Representatives alone, without being hindered by the Senate and President, might do well to note the fact that the Senate has made no less than one thousand amendments to the Legislative Appropriation Bill since it came from the House, and every one of these amendments, so far, at least, as we have been able to examine them, is a decided improvement upon the original bill. The House refused to concur with the Senate amendments to the bill authorizing the appointment of receivers of national banks; passed the Naval Appropriation Bill, with a provision directing the Secretary of the Navy to organize a naval board of five commissioned officers in the navy to determine whether any of the navy-yards can be dispensed with,—a provision the execution of which we trust General Banks will look after, that he may not be obliged "to pour his heart out in tears"; made an appropriation for the payment of claims reported allowed by the Commissioner of Claims; and provided for the payment of the judgments of the Court of Commissioners of Alabama Claims. The discussion of the Tariff Bill was begun by Mr. Morrison, and Mr. Hewitt made a speech on the Schenck case, in which he expressed more decided opinions than those contained in the report of the Committee.

The prospect of Winslow's surrender becomes more favorable. Secretary Fish's letter seems to have made considerable impression in England. The *London Times* concedes the force of its arguments, and admits that England has herself tried criminals for other offences than those for which they were surrendered. Lawrence—whose case was made a pretext by England for refusing the surrender of Winslow—has pleaded guilty to forgery, the crime for which he was extradited, and will not be tried on the indictments against him for smuggling. This result, which was brought about by the personal efforts of Pierrepont and Taft, removes a stumbling-block, and helps to clear the way for Winslow's coming home.

The Indians have begun the murder of the miners in the Black Hills Reservation, and we are likely to have another miserable Indian war. The Black Hills country undoubtedly belongs to the Indians, and no white men have any right to attempt a settlement in it. It might be possible, on some ground of military policy or necessity, to conjure up some justification for Custer's expedition, but the government cannot be excused for its subsequent tolerance of the inroads of miners. The refusal of the Indians to sell their land furnishes no justification for the occupation of their country. Government in this matter has acted very much as A would act who wished to purchase of B a field for a chicken-yard, and B refused to sell; whereupon A turned his chickens into the field without permission; and B has begun to kill the chickens. As regards the treatment of Indians, we are not sentimentalists; we do not believe in Grant's peace policy, and we should like to see the Indian Bureau transferred to the control of the War Department; but we believe that some attempt to conform to an idea of justice, though as crude as an Indian's, would be better than the distribution of rations and the introduction of missions followed by trespass and robbery.

The Centennial Exhibition has not been opened as yet on Sunday, and, as we write, there is but little likelihood that the Commissioners will change their last resolve. The subject, however, is creating much more excitement than we had anticipated. Immense mass meetings in favor of and in opposition to Sunday-opening have been held in Philadelphia, and the press seems to be almost as evenly divided as are the people of Philadelphia,—the religious papers being generally in favor of keeping the doors closed, and the secular papers desiring to have them opened. In the meantime, while the discussion is going on, liquor-shops and side-shows of every description are open on Sunday, and are doing a much more thriving business than would be possible if the gates of the Exhibition were not closed. It is to be hoped that this significant fact, added to the fact that the Exhibition is not paying its running expenses, may yet open the eyes of some members of the Commission to the fact that a general observance of the Puritan Sabbath is no longer possible in this country; that multitudes of people no longer believe in its sanctity or its usefulness; and that for these people, therefore, art exhibitions and wholesome recreations are infinitely better than dirty side-shows and liquor-shop dissolutions.

The School Board of Boston has undertaken the subject of dress reform. At a recent meeting a committee was appointed to cooperate with the principals of the various public schools in an effort to repress extravagance in dress at school-receptions and commencement-exercises. The resolution for the appointment of the committee was introduced by a lady, and some papers, we observe, already refer to

the measure as an illustration of the good which women will do when admitted to public office. With all respect for the mover of the motion, however, we believe that it would be hardly possible for her to advise a more nonsensical crusade than that which she evidently desires to undertake. The motion is in harmony with that false and pernicious sentiment which in the name of democracy, or philanthropy, or religion, endeavors to do away with envy and jealousy by reducing all persons to a dead level. Wealth will make itself manifest in dress, and has as good a right to do so as in houses and vehicles; and the sooner the children of the poor learn that they cannot dress in the same way as the children of the rich, the better it will be for them. We admit the genuine suffering which often attends the learning of the lesson, but the lesson will not be deferred or made more easy by the production of a fictitious equality at a school exhibition, even if all the children of the rich should put on their worst dresses, and all the children of the poor should put on their best dresses. The matter had better be let alone, for it is regulated by laws which are beyond the reach of any school-committee. It might be well, however, for Miss May, and Miss Peabody, and Mr. Hutchins—the members of the committee—to put on an appropriate bib and tucker, and to have their photographs taken and circulated, that parents may have an opportunity to judge of their standard of taste in dress.

The execution of a murderer in Worcester last week was attended by a circumstance so shockingly revolting that the spectators cried out involuntarily, and the sheriff was obliged to order them to withdraw. We trust that this disgusting accident, added to others, which continually occur at executions, may have some effect in convincing our legislators that hanging at best is a thoroughly barbarous method of destroying life; and that if capital punishment be retained some better and more scientific method should be devised. What we desire is the cessation of a life, and not the production of a revolting spectacle, all the details of which are to be spread out in next day's newspaper. A criminal could be executed by means of electricity, or by the use of chloroform, or in any one of half a dozen different ways, with perfect propriety and decency, without pain, and without the possibility of any blunder or failure or the production of a disagreeable scene. The gallows is a bungling contrivance compared with other resources of modern science, and the initiation of a movement for its destruction would not be bad work for some member of our next Legislature.

That the war-cloud hanging over Europe is still very threatening is a fact made evident by the condition of the London stock-market, as well as by the cautious but significant military movements of some of the leading powers. Although Russia is said to believe that Turkey will accept the propositions of the Berlin Conference, a report from Turkey declares that the Sultan will not accept them, but maintains that they would prove an unwarrantable interference with the internal affairs of his Empire. The revolt in Bulgaria, which early in the week appeared very threatening, has been suppressed, and there appears to be a temporary lull in the operations of the insurgents in other provinces.

ENGLISH SKETCHES.

BY MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE, May 6, 1876.

I do not know how it may be with you in America, but we in England of the Secular party do not rest content with simply anti-theological work; our duty being, as we see it, the promotion of the greatest happiness of the greatest number, we bring within the scope of our Secularism all social and political reform. Politics are, to us, the means whereby we seek to attain our ends, and we draw no distinction between sacred and profane. If my kindly readers of THE INDEX will remember that, they will not wonder if, in some of these sketches, politics run side by side with theology, and radical progress in the State be chronicled as well as radical progress in the Church. And truly, this week, politics have so outnumbered theology that in spite of "May Meetings" on every side, we have thought of little else. Our new empire is already in distress. It has been in chancery, the lawyers not knowing whether the Sovereign was Queen or Empress in writs which were to take effect beyond seas. It has been in the Herald's Office, and the King-at-Arms says it is to figure on all petitions to the Sovereign. Its proclamation has been laughed at, jeered at, mourned over. Already "Imperialists" is heard as a party name. We Republicans rejoice. This Royal Titles Act has stamped with the approval of Parliament a far-reaching principle for which we have long contended; namely, that Parliament was supreme over the throne itself, and could give or take away the crown at its own pleasure. The principle is now beyond dispute. If Parliament can transform the Kingdom into an Empire, it can equally well transform the Empire into a Republic. The power that makes a Queen an Empress can make an Empress a President, or a simple citizen. The revolution of peace has begun, and not yet awhile will the end come. This is clearly seen now by many monarchists. Mr. Morley, at Bristol, pointed sadly to the fact that "the men who desired organic changes" had stood aloof from all agitation against the new title, for they knew a precedent was being created to which they could point in the future." With the mass of the people the effect has been very salutary. It has made them—while they have remained silent in contemptuous indifference—feel that the title of the

sovereign is theirs, to mould as they please; it has taught them how easily the throne may be overturned; with some, it has roused them from habitually to fierce antagonism, and has transformed them into Republicans. I insert the following letter which appears to-day in the *North of England Critic*, a leading north-country paper, to show Americans how rapidly feeling is spreading, and that they may be prepared to hear of quickly coming changes:—

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRITIC AND REVIEW:

"Sir,—Perhaps you would not like to be responsible for all the opinions in my letter; yet I beg you, without assuming any responsibility, to permit me to say what I think of this new title the Queen has begged and obtained.

"I have never had a very exalted opinion of Her Majesty's character since the time I left off reading those goody-goody books published for Sunday reading, which used frequently to make the Queen a subject of sycophantic laudation. Since I gave up those mischievous books and took to reading truth, I have always thought the Queen a very mean and grasping woman; and her recent conduct has confirmed me in that opinion.

"We have been accustomed to think that the days of monarchical tyranny are past; but this new title-affair shows to a demonstration that the old, bad spirit that dwelt in the British Solomon and his unfortunate son, that showed itself so lamentably in George III., still dwells in his descendant Victoria. The spirit, I say, is a bad one: it is the spirit of tyranny, and must be met by the same heroism that formerly restrained its foolish efforts to enslave the nation. The spirit that Victoria has manifested in assuming the title of Empress in the teeth of the nation is the same spirit that cost Charles I. his head, James II. his throne, and George III. the American Colonies.

"Whenever that tyrannical principle has appeared in England terrible calamities have quickly followed. Charles I. ascended the throne in peace, but in a few years he closed his career on the scaffold; his son James acceded in a comparative calm, but was soon compelled to decamp; George III. began his reign with an extensive empire; he closed his long and tyrannical life with a nation well-nigh bankrupt of men and money, and the larger portion of his dominions rent from his empire. The encroachments of the crown have in times past been met with determined opposition; it remains to be seen if Englishmen will submit in the present case.

"I cannot regard the assumption of the new title as anything less than a challenge to England and an insult to India. I expect that both countries will resent the deed. To the people of India, if they have human feelings, the new title must be odious, since it reminds them in such a reckless manner of their forcible subjugation to a foreign rule. The people of England cannot regard the change as anything less than a revolution; and patriots will probable henceforth work for a counter-revolution which shall once and for all sweep the crown away, never to trouble the nation again.

"You, Mr. Editor, may not agree with me; your paper is moderate, and so, I suppose, are you. But it seems to me that since the Queen has so grossly insulted the nation, it is now the duty of every true lover of his country to do his best to render the crown ridiculous and hateful in the sight of the people. I think it my own duty to propagate sedition as the most appropriate reply to the Queen's insulting action. For me, henceforth, loyalty to the throne is gone; for the future I will be loyal only to the people.

ANTI-IMPERIALIST."

Such a letter would have appeared in no "moderate" paper a year—nay, three months—ago. The shameless untruth with which the title has been forced on the nation is also stirring up bitter anger. What can have become of British honor when British statesmen act as ours have lately done? The vote of censure which will be defeated in the House of Commons on Thursday next will be passed by an overwhelming majority in the country. The *Critic* remarks in an editorial:—

"We hear frequently strong and wholesale denunciations of American corruptions; and they merit denunciation. But let those who would find fault with other nations look at home. A more corrupt government than our own scarcely exists. This new title, for example, has been forced upon the country by the sheer force of falsehood and imposition. The conduct of our present rulers constitutes a national calamity."

Englishmen take a long time to provoke, but, once thoroughly aroused, are apt not to be easily checked. Our monster petition, against any further grants to the Royal Family until Parliament knows how much they have got, lies ready for presentation. It figures as the petition of "Charles Bradlaugh, Annie Besant, Charles Watts, and 102,934 others," and is a gentle little thing of nearly a mile long. It is rolled on a strong mahogany pole, and is decorated with scarlet ribbon, our Republican color. The further grant to be asked for the imperial Prince of Wales is to be of £50,000, and we shall present our petition as against that grant.

The world-ecclesiastical is hard at work; there is a sweet custom among the pious of meeting in solemn convalescence during the month of May, and taking counsel together. London suffers under a plague of parsons, as Egypt under the locusts in days gone by. From the many speeches made at these gatherings I select, as a gem, a few sentences spoken by Canon Miller at the meeting of the Church Pastoral Aid Society. He stated that a London City Missionary "had spent some days in house to house visitation, and in not one lived there any one who made a profession of religion. What a shocking state of things that displayed! . . . He looked upon the present state of the

Education Question with dread. He had no faith in the ethical results, to say nothing of the spiritual results, of teaching religion without teaching religious dogma." Poor Canon Miller! He will soon not only have lost dogmatic teaching, but also religious teaching, out of the schools. Already the religious papers speak with dread of the "coming educational triumph of the Secular party."

Many charges are now being delivered by the Bishops to their clergy, and the most noticeable point in these is the cry they all contain—so far as I have seen them—of the prevalence of infidelity and the growing scepticism of the day. The Bishop of Ripon can only console himself with the hope that it is a sign of the coming chariot-wheels of the Son of Man. Those wheels have been for a long while on the way, but they never seem to get any nearer. Can the Son of Man have lost his way, or mistaken some other planet for our earth?

Mr. Moncure D. Conway writes me that a sharp attack has just been made upon him by Christian bigotry. Mr. Conway, being one of the wicked, has been growing and developing like a green bay tree; in fact, he has opened wide his path, and has "enlarged his borders like hell." In Camden Town, no longer content with a modest little iron chapel, his vaulting ambition has sprung upon the Athenæum, and, instead of overreaching himself, he has the impertinence to fill it on Sunday evenings. One Rev. R. Glover's righteous soul is vexed within itself, and he hath raised up his voice against the Conway abomination of desolation. Mr. Conway writes: "Our crime is, I, that we have enlarged our tent, and left the retirement of the little iron church where Orthodox steam-whistles justified their Sabbath violation, and even made it holy, by interrupting our performances; and, II., in going to the handsome Athenæum, under Glover's very nose, under shadow of his very steeple; and, III., in taking away some of his lambs, inasmuch that one Sunday evening, as I am informed, when the Athenæum was crowded, Glover had only four hearers." No wonder Glover explodes; what clerical soul could bear such trials unmoved? Job himself was better off; he had his three friends, Elihu, and his wife, to say nothing of God. A memorial was presented to the committee of the Athenæum to ask them to withhold the use of the hall; the committee decline to do anything of the kind. In the first place they don't want to, as the hall has been hitherto let to all lecturers without respect of creed; in the second place they couldn't if they wanted to, as the hall has been taken for two years by the crafty Conway. So mightily groweth Rationalism and prevails.

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essay, he says: "The central doctrine of Christianity is for me no longer true. Once I felt the full power of Christian faith; now I cleave to a faith diviner still. If I am in fatal error, and rush madly into the woes denounced against Anti-Christ, even so must it be; but come what may, let me never plunge into the deeper damnation of moral faithlessness, or make my heart the coffin of a murdered truth!" But what if, by his denial of Christ, that should be just what he is doing? The writers represented in this volume are D. A. Wasson, Samuel Longfellow, Samuel Johnson, John Weiss, W. J. Potter, F. E. Abbot, O. B. Frothingham, J. W. Chadwick, T. W. Higginson, and Ednah D. Cheney. The long and short of this sort of Free Religionism is simply the apotheosis of egotism. On the supposition that each man was his own creator, and created the rest of the world beside, it would be as reasonable as Christianity now is.—*Chicago Advance*.

FREEDOM AND FELLOWSHIP IN RELIGION.—A Collection of Essays and Addresses; Edited by a Committee of the Free Religious Association. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1875. pp. 424. 12 mo. \$1.50.

This volume of addresses and essays, by different writers, is a good exponent of the strength of the progressive movement called the Free Religious Association. Mr. Frothingham says in the introductory—"that religion still occupies the thoughts of men as a great human concern need not be argued. It may be said to occupy them as it never did in times when it claimed an interest on grounds of its own, wholly separate from other human affairs. The religious question now makes a part of every question. There is scarcely a concern of any moment in which religion does not hold a conspicuous rank. It is debated in the highest places; it is the business of empires; it occupies the thoughts of princes and administrators; politicians make account of it; statesmen and demagogues alike take bearings of it. It haunts the scientific mind; literature cannot leave it unrecognized, philosophy finds it mingling in all its problems. The social questions that vex our age address themselves to it less directly indeed, but no less earnestly, than of old. Those who talk of the declining interest in religion cannot be close observers of the times. The forms the interest takes may have changed, but the interest was never so vital before."

The subjects are, "The Nature of Religion"; "The Unity and Universality of Religious Ideas"; "Freedom in Religion"; "Religion and Science"; "Christianity and its Definitions"; "The Genius of Christianity and Free Religion"; "The Soul of Protestantism"; "Liberty and the Church in America"; "The Word Philanthropy"; "Religion as Social Force."

These questions are discussed boldly and thoroughly, and the writers seem to feel that the hour has struck when serious minds should take possession of their lawful domain; when that which stands the test of logic, should be professed by logicians.

The essays are exceedingly inspiring towards vigorous thought, hopefulness, and virtuous action.—*Belfast (Me.) Age*.

There are several ways of doing a thing. If a person is to be met with whom you differ you may proceed immediately to a squabble, or you may argue with him, or you may try to put yourself in his place, and judge him and his opinions, as far as may be, impartially. The different ways in which the book recently published by the Free Religious Association has been met by various "Evangelical" journals gives the text for a few remarks. The *Chicago Advance* recognizes its ability, but denounces its "exaggerated and really absurd notion of liberty." The *Independent* has nothing for it but a sneer, and dismisses it in a few short paragraphs, quoting in a withering manner Mr. Frothingham's statement that the essays "were written by different minds, in different moods, for different occasions," etc., as an indication of their lack of unity. (By the way, we think a little honest and fearless difference of opinion better than an enforced and only semi-honest unanimity.) The *Christian Union* of June 23 has a long and most admirable review of this book. It is not difficult to detect the hand that wrote it and the heart that inspired it. It was written by Mr. George S. Merriam, who, more than any other, has given to this paper breadth of thought, rare liberality and tolerance and sweetness of tone. He always seeks to conciliate rather than to put at arm's length,—to find a common ground rather than points of dissimilarity. He introduces his review with the expressed desire that he may be "thoroughly just" toward the book. And though he feels obliged to differ from many of the authors' conclusions, yet the whole spirit of his article is so fair and generous that even Mr. Abbot, whom Mr. Merriam feels obliged to criticize somewhat severely, must be gratified by the treatment of his essay. In short, we commend this review to all critics who suppose that the best way to notice a book from whose opinions they differ is to write a few scathing and sneering paragraphs which may show their own acuteness,—or which may not.—*New York Liberal Christian*, July 3, 1875.

FREEDOM AND FELLOWSHIP IN RELIGION.—A Collection of Essays and Addresses Edited by a Committee of the Free Religious Association. Roberts Brothers, Boston, have in the binders' hands, and will soon bring out, a handsome 16mo. of 424 pages, with the above title. Its introduction treats of the "Religious Outlook." Ten papers follow, representing various phases of modern religious thought and discussion, as seen by D. A. Wasson, Samuel Longfellow, Samuel Johnson, John Weiss, Wm. J. Potter, F. E. Abbot, O. B. Frothingham, John W. Chadwick, T. W. Higginson, and Ednah D. Cheney, whose essays make 320 pages. Then follow "Voices from the Free Platform," a compilation of shorter papers and extracts, wherein most of the same writers reappear, in company with Emerson, Alcott, Celia Burleigh, Rabbi Wise, Mrs. Howe, Dr. Bartol, Wm. C. Gannett, F. B. Sanborn, Horace Seaver, et al.,—a fine array of ability, character, and wisdom. These "voices" do not all say the same thing. Each speaks for one. It is not a book which its twenty authors would wish swallowed whole. And especially does Mr. Abbot, in his declaration of war against the ugly horror which his definition makes of Christianity, stand apart—a group by himself,—though he writes here, as ever, with vigor and clearness, and with admirable candor. Through all the sharp criticism of the volume there runs a healthy spirit of affirmation, a horror of shams, and a high strain of faith in God and man, and a hope for better things. The appearance of this book makes an acquaintance of ours quite willing to stand to his record as one who asked the Unitarian Conference to adopt a resolution, not of agreement or fellowship with the Free Religious Association, but recognizing the honorable service it has rendered by its contributions to religious thought. At any rate, it might be fair to read, then judge. Price \$2.—*Boston Christian Register*, May 22, 1875.

We would ask Bishop Gilbert Haven, and all other persons ignorant of the aims, spirit, and character of the Free Religious movement, to peruse the volume called *Freedom and Fellowship in Religion*, just published by Roberts Brothers, Boston. It is a collection of essays and addresses, edited by a committee of the Free Religious Association, and comprises "The Religious Outlook," by O. B. Frothingham; "The Nature of Religion," by D. A. Wasson; "The Unity and Universality of the Religious Ideas," by S. Longfellow; "Freedom in Religion," by S. Johnson; "Religion and Science," by J. Weiss; "Christianity and its Definitions," by W. J. Potter; "The Genius of Christianity and Free Religion," by F. E. Abbot; "The Soul of Protestantism," by O. B. Frothingham; "Liberty and the Church in America," by J. W. Chadwick; "The Word Philanthropy," by T. W. Higginson; "Religion as a Social Force," by E. D. Cheney; with "Voices from the Free Platform" by a multitude of honest and upright thinkers—the whole filled with a reverent and inquiring spirit that promises the best good of the human family. The volume may be termed a protest against dogmatism in matters of speculative thought. The writers are men of character and brains, and they are only suggestive of the wide strata of independent thinking which now veins the entire ecclesiastical world. It is a book for divinity students, as well as for those who have established their positions, and must do much to mould the thought and teachings of those who hereafter are to wield the influence of the pulpit. To all who desire to know the real purpose of the Free Religionists nothing can come more to their wish than this volume.—*Boston Commonwealth*.

FREE RELIGION.—The essays and addresses comprised in the volume entitled *Freedom and Fellowship*

in Religion, are contributed by members of the Free Religious Association by a committee of which it is edited. The introductory entitled "The Religious Outlook" gives the key-note to the views of the more advanced wing of the Association, and in the initials O. B. F. attached to it we recognize the signature of one of the ablest of its members. In this paper the theological epoch is pronounced near its close, and the disposition to discuss religion in its political relation and the establishment of the scientific method are cited as characteristics of the new era. The decline of the spiritual as well as the temporal power of the Romish Church is insisted on, and the weakness of Protestantism is also maintained, and these results are affirmed, rather too positively it seems to us, to be traced to the alleged breaking-up of the Christian system. The various essays in the volume, by such men as Wasson, Weiss, Longfellow, Abbot, Higginson, and Johnson, are marked by boldness of thought and cogency of reasoning, and however we may feel disposed to dissent from some of their conclusions, it is impossible not to recognize the sincerity and earnestness with which they are reached. There is something more than mere negation in these essays; they reveal a positive belief in God and humanity; and although Christians may feel constrained to dissent from their speculations, they will admit their elevation of sentiment and thought.—*Boston Globe*.

FREEDOM AND FELLOWSHIP IN RELIGION.—The title-page of this neatly gotten-up volume is a sign that therein may be found ideas, some fresh, some very old and very good, all radical in the best meaning of that word. The essays embraced within its covers are written by John Weiss, Samuel Longfellow, Ednah D. Cheney, T. W. Higginson, O. B. Frothingham, John W. Chadwick, David A. Wasson, Samuel Johnson, William J. Potter, and Francis E. Abbot. They cover a wide range, are pregnant with thought, and advance the latest views entertained by the Free Religionists. Whatever opinion may be held of the theories of these men and women none who know them will doubt their sincerity or their love of truth. The essays, too, are of interest as studies in style.

The purpose of the book is set forth in the following extract from the preface, written by the Rev. O. B. Frothingham:—

"This volume of essays printed under the auspices of the Free Religious Association, written by different minds, in different moods, for different occasions, working without the least reference to each other, and associated here by no other bond than that of a common feeling of intellectual need, a common persuasion of their personal responsibility to meet it as they can, and a united conviction that sooner or later it will be met triumphantly,—is thrown out as their contribution towards the religion of the future."—*Portland (Me.) Press*.

FREEDOM AND FELLOWSHIP IN RELIGION.—A Collection of Essays and Addresses, Edited by a Committee of the Free Religious Association, Boston, Roberts Brothers. The introduction to this volume, written by O. B. Frothingham, assumes that there is, in our time, a great decline of interest in theological dogmas, and an increase of interest in religion; and this volume, he says, which comes from different minds, acting at different times, and without concert, is given to the public "as their contribution to the religion of the future." We suspect, however, that he really means what he and they dream of as the religious dogmas of the future, for pure religion itself is always the same. The book contains essays or addresses by D. A. Wasson, Samuel Longfellow, Samuel Johnson, John Weiss, William J. Potter, Francis E. Abbot, O. B. Frothingham, John W. Chadwick, T. W. Higginson, and Ednah D. Cheney. To these is added a collection of extracts in the same strain, which is entitled: "Voices from the Free Platform." Those who desire to understand the drift of thought among the "Free Religionists," represented by the men we have named, should read this book carefully. There are differences among them, but their general tendency is the same. The papers here printed are finely written, and whatever is peculiar to the writers, in thought or feeling, gets full and free expression. For sale by Grout & Putnam.—*Worcester (Mass.) Spy*.

FREEDOM AND FELLOWSHIP IN RELIGION is the appropriate title of a Collection of Essays and Addresses by some of the most able and brilliant thinkers of the Free Religious school (if such an expression is allowable). The purpose of the volume is to give an answer to the often-asked question, "What is the meaning of the Free Religious Association?" The opening paper treats of the "Religious Outlook." Ten papers follow, representing various phases of modern religious thought and discussion, as seen by D. A. Wasson, Samuel Longfellow, Samuel Johnson, John Weiss, Wm. J. Potter, F. E. Abbot, O. B. Frothingham, John W. Chadwick, T. W. Higginson, and Ednah D. Cheney, whose essays make 320 pages. Then follow "Voices from the Free Platform," a compilation of shorter papers and extracts, wherein most of the same writers reappear in company with Emerson, Alcott, Celia Burleigh, Rabbi Wise, Mrs. Howe, Dr. Bartol, Wm. C. Gannett, F. B. Sanborn, Horace Seaver, and others,—an array of talent and character not often found in a single volume. Those persons, whatever their theological bias, who aim to keep themselves familiar with all phases of the religious thought of the day will find the volume invaluable, and every reader will find something to help and uplift him in the spirit of faith in God and man which runs through its pages.—*Vermont Phoenix, Brattleboro*.

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FREEDOM AND FELLOWSHIP IN RELIGION.—The character of this book is shadowed forth in its introduction. We are there told that "Christianity is on trial," and that science is its judge. That its great cardinal doctrines have been explained away, and that those who do not believe in it are "the most intelligent portion of the human race." Further on we have a picture of society not flattering to the community from which the writer comes. The Christian system is divorced, he tells us, from popular life. The influence of religion on the practical concerns of men is scarcely perceptible, etc. He should leave the Hub and move West. If society in Boston is as he describes it the West is better. His picture may be overdrawn, but possibly its outline is accurate. The book before us will help to fill up the canvas, for if any teaching tends to bring about chaos in society it is of that class which crops out here and there in this introduction. We are inclined to the thought that possibly the writer does not know what Christianity is. He looks for something unusual, grand, godlike, which shall "confront the world with a majesty undaunted by insult and a sweetness unruffled by neglect." With some such ideal he goes searching the world, while "pure religion and undefiled before God" is on every side of him. A little Bible-study would not hurt him.—*Cincinnati Herald and Presbyter*.

The Free Religious Association of Boston has edited a collection of essays and addresses just published by Roberts Brothers, entitled *Freedom and Fellowship in Religion*. Here are some of the names of the writers: D. A. Wasson, F. E. Abbot, O. B. Frothingham, Samuel Johnson, John Weiss, T. W. Higginson, and others of that following. It is heretical enough when one of them alone writes, but this combination of the ungodly makes a pack of heresy that would cause the hair of every orthodox reader to stand on end in horror and dismay. The writing is brilliant, the thoughts are vigorous and aggressive, the style is bold, but it is meat for strong men, and the babes of the word had best let it alone. As a counterpoise for so dangerous and so Pagan a book, the same publishers have printed *Through the Year*, a volume showing as devout and gentle a spirit of unaffected Christianity as we have seen for a long time. It is written by one whose aim is to help others to live purely and truly, according to the noblest standards of Christian faith, rather than to suggest doubts and difficulties of belief. It is marked by a most tolerant, liberal, and catholic spirit. Its author is Rev. H. N. Powers, rector of St. John's Church, Chicago. John P. Morton & Co. have both volumes for sale.—*Louisville (Ky.) Courier-Journal*, May 30, 1875.

FREEDOM AND FELLOWSHIP IN RELIGION.—Boston: Roberts Brothers. The Free Religious Association introduce discourses by Messrs. Wasson, Weiss, Longfellow, Frothingham, Higginson, Abbot, and others, with a statement that Christianity is itself on trial before Science; is discredited in dogma, thinned and hesitant, and repudiated by millions of the most intelligent. So far as the mere literary performance is concerned, few volumes of sermons from any sect of all against which it is directed show equal knowledge and ability. Science, philosophy, history, and the choicest *belles-lettres* erudition, are manifest in a remarkable degree. The zeal against declared error is diverted from personal rancor and that *odium theologicum* that has been the bane of religious argument always and everywhere. The conclusion is plainly held by all of its advocates to be an enlargement of human freedom and happiness that must lead to greater activity in practical life and enjoyment in social, and that is the summary of every good conceived by any creed. It would not perhaps be difficult to point to expressions by one of the contributors that oppose those of others; and yet the whole current is uniform, and there is a singular agreement in reason as in inference, considering the numbers who speak.—*Philadelphia North American*.

On the principle that it is always wise and prudent to study your enemy's weapons and plan of attack, we could advise many to look into *Freedom and Fellowship in Religion*, who would not feel attracted to such a book for other reasons. It is a collection of essays by leading Free Religionists, edited and published by a Committee of the Free Religious Association, and so sent out, it is reasonable to infer, as a virtual confession of the radical faith. If Evangelical men are not quite so much afraid of the radicals, perhaps, as they were a year or two ago, there is just as much occasion to know their ground, and it is right to know it from their own teaching. The ten or more essays thus collected certainly afford stimulating reading. If there is little reverence for revealed religion, there is a great deal for some of those ends toward which revealed religion is striving. Those who are well established in the truth may derive much benefit from hearing what Mr. Frothingham has to say about "The Soul of Protestantism"; or Mrs. Cheney on "Religion as Social Force"; or Mr. Wasson on "The Nature of Religion." Among the other contributors are Francis E. Abbot, T. W. Higginson, and John Weiss.—*Boston Congregationalist*.

FREEDOM AND FELLOWSHIP IN RELIGION is the title given to essays and addresses by members of the Free Religious Association, published by Messrs. Roberts Brothers. It contains an introductory essay on "The Religious Outlook," by Rev. O. B. Frothingham, who appears to have been its editor. Among the subjects discussed in it are "The Nature of Religion," by D. A. Wasson; "Freedom in Religion," by Samuel Johnson; "Religion and Science," by John Weiss; "The Soul of Protestantism," by O. B.

Frothingham; "Liberty and the Church in America," by John W. Chadwick; "The Word Philanthropy," by Thomas W. Higginson; and other papers are furnished by Samuel Longfellow, William J. Potter, Francis E. Abbot, and Ednah D. Cheney. At the close of the volume are briefer extracts entitled "Voices from the Free Religious Platform," to which, in addition to the above-named writers, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Celia Burleigh, Rabbi Isaac M. Wise, Julia Ward Howe, C. A. Bartol, Wm. C. Gannett, Lucy Stone, A. Bronson Alcott, F. B. Sanborn, Wendell Phillips, Lucretia Mott, and others contribute. The intellectual power of the book we suppose no one will be likely to question.—*Boston Gazette*.

People want to know, the Free Religious Association thinks, what its principles are, and so it has published in a book entitled *Freedom and Fellowship in Religion* (Roberts Brothers) ten essays and speeches by some of its members, of whom Messrs. Higginson, Frothingham, Abbot, and Potter may be mentioned. Mr. Frothingham furnishes the Preface, in which he declares the existence of fatal premonitions of failure in the Roman Catholic, the Protestant Episcopal, the Unitarian, and other churches, and predicts a glorious future for his own band. The essays, in subject and treatment, are tiresomely like their predecessors for the eight or ten years of the Association's existence. They will in their collected form unsettle the faith of a few, perhaps; will point a needed moral in an orthodox sermon now and then; and will show to the public what some members of the unbelievers' caravansary happen to believe today. Perhaps they cannot better be described than in President Frothingham's own words, which declare them to be "written by different minds, in different moods, for different occasions, working without the least reference to one another."—*New York Independent*, June 3, 1875.

FREEDOM AND FELLOWSHIP IN RELIGION.—A Collection of Essays and Addresses. Edited by a Committee of the Free Religious Association, Boston. Roberts Brothers. 1875. \$1.50. pp. 424.—The book contains essays by D. A. Wasson, Samuel Longfellow, John Weiss, T. W. Higginson, and others, on the topics which interest people who are so "advanced" as to have gotten out of sight of the rest of us. O. B. Frothingham writes an introduction which very well sets forth the snarl he has gotten his own thinking into, and demonstrates the lofty qualities of his egotism. For instance: "The chaotic state of opinion [in O. B. F.] on religious questions is simply the result of the general breaking up of the Christian system." It is wonderful how complacently two or three bright men, with a thousand or so of fools for followers, can assume that the tortures of their restless personal vanity are the sighs of the human race. Several of these essays assume that Christianity is not breaking up, and the one by Mr. Higginson has nothing in the world to do with the title of the book. It is simply a scholarly sketch of the history of the word *philanthropy*.—*New York Methodist*.

FREEDOM AND FELLOWSHIP IN RELIGION.—This volume contains ten essays or addresses by members of the Free Religious Association, with an introductory chapter upon "The Religious Outlook," and "Voices from the Free Platform." The writers are Messrs. Frothingham, Wasson, Potter, Weiss, Abbot, Longfellow, Johnson, Chadwick, Higginson, and Mrs. Cheney. They clearly indicate the meaning of the Free Religious Association, which invites the freest inquiry and the largest discussion of religious problems. The topics discussed are: "The Nature of Religion"; "Freedom in Religion"; "Religion and Science"; "Christianity and its Definitions"; "The Genius of Christianity and Free Religion"; and upon these themes the writers are outspoken, and leave small doubt as to their opinions. They all look for the disappearance of Christianity, and the prevalence of a higher faith; Free Religion, a higher faith, says Mr. Abbot, "which has no history, save the history of the human spirit, striving to work out its destiny in freedom. It has no list of doctrines to teach, no church to extend, no rites to perform, no Bible to expound, no Christ to obey."—*New Bedford Mercury*.

A Committee of the Free Religious Association has collected a volume of essays and addresses by leading rationalists, which are published by Roberts Brothers, of Boston, with the title *Freedom and Fellowship in Religion*. Among the authors of the papers appear D. A. Wasson, John Weiss, F. E. Abbot, O. B. Frothingham, John W. Chadwick, T. W. Higginson, and Ednah Dean Cheney. The articles consist either in bitter assaults on the various forms of Christian belief, or glorifications of the vague religion of the good, the beautiful, and the true, which the writers propose to substitute for Christianity. It is conceivable that Christianity may give place to general unbelief, but it is not conceivable that any considerable part of humanity will ever find rest or satisfaction in the moonshine of rationalistic religion. The history of the world shows no precedent of such a thing in all the mutations of human opinion which it describes. There is some excellent rhetorizing in these addresses, and the propositions advanced elude criticism by their vagueness. Whitney & Adams have the book.—*Springfield (Mass.) Daily Union*, May 20, 1875.

FREEDOM AND FELLOWSHIP IN RELIGION.—This is the title of a collection of essays and addresses, printed under the auspices of the Free Religious Association, and which best introduces itself to the reader as "written by different minds, in different moods, for different occasions, working without the least reference to one another, and associated here

by no other bond than that of a common feeling of intellectual need, a common persuasion of their personal responsibility to meet it as they can and a united conviction that sooner or later it will be met adequately and triumphantly,—and thrown out as their contribution to the religion of the future."

To those who are fond of, or sympathize with, the religious opinions or speculations of Emerson, Frothingham, Higginson, Abbot, and other well-known radicals; the volume will be found congenial and, we doubt not, pleasant reading, giving as it does their views on the important subjects which they have been discussing on the platform and through the press. Published by Roberts Brothers, Boston, and for sale in Dover by J. M. Gatehouse.—*Dover (N. H.) Enquirer*.

FREEDOM AND FELLOWSHIP IN RELIGION.—This volume of essays, written by different minds in different moods, for different occasions, working without the least reference to one another, and associated here by no other bond than that of a common feeling of intellectual need, is intended by its publishers to lay the foundation of a religion inclusive of all special faiths, but more intellectual, more uplifting and commanding than any one. The present chaotic state of opinion on religious questions—we are told—is simply the result of the general breaking-up of the Christian system. Intelligence being thrown upon its own resources to find a path over heaps of ruin looks in every direction for an issue out from this general chaos. Spiritualism, materialism, atheism, positivism, sentimentalism of every mode, fanaticism of every phase, mark the efforts that are making to clear the piles of dogma, tradition, and ignorance that cumber the ground on which the "Free Religious Association" proposes to build the Church of the Future.—*Chicago Inter-Ocean*.

FREEDOM AND FELLOWSHIP IN RELIGION.—The introduction to the half score of papers composing this volume is written by the well-known O. B. Frothingham, and the key-note he strikes is that Christianity as a special form of the religious faith of mankind has outlived its best days,—that the time has come to lay the foundations of the religion universal, all-embracing and rational, of the future. Carrying out this thought, David A. Wasson contributes an essay on "The Nature of Religion"; Samuel Longfellow, brother of the poet, writes of "The Unity and Universality of the Religious Ideas"; Samuel Johnson writes of "Freedom of Religion"; John Weiss of "Religion and Science"; and other papers follow by William J. Potter, Francis E. Abbot, O. B. Frothingham, John W. Chadwick, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and Ednah D. Cheney. The volume as a whole admirably, and in a most attractive form, represents the latest developments of Free Religious thought among the advanced Unitarians of Boston.—*Buffalo Courier*.

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The *Chicago Advance*, while admitting that the essays included under the title of *Freedom and Fellowship in Religion*, edited by the Free Religious Association, are "all well written," and have "much in them to be admired," giving "utterance and noble emphasis to certain truths which we all admit," yet comes to the conclusion that "they possess a common, all-pervading fault,—an unnatural, unreasonable, exaggerated and really absurd notion of liberty." It further adds this somewhat harsh and we think uncalled for criticism: "The long and short of this sort of Free Religionism is simply the apotheosis of Egotism." The *Advance* writer is unfortunately unable to put himself in the place of any of these Radical essayists. We should say they were no more egotistical than the majority of Evangelical Christians who fancy that there has been for them some special and miraculous interposition, and that they, out of a whole world of sinners, have been deemed worthy to be saved.—*New York Liberal Christian*, June 26, 1875.

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FREEDOM AND FELLOWSHIP is the title of a book containing a collection of essays by several well-known leaders of what is known as the "Free Religious Movement," and published under the auspices of the Free Religious Association. It is scarcely necessary in this community to name the gentlemen who furnish these essays. We have a suspicion, but we are not certain, that some of them have been delivered here on Sunday afternoons as lectures. At all events, the culture and literary ability of the prominent apostles of Free Religion are conceded, and a volume of them is sure of readers beyond the circle of those who sympathize with their views as to the constitution of the Church.—*Boston Daily Advertiser*, May 22, 1875.

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FREEDOM AND FELLOWSHIP IN RELIGION.—Published by Roberts Brothers, Boston. This is a collection of essays and addresses on religious topics, edited by a committee of the Free Religious Association of Boston. It contains articles by Wasson, Samuel Johnson, Samuel Longfellow, John Weiss, and others equally well known as Free Religionists.—*St. Louis Globe and Democrat*.

FREEDOM AND FELLOWSHIP is the title of a volume of essays just published by Roberts Brothers, in the interest of the Free Religious Association. It has an introductory essay by O. B. Frothingham, setting forth the purposes of that body. Other contributors are Potter, Weiss, Higginson, Abbot, Gannett, and Mrs. Cheney.—*Liberal Worker, Sharon (Wis.)*, June 2, 1875.

FREEDOM AND FELLOWSHIP is the title of a collection of articles by prominent religious radicals, such as John Weiss, T. W. Higginson, Samuel Longfellow, and Mrs. E. D. Cheney. The leading essay is by O. B. Frothingham. Roberts Brothers publish it.—*New York Golden Age*, May 8, 1875.

In a *Californian Eden*, by Joaquin Miller, and *Freedom and Fellowship*, by T. W. Higginson, are in the press of Roberts Brothers.—*New York Nation*, May 20, 1875.

SABBA'-DAY HOUSES IN 1776.—An important and interesting adjunct of the meeting-house, in some parts of the country, was the "Sabba'-day house." Comfort, being carefully shut out of the meeting-house itself, was only thus rudely provided for in such subordinate structures. The Sabba'-day house was a family affair, generally comprising but a single apartment, perhaps fifteen feet square, with windows and a fire-place. It was very plainly and sparsely furnished. Chairs for the old people and benches for the children stood round the walls, and a table in the centre might hold the Bible and a few religious books and pamphlets; while at one side shelves contained dishes for cooking and eating. Sometimes the Sabba'-day house was mounted above a shed within which the horse could be sheltered. A group of such cabins standing about the meeting-house added not a little to the picturesqueness of the spot, and their use conducted greatly to the convenience and comfort of Sabbath worship, especially in winter. The family able to keep a Sabba'-day house drove directly thither on Sabbath mornings, warmed themselves up by a hot fire without, and quite likely by a hot drink within; and here spent the intermission, with further wholesome regard for the wants of the inner man. The better class of these Sabba'-day houses were whitewashed, some of them were double, and to the truth of history it must be said that between Sabbaths they occasionally furnished the wild young men of the parish with secure haunts for unseemly carousals.—*Edward Abbott's "Revolutionary Times"*.

FUNERALS IN 1776.—Funerals touched weddings at the point of feasting, and were often very expensive, showy, and pompous occasions. In some parts of the country, especially among the Dutch of Long Island and New York, it was the custom for a young man to lay by his earnings after coming of age, until a sufficient sum had accumulated to provide for him a "respectable" funeral when he should come to die. Oftentimes the young burgher would reserve a half of the portion of wine which he had liberally laid in for his marriage, to be used at the funeral of himself or his wife. Special invitations were sent out for funerals as for parties. The clergymen, pall-bearers, and physicians attending, were provided with scarfs and gloves, and sometimes each with a mourning ring; while the feast which followed the interment at the house of the relatives of the deceased, elaborate with cold roast meats, wines, liquors, and pipes, was not unfrequently an occasion of coarse excesses, sometimes descending into hilarious and noisy demonstrations. A "respectable" funeral of this description might cost perhaps a thousand dollars; while the funeral of the first wife of Hon. Stephen Van Rensselaer is said to have cost not less than twenty thousand dollars.—*Edward Abbott's "Revolutionary Times"*.

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March 1, 1876. }

To the Liberal Leagues and the Liberal Public of the United States:—

The General Centennial Committee, appointed at a convention held in this city last September for the purpose of making all necessary arrangements for a General Centennial Congress of Liberals next summer, have decided to call said Congress to convene at Philadelphia, Saturday, July 1, 1876,—further particulars to be hereafter announced.

Each organized Liberal League will be entitled to send five delegates as special representatives—three in addition to its President and Secretary. But all individual Liberals who sympathize with the general objects and aims of the Liberal Leagues will be equally entitled and welcomed to seats and votes in the Congress.

REPORT PROMPTLY!

In order to lessen as much as possible the expenses of the delegates, each League is requested to elect them as soon as possible, and to report their names to the undersigned through its Secretary. All Liberals, delegates, or individuals who desire and intend to participate in the Convention are requested also to forward personally and immediately their names and full post-office addresses to the undersigned, that he may be enabled to make the most favorable terms possible for their accommodation. If notified early, he hopes to secure for them a considerable reduction in railroad fares, and to provide boarding-places at perhaps half the usual rates of the season.

Donations Solicited!

The Centennial Committee on Finance having through their Chairman transferred their duties to the General Centennial Committee, the undersigned has been appointed to attend to the financial department, and hereby appeals to the Liberals of the country for voluntary contributions to the amount of One Thousand Dollars. This amount will be needed to make the Congress a complete success, though the utmost possible will be done with whatever is contributed. The officers of the union of Liberal German societies propose to raise the same amount for their convention, and have already raised \$600 of it. The Young Men's Christian Association here have already spent this year nearly \$100,000 in preparation for the Centennial, in the interest of Orthodox superstition; it would be a pity if all the friends of "Liberty and Light" could not do a hundredth part as much for the cause of national development and free humanity! The money will all be wanted (and much more could be advantageously expended) in providing suitable halls and head-quarters, advertising the Congress liberally in advance in the chief dailies of the country, defraying the necessary expenses of desired and invited speakers, paying verbatim reporters, publishing a complete pamphlet report of the proceedings, etc., etc. What is done must be done speedily, since the arrangements should be completed, as far as practicable, by the first of May.

All sums donated will be duly acknowledged in THE INDEX, and a full report of all expenditures will be sent for publication in the same paper. Remittances should be sent to the undersigned, 605 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. Will not all friends of the movement respond heartily and at once?

DAMON Y. KILGORE,

Acting Treasurer.

I believe that Mr. Kilgore is a gentleman of unimpeachable personal integrity, and that all money remitted to him as above will be faithfully and economically devoted to the legitimate uses of the Congress.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT,

Chairman of the General Centennial Committee.

General Centennial Committee:

FRANCIS E. ABBOT,
DAMON Y. KILGORE,
ALEXANDER LOOS,
ISAAC REEN,
BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD,
E. S. WILLIAMS,

with power to increase their number to fifteen. The completion and success of the arrangements must depend on the liberality of the friends of the movement, who are respectfully and earnestly solicited to contribute the necessary funds.

The Index.

Three Dollars a Year.

LIBERTY AND LIGHT.

Single Copies Seven Cents.

VOLUME 7.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, JUNE 8, 1876.

WHOLE No. 337.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

Therefore, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF —.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in —, and thereby to effect the total separation of Church and State in fact as well as in theory.

Also to send delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League, when organized, and to cooperate heartily with all the liberals of the country in furtherance of the above-named object.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

ion. No person shall ever in any State be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious practices shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

THE Old Catholics cannot agree on the question of the celibacy of the priesthood.

HENRY A. SOLOMON, of Brooklyn, was recently arrested for embezzling funds in the office of the Registrar of Appeals. The *Tribune* says: "He has always borne a good reputation, was looked upon as an exemplary and pious young man, and was one of the ushers and ticket-takers at Moody and Sankey's services in the Brooklyn Rink."

ONE SUBSCRIBER thus wrote lately to another: "I am glad to see THE INDEX speaking so plainly of the farce in Stewart's case. Wise as he was in piling up wealth, how foolish in disposing of it! . . . In regard to the Centennial Fair, how will the directors justify themselves in permitting the sale of intoxicating drinks, while they are so pious regarding the Sabbath?"

FRANCE is now brought face to face with the "clerical question." "The question of Church and State," says the Parisian correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, "is, as we all know, opened, and must be in some measure solved within the next few months." It has been precipitated by the proposal to "inquire" into the election of M. de Mun, the "Champion of the Syllabus."

THE MANCHESTER, N. H., *Daily Union* of April 10 says editorially: "We do not regard the common English Bible as in any sense a 'sectarian' book, nor the reading of it in schools as 'sectarian' religious instruction." That is precisely the construction which will be put on Mr. Blaine's school amendment to the Constitution, if it should be passed. Look out for that slippery little serpent of a word! Its bite is death to a common understanding on this subject.

THE "ORDINANCE OF 1787" is now asserted to contain a clause which justifies Bible-reading in the public schools: "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." Mr. C. C. Bonney, in the *Chicago Tribune*, argues that "religion" must bear its common-law meaning, and therefore fairly includes the Bible as the basis of religious knowledge. Pretexts for perpetuating an injustice are never wanting.

THE BOSTON *Journal* says: "The religious papers frequently indulge in flings at each other, which amusement secular papers are obliged to avoid lest it should be imputed to the natural propensity of unregenerate man. One of our dignified religious papers this week accuses another of having 'strained at a gnat,' and then makes an admission justifying the assertion we have just made. It says that 'charity is not the prevailing sin of even modern religious newspapers, and is not becoming so prevalent as to attract special attention.'"

WE FIND this amusing suggestion quoted in the *New York Sun*: "Warren Chase proposes that 'the 60,000 clergymen of the United States meet in Philadelphia this Centennial year, and decide by vote, as the old councils did, just what is the word of God, what it means, and which doctrine is true and which false; full reports of the debates and votes to be published. Also, that until these questions are settled,

the people build no more churches, employ no more preachers, and pay no more pew rent, as they may be sustaining error by doing so, and it ought to be known what the truth is."

WHAT A WORLD of meaning there is in such an incident as this, and how hard it is already to feel the full force of it, now that the monstrous system of slavery has been a dozen years in its grave! "At the unveiling of the Lincoln Statue in Washington, on the 14th of April, there stood on the platform, by the side of General Logan, and near the President of the United States, Louis Clarke, alias 'George Harris,' who saw the negro Uncle Tom whipped to death by Tom Canaday, of Garrett County, Kentucky. Immediately afterward he crossed the Ohio on the ice, and gave the particulars to Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, upon which she wrote the story of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*."

AT THE General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Baltimore, Hon. Wm. Lawrence, of Ohio, said on May 5: "Under the peace policy wars have ceased and the condition of the Indians greatly improved; but it is proposed by the dominant party in the House of Representatives to abandon this policy and give the Christianization and civilization of the Indians to army lieutenants. The dominant party in Congress was able to carry the bill through, and cared very little for Christianity or anything else. The bill will fail in the Senate, because it has some regard for Christianity. The President, who, though not a Methodist, has a Methodist wife, had inaugurated the peace policy." The temptation to introduce Christianity into politics would be absolutely irresistible, if all Orthodox Protestants were combined in one organization, and the above straw is chiefly of consequence in showing the drift of the current.

THE FUNERAL of Baron de Palm in New York, conducted by the Theosophical Society, was rather a grotesque occasion, to judge from the newspaper reports. It seemed to be a strange jumble of cabalism, spiritualism, and Egyptian symbolism, and one could imagine a more tasteful ritual, if ritual there must be. But in the presence of death all elaborate display is a painful mockery. A quiet gathering of friends to take a tender farewell of the dead and to evince a delicate sympathy for the bereaved, with a simple hymn and a few sentences read from some immortal scripture that speaks from the heart of humanity to the heart of lonely sorrow, is better than any idle parade. Ceremonies are a mere substitute for feeling, not an expression of it; and there is a ghastly hollowness in a funeral without feeling. Birth, marriage, death—these are the natural sacraments of human life, full of beauty tempered with awe; how can their inherent sanctity be deepened by priestly forms?

MR. CONWAY thus points out one of the cheerful signs of the future: "The Unitarian denomination in this country has been completely revolutionized, and that by the shade of the great Bostonian, Theodore Parker. The Council of the denomination voted, by a solid majority, that Parker's works should be published along with those of Channing and others out of the funds of the Association. Then followed a tremendous storm. A meeting was called to reverse the action of the Council, and the result of a very crowded meeting was to reveal the astounding fact that a large majority of the Unitarian preachers of this country are disbelievers in supernaturalism. Theodore Parker, dying at Florence, whispered that there were two Parkers—'One is here dying in Italy, the other I have planted in Boston. He will stay there, and finish my work.' The prophecy is but half fulfilled. Parker has not stayed in Boston, but his soul has been marching on here in London with a vigor which his warmest friends could hardly have prophesied."

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The Catholic Peril in America.

REPUBLISHED FROM THE "LONDON FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW,"
OF MARCH, 1876.*

BY FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT.

When Hobbes described the Papacy as "the ghost of the old Roman Empire sitting crowned upon the grave thereof," he fell short of the truth. The principle of the old Roman Empire was the political unity of mankind represented by a single man in whom vested the absolute temporal power and imperial dignity of the State; and this principle was only an adumbration of the principle of the Papacy, which is the political and religious unity of mankind represented by a single man in whom vests the absolute temporal and spiritual sovereignty of God himself. The ancient Imperialism extinguished the nationalities of the *orbis terrarum* in the supreme majesty and authority of one universal State, of which the Emperor was the visible incarnation; but it was powerless to effect a corresponding extinction of the religions of these nationalities, inasmuch as the highest religious idea of Rome was expressed in the Pantheon, where all these religions met on an avowed equality.

Polytheism had no religious unity with which to supplement and complete the political unity of the Empire; yet, in proportion as the latter was perfected, in the same proportion the consciousness of the absence of the former was intensified. The existence of this consciousness manifested itself in the tendency to apotheosize the Emperors; but the *divus imperator* was too obvious a travesty of the Divine Authority, and the attempt proved abortive.

WHY CHRISTIANITY CONQUERED PAGANISM.

I am surprised that Gibbon, with all his penetration, should have failed to discern the presence of this blind groping after a religious unity capable of putting a soul, as it were, into the enormous but purely mechanical political union effected by the Roman Empire, or to enumerate this dumb craving of the Pagan heart as one of the most powerful causes of the triumph of Christianity. To the genius of Paul, who stripped the Jewish Messiahship of its narrow provincialism, converted it into a cosmopolitan idea by including the Gentiles under the gospel's call, and presented the Christ as the *spiritual Emperor invested by God with the imperial purple of Heaven*, the "Church Catholic" owes its birth. When thus universalized, the victory of Christianity over the Roman Empire was a foregone conclusion; it vanquished Paganism because in reality it expressed, far better than Paganism, the secret aspiration of the Pagan

*The introductory portion as far as the sub-heading, "ROME IN AMERICA," and also a passage bracketed under the sub-heading, "THE ELEMENTS OF CATHOLIC POWER," were omitted in this article as published by the *Fortnightly Review*, and are here supplied from the manuscript sheets kindly returned by the editor.

soul for a universal Imperialism which should be religious as well as political,—because, in short, it was more Roman than Rome itself. The religions of the conquered peoples followed in the wake of their perished nationalities; and Christianity "mounted the throne of the Cæsars" because it was indispensable to the evolution of Roman Imperialism itself.

Instead of being the "ghost" of the Roman Empire, the Roman Catholic Church is rather a living transformation of it, stripped indeed of the power to administer the world's temporalities directly, yet arrogating the right to administer them by fusing in one the temporal and spiritual sovereignties, and asserting her own absolute supremacy in the sphere of "faith and morals,"—which, as Mr. Gladstone has so eloquently shown, is practically identical with the entire sphere of human life. Founding her throne on the absolute, universal, and imperial authority of the Christ, originally conferred by God and delegated to the Pope as the "*Petrus Filius Dei*," the Church abates not a jot of the claim to unlimited political dominion made by ancient Rome in the Emperor's person, but superadds to this the claim to unlimited spiritual dominion whose origin is lost in the antiquity of the Hebrew theocracy. The essential idea of the old Roman Empire—the political unity of mankind on the basis of administrative absolutism—not only survives to-day in the Roman Catholic Church, but is exalted and expanded into the idea of a religious unity of mankind which is to consist in their universal submission in all things, whether pertaining to their political, social, or individual life, to the autocratic personal government of the Pope. This is the Papal Imperialism, the perpetuation, intensification, and expansion of the ancient Roman Imperialism, which now confronts all the nationalities of the globe with the Vatican Decrees of 1870, and haughtily challenges the supreme allegiance of every human soul. It is the principle of personal authority affirmed in its most absolute form, carried out to its remotest logical consequences, and (so far from being a mere harmless abstraction) set forth in determined opposition to the progress of civilization in the concrete shape of the most powerful hierarchy of the world. And this Papal Imperialism wields weapons against which no political or military defences are adequate.

THE NEW PAPAL IMPERIALISM.

When, at the advent of Victor Emanuel, the temporal power of the Papacy was extinguished in the establishment of the Italian nationality, it quitted the petty prison of the Papal States only to assume, like the genie set free from the fisherman's casket, a new and more formidable shape. As a small territorial prince, the Pope could not escape from constraint, humiliation, and supervision; he was subject to the restrictions of international law; he stood on a level with other sovereigns, though one of the feeblest of them all, and could not without a certain absurdity advance his unique pretensions to supremacy over them. The limits of his territory constituted a practical limit to his temporal power; and his claim of temporal power seemed visionary even to faithful Catholics across these narrow boundaries. In fact, the territorial insignificance of the Papal dominions was in some respects a serious disadvantage to the Pope's pretensions as a temporal sovereign, by circumscribing the pious imagination on which his empire really rests; whereas the abolition of his local government over an inconsiderable district sets this imagination free to idealize his temporal sovereignty as consisting rather in a Divinely ordained supremacy above all sovereigns than in the absolute mastery of a few square miles. If he is no longer a local prince at home, he is also no longer a foreign prince anywhere, but in each country appears now to his followers as the supreme authority of the land. This changed aspect of the Papal claims is fraught with consequences of great peril to the internal peace of every nation and to the permanence of its domestic institutions. So long as the Pope was habitually imagined by Catholics as a temporal sovereign in Italy alone, and as merely a spiritual sovereign in their own native country, his power to excite civil commotion was comparatively restricted; but when, as must result from the Vatican Decrees and the cessation of the Pope's Italian rule, he comes to be habitually imagined by Catholics as the supreme temporal sovereign of their own country, it is difficult to set limits to his power for mischief. The peace of the land must depend on the moderation of the priesthood in meddling with its political affairs, and their forbearance to instigate opposition to the civil power. In proportion to their control over the consciences of their flocks, must be their ability to array the Catholic population against the government; and it is anything but alarmism to consider the safeguards of public tranquillity under such circumstances as feeble indeed.

Who can wonder that, in the presence of pretensions so limitless as those of the revived Papal Imperialism, so menacing to individual and national independence, yet so utterly beyond the reach of effective resistance, the governments of the civilized world are involved in great perplexity? They are confronted with claims to allegiance superior to their own both in nature and in degree; they cannot exercise their own natural sovereignty without coming at once into collision with the Church,—an *impertium in imperio*, as it is often called, but an *impertium* of an order so totally unlike its own as to be inaccessible and invulnerable. Bishop Bourget, for instance, can be compelled to permit the interment of Joseph Guibord in a particular lot of ground in a "consecrated" cemetery; but all the power of the United Kingdom cannot prevent him from cursing the spot and thereby defeating absolutely the mandate of the Privy Council. If Guibord is rightfully entitled to interment in "consecrated" ground, in no possible manner can the Queen's government protect this right; it is utterly baffled and set at naught by an unarmed priest,

behind whom looms up the throne of the Vicar of the Son of God.

THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER.

In the last analysis, the Catholic question is reduced to this: shall the Pope govern all mankind absolutely in the interest of the Church, or shall mankind govern themselves in their own interest under the name of the State? It is nothing but a struggle for power,—power on the one hand to enslave, and power on the other hand to be free. It is the old, the eternal battle for human liberty; and the doubt, the danger, the enormous difficulty of the case all proceed from the fact that the root of the slavery against which the world contends lies deep out of sight in the recesses of the human mind. Its victims, protesting that the Church alone has the truth, and that the truth alone "makes free," are unconscious of their slavery; and unconscious slavery is the most dangerous and the most melancholy, because the most clearly irremediable, of all. The State, like Macbeth, finds no physician that can "minister to a mind diseased." Its foe is really ignorance and superstition, generalised by priestly astuteness; its savior, and its only possible savior, is science utilized in universal education. In the final outcome, the struggle for power must terminate in favor of the contestant which has the most of truth, whether it be the Church with its theology or the State with its science; but in proportion to the magnitude of the contest must be the delay of the ultimate victory. The present battle is between the civil or secular State, as a purely human institution organized by purely human means for purely human ends, and the theocratical Papal Imperialism, as a supernatural or divine institution founded for God's glory and the glory of such as comply with its own terms of salvation. Each claims the supreme allegiance of the citizen, as against the other; and all apparent balancing or compromise of these conflicting claims is the stultification of one or both.

THE CHURCH AND THE MODERN STATE.

It has been urged that this rivalry between the Catholic Church and the modern State is entirely a theoretical one, which can never produce any actual collision or disturbance in the transaction of affairs; that the Roman Papacy, being disestablished even in Italy as a temporal power, can never again enter into actual antagonism with any State, since the State is everywhere a temporal power alone; that the spheres of the temporal and spiritual powers are so utterly dissimilar, that the abstract claim of the Pope to supreme allegiance might be allowed without any detriment to the practical interests of mankind. This view of the case is singularly superficial. The Papacy, it is true, has ceased to be one of the great family of temporal sovereignties; but this fact, as I have shown, adds to its power for evil. It is no longer on the same level with the rest, and now, in a new and formidable manner, exalts itself as superior to them all. The obligations of international law have ceased to exist for it; in fact, the Great Powers can no longer hold it to account in any way. The Vatican Decrees have put the Pope above all the nations of the earth, and invested him with the right to constitute and ordain what international law he pleases. The extinction of the Pope's temporal sovereignty in his own petty domains has therefore really proved his election to an imperial throne above all temporal sovereignties, and permitted him in every country to speak with imperial authority on its domestic concerns. Nor is this by any means a merely abstract danger. The Jesuits know what they are about. When they have once thoroughly indoctrinated the people of a country with the belief that their supreme allegiance is due to the Pope, not to the State, the argument will be very short in reaching the conclusion that the State must in all its action obey the Pope,—that, if it disobey him, it assumes the position of a rebel against lawful authority. This is precisely the relative position in which the Roman Papacy desires everywhere to place the State; for it is one which would legitimate unlimited interference in the internal administration of the latter, secure complete control of the legislature, and practically abolish all civil and political independence. In no other way than this could the dream of an ecclesiastical absolutism, shaping all things to its own ends, be possibly accomplished under modern conditions. Not by any form of foreign conquest, but solely by this slow and silent substitution in men's hearts of supreme allegiance to the Pope for supreme allegiance to the nation, does Rome expect to establish her universal empire. Her point once gained, all legislation will be conformed to the requirements of Church interests; no Catholic legislator will ever venture to dispute the dictation of his ecclesiastical superiors, until he is prepared to abandon Catholicism. What such legislation brings, let history tell.

"ALARMISM."

Such is the nature of the peril to which modern civilization is everywhere exposed by the profound strategy and daring ambition of the Papacy. Nothing could be more unwise than to underrate it. The flippant cry of "alarmism" does little credit to the intelligence of those who indulge in it. The optimists who apprehend no real danger from the machinations of the Papal hierarchy, and who account for all warnings on the subject by private fears, will do more justice to the views of those who see in Vaticanism the chief reactionary influence of modern politics, if they dismiss the notion that the root of the latter opinion is an excess of timidity, a deficiency of cool-headedness, or an unrestrained inclination to "sensationalism." The question is one of wide and patient observation, of deliberate reflection, of careful generalization from the teachings of history, of sagacious inference from signs of the times, of imaginative power to take position at the centre of

an alien system of thought, and to study its practical tendencies in the light of the logical concatenation of its ideas. One would be more deeply impressed with the wisdom of the rose-colored philosophy, if those who held it were not so apt to betray their own incompetence as observers by imputing to fear what is due to the study of cause and effect, to the noting of important but overlooked facts, and to a general conviction that power is never permitted to slip from the grasp of any organization without a desperate effort to retain and increase it. This latter principle throws no little light on the recent history of the Roman Catholic Church, which fully comprehends the inevitable effect of the diffusion of knowledge on its own corporate destinies, and has been fairly brought to bay by the astonishing progress of modern science. Rome must reconquer the world or vanish from its surface: nobody knows that better than she. Her case is one for heroic treatment, and she submits to it in the form of Vaticanism. But none the less full of peril to the as yet partially grown liberties of mankind is her tremendous effort to quench with their blood the ring of fire by which she finds that they have surrounded her. It is well to remember that the best preparation for meeting danger undauntedly at last is to comprehend it thoroughly at first, to measure its full dimensions, and to familiarize the mind with what brings to the over-sanguine the surprise, panic, and demoralization of a sudden emergency. The civilized world would have little to fear from Rome, were it not for its own self-complacency, preoccupation, and insouciance. But while it sleeps, like Gulliver, in imagined security, a multitude of petty enemies are attempting to bind it hand and foot to the earth with innumerable tiny cords. So long as ignorance and superstition are better organized, more active, and (must it be added?) more unselfishly devoted to their own ends than are knowledge and enlightenment to their nobler ends, the danger of at least temporary success will remain great. Events like the revocation of the Edict of Nantes are full of instruction still.

ROME IN ENGLAND.

The peril to the internal harmony of States which has thus far been dwelt upon, as resulting from the claim of the Pope to the supreme allegiance of the citizen, is a general one, affecting all countries which contain a mixed Catholic and non-Catholic population; for this claim binds all Catholic consciences to obey the bishops and priests, as the sole authorized interpreters of the Pope's will to the laity, in all their political action. Even in England, the *Pall Mall Budget* groans out the confession of national failure in dealing with Rome in such terms as these:—

"It might have been reasonably supposed that the grant of absolute equality would have turned the Roman Catholics into citizens of the State like any others, and that the special creed of Ireland would no more affect the interests and policy of the empire than the special creed of Scotland. But they [Englishmen] find that a religion with world-wide affinities is not as the faith of a limited community, and that they have given an enormous advantage to a system of aggressive spiritual legislation of which the basis is the denial, and the object the suppression, of most things which Englishmen believe and prize. We may be quite alive to the coarseness of the measures by which German statesmen endeavor to cope with this difficulty; but there is not one Englishman in ten who now thinks that we have successfully or finally dealt with it by leaving it to solve itself."

ROME IN AMERICA.

How the renewed aggressiveness of the Papal Imperialism is to affect the future of the United States, is a question of vital concern to their citizens; and it is of this country that I am to speak. Hitherto the clergy of the Catholic Church have foreborne to raise the question of jurisdiction in any open manner here; they are wisely biding their time, being content for the present with the fact of rapid and enormous growth in numbers, wealth, and power. This masterly inactivity has deceived, and still deceives, great multitudes of educated Americans, who feel the natural aversion which culture always tends to create against "agitation" of all sorts, and who flatter themselves, like the cheerful antediluvians said to have been warned by Noah of the coming Deluge, that "there is not going to be much of a shower." They rely too much on the general influences of civilization and political freedom as antidotes for Catholic fanaticism; they credulously or indolently accept the smooth professions of American Catholic orators, who are very glib in the use of popular catchwords, but who are easily understood by any one competent to rate at its actual value the "freedom," "education," and so forth, offered by the Roman Church.

STATISTICS.

It is my duty to give such statistical information respecting the Catholic Church in the United States as I have been able to collect. It is no easy matter to obtain full and trustworthy religious statistics of any kind; there are too many motives for exaggeration or understatement in sectarian reports, and the United States census reports are exceedingly meagre. Nevertheless, the following facts, taken from the census reports of 1850, 1860, and 1870, are as trustworthy as they are important.

First may be considered the growth in wealth of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, as compared with that of the whole country, and of the leading Protestant denominations.

In 1850 the total property valuation of the United States, according to the census report of that year, was \$7,135,780,228; in 1860 it was \$16,159,016,088; in 1870 it was \$30,068,518,507. That is to say, the aggregate wealth of the country increased about 125 per cent. from 1850 to 1860, and about 86 per cent. from 1860 to 1870.

The total property valuation of the Roman Catho-

lic Church in the United States in 1850 was \$9,256,758; in 1860 it was \$26,774,119; in 1870 it was \$40,985,565. That is to say, the aggregate wealth of the Catholic Church increased about 189 per cent. from 1850 to 1860, and about 128 per cent. from 1860 to 1870.

While, therefore, in the first of these two decades, the wealth of the whole country gained 125 per cent., the wealth of the Catholic Church gained 189 per cent.; and while, in the second decade, the wealth of the whole country gained 86 per cent., the wealth of the Catholic Church gained 128 per cent. Whatever causes may have contributed to this significant result, it is certain that among the chief of them must be reckoned exemption from just taxation, extraordinary shrewdness of financial management, and fraudulent collusion with dishonest politicians.

Further, the relative growth of Protestantism and Catholicism in point of wealth must by no means be overlooked. In 1850, when the Catholics had \$9,256,758 of church property, the Baptists had \$11,030,855; the Episcopalians, \$11,375,010; the Methodists, \$14,822,870; the Presbyterians, \$14,543,789. In 1870, when the Catholics had \$40,985,566, the Baptists had \$39,229,221; the Episcopalians, \$36,514,449; the Methodists, \$69,854,121; the Presbyterians, \$47,828,732. Thus the Catholics had in 1870 already distanced all their Protestant competitors with the single exception of the Methodists, and they will soon distance the latter, too (if they have not already done so), provided the past is a satisfactory index of the future. For, while in the twenty years from 1850 to 1870 the Methodists, whose astonishing growth is the standing boast of the Evangelical Protestants of this country, made a gain of 371 per cent. in the value of their church property, the Catholics made in the same twenty years a corresponding gain of 558 per cent. At this rate the Roman Catholic Church will have outstripped, at no remote day, the Methodists and all the other Protestant sects combined, in the race for wealth.

No satisfactory information, however, is furnished by the census reports respecting the growth either of the Catholic Church or of the Protestant sects in point of numbers, for they give in each case only the "church accommodations" or "sittings" which by no means indicate the number of worshippers. The total number of sittings, Catholic and Protestant together, was only 21,665,062 in 1870, when the total population of the United States was 38,558,371; that is, considering the actual size of church congregations, fully one-half of the whole population, and in all probability much more, seldom or never go to church at all. In most Protestant churches in this country a great many seats are usually unoccupied, and the number of sittings is largely in excess of the numbers of the congregations. In most Catholic churches, however, the reverse is true, the seats being usually all taken and the aisles often filled, while the same seat is usually occupied by several different persons in the three or four different congregations which fill the church on Sunday at successive services. So far, however, as the number of sittings alone is concerned, significant results may be easily deduced from the following table constructed upon the data of the census:—

No. of Sittings.	1850.	1860.	1870.
Protestant.....	13,567,062	17,724,314	19,674,548
Catholic.....	687,923	1,434,437	1,990,514
Total.....	14,254,985	19,158,751	21,665,062

A little calculation, based on these figures, will show that, during the decade 1850-1860, there was an increase of 30 per cent. for the Protestants and 110 per cent. for the Catholics; and that, in the decade 1860-1870, there was an increase of 11 per cent. for the Protestants and nearly 42 per cent. for the Catholics. Notwithstanding the absolute diminution of these rates of increase in the second decade, the relative superiority of the Catholics remained about the same.

The number of church buildings owned by the Catholics in 1850 was 1,222; in 1860, 2,550; in 1870, 3,806. The total number of their ecclesiastical, charitable, and educational organizations in 1870 was 4,127. This is all the information of importance which I have been able to derive from the census reports.

In the silence of the census as to the absolute number of Roman Catholics in this country, all estimates are to be received with caution. Gibson's *Ecclesiastical Almanac* for 1869 states the increase of Protestants (in the loose sense of that word) to have been from 21,000,000 to 27,000,000 between the years 1850 and 1868, and that of Catholics from 2,500,000 to 5,000,000; in the former case an increase of 20 per cent. in nine years, and in the latter case an increase of 100 per cent. in the same period. At this rate of increase the number of Catholics in the United States at present cannot be far from 9,000,000, and by the end of the century will exceed that of the total non-Catholic population. Certain it is that the Catholics have been boasting for many years that they will elect their own President in the year 1900. The third revised edition of Professor Schem's *Statistics of the World* for 1875 estimates the number of our Catholic population as 6,000,000. The *American Annual Cyclopaedia* for 1875 estimates it as more than 6,000,000, and states that the Roman Catholic Church in the United States has 1 cardinal, 8 archbishops, 54 bishops, 4,873 priests, 4,731 churches, 1,902 chapels, 68 colleges, and 511 academies.

How the Catholics themselves arrive at an estimate of their own numbers in the United States, and how plausible a ground it gives to their confident anticipation of eventual supremacy, appears from the statements of the *New York Catholic World*, the leading periodical of the Church published in America. The Catholic rule is to allow an average of 2,000 people (men, women, and children) to each parish priest,—a rule which is claimed to be proved correct by experience. Allowing 4,500 to be the number of such

priests, the Catholic population would be 9,000,000, and I am inclined to consider this a pretty good guess, in the absence of exact census returns. This is the remarkable account of the progress of the Church. In 1776 the Catholics numbered about 25,000; in 1789 they were 30,000, in a population of about 3,000,000, or one one-hundredth of the whole; in 1808 they were 100,000, in a population of 6,500,000, or one sixty-fifth of the whole; in 1830 they were 450,000, in a total of 13,000,000, or one twenty-ninth of the whole; in 1840 they were 980,000, in a total of 17,070,000, or one eighteenth of the whole; in 1860 they were 2,150,000, in a total of 23,191,000, or one eleventh of the whole; in 1880 they were 4,400,000, in a total of 31,000,000, or one seventh of the whole, in 1870 they were 8,500,000, in a total of some 40,000,000, or over a fifth of the whole. For a period of forty years—from 1830 to 1870—Catholics thus more than doubled their number every decade, while the general population increased at the rate of about 35 per cent. The explanation of this wonderful fact is to be found in the vast immigration from Ireland and other Catholic countries,—Ireland alone sending to these shores over 2,000,000 of emigrants from 1830 to 1870. These statements give the Catholic view of the subject,—my authority being the *Catholic World*, as epitomized by Father Stack in *Harper's Weekly* for July 3, 1875.

Notwithstanding this wonderful growth of the Roman Church in numbers, as compared with that of the general population and the various Protestant sects, the Catholics themselves, while pointing exultingly to the rapid progress of their Church, at the same time deplore a great and constant defection of Catholic-born children from the faith of their parents. In a letter written in 1836 to the Central Council for the Propagation of the Faith at Lyons, Bishop England, of Charleston, South Carolina, communicated the following statements relative to the condition of the Church in the United States:—

"I have long been under the impression that not only in Europe, but even in the United States, very delusive fancies have been entertained of the progress of the Catholic Church in our Union, and even many mistakes as to the means most conducive to its propagation. I have no doubt upon my mind that within fifty years millions have been lost to the Catholic Church in the United States. . . . Nothing can be more plain than that, instead of an increase of the members naturally belonging to the Catholic Church in the United States, there has been actually a serious loss. . . . I do not mean to say that the number of Catholics is in this day less than it was fifty years ago, nor as small as it was five years since; but I do assert that the loss of members to the Catholic Church has been exceedingly great, when we take into account the Catholic population at the time of the American Revolution, the acquisition of territory previously occupied by Catholics, the arrivals of Catholic emigrants, and the conversions to the Catholic religion." Estimating the number of Catholics in the United States at that time (1830) as 1,200,000, the Bishop goes through some calculations, and adds:

"If I say, upon the foregoing data, that we ought, if there were no loss, to have five millions of Catholics, and that we have less than a million and a quarter, there must be a loss of three millions and three quarters; and the persons so lost are found amongst the various sects to the amount of thrice the number of the Catholic population of the whole country."

In the same strain the *New York Irish World* of July 25, 1874, published a very long and elaborate article to prove that 18,000,000 of Catholics have thus been lost to the Church. It says:—

"What ought to be the Catholic population of the United States to-day? To this we answer that the natural product of Catholic immigration to this country, from its first settlement to this day, without counting in one solitary convert, ought to be 28,000,000. The Catholic population is, in fact, but 10,000,000. Ecclesiastical statisticians put the figures all the way from 5,000,000 to 8,000,000. Hardly any of them go above the latter figure. We are convinced, however, there are 10,000,000 who were baptized Catholics. But even at this there are 18,000,000 lost to the Church; that is, there are 18,000,000 more of the population of the United States who, either by immediate birth or by right of descent from first settlers, ought to be professed Catholics, but who are now to be found in the ranks of Protestantism or Nothingarianism."

It is not necessary to accept the figures of the *Irish World* as even approximately accurate; in fact, they are deserving of little consideration, when we find that, out of the total white population of 3,172,461 in the original thirteen colonies at the close of the Revolutionary War, 1,903,200 are claimed as "Celtic (Irish, Scotch, Welsh, French, etc.)." Nevertheless, amazing as has been the growth of the Catholic Church in this country, there cannot be the least doubt that its present membership would be very much larger than it is, had its rate of increase not been constantly diminished by a steady stream of deserters from the rising generations. Bishop England and the *Irish World* make no mistake in emphasizing this fact as of supreme importance to the future destiny of the Church. It is a fact which the *Irish World* labors to account for by "Ireland's subjection to England"; but the prelates, priests, and intelligent laity of the Church perfectly comprehend the true cause of it. They know that the great defection of Catholic children from the Catholic faith is caused by their constant contact with decatholicizing influences in a predominantly non-Catholic community,—an "evil" which they are powerless to prevent; they know that these influences necessarily act upon the children with greater or less effect in the free public schools; they know that, unless they can succeed in isolating the children of Catholics from the children of non-Catholics, and subjecting them

to exclusively Catholic influences in their tender and impressive years, the hold of the Church upon their obedience must and does grow very feeble, and is soon lost in a great many cases; they know that the general effect of our public school system, though no effort at proselytism is permitted, is to quicken the intellect of the children so far as to render them indocile under a régime of authoritative faith. They have therefore adopted the fixed policy of aiming at the total destruction of our public school system, at least as now conducted. Those who wish to read an elaborate, able, and fanatical condensation of the Catholic view of this question will find it in *Public School Education*, a duodecimo volume of over four hundred pages, written by the Rev. Michael Müller, and published by D. & J. Sadlier, of New York. The policy of the American bishops in this matter is simply the practical application and vigorous enforcement of the principles of the Encyclical and Syllabus; and there is no possibility of its being changed till these manifestoes are recalled.

ATTACK ON THE SCHOOLS.

The attack began with complaints of the use of the Protestant Bible, read "without note or comment," in the schools. There is inherent justice in this complaint, and I must concede that, in protesting against taxation for the support of evangelical or semi-evangelical schools, the Catholics command the sympathy of all who believe in secular instruction alone in State schools. But they do not stop there; they really want, not that the Bible should be excluded, but that it should be supplemented by Catholic interpreters and Catholic surroundings; they will be satisfied with nothing short of putting the whole school system under the practical control of the Catholic clergy, or of partitioning out the school funds among the various denominations, or of excusing the Catholic laity from all taxation for school purposes. What they have set their faces against is State education in any shape; Protestant schools are bad enough, but secular or "godless" schools are, in their eyes, still worse. But the whole fabric of our educational, nay, of our national, system rests on the clear right of the State to educate its voters, in sheer self-defence against internal dissolution through illiteracy and its universally concomitant crime and pauperism. Wherever universal suffrage prevails universal education must also prevail, as the indispensable means of securing that universal intelligence without which no free commonwealth is possible; in fact, the principle of "compulsory" (or, better, *guaranteed*) education, is more and more evidently needed to attain the desired object.

In Cincinnati, during the winter of 1869-1870, the action of the Board of Education in explicitly prohibiting Bible-reading in the schools of that city led to long litigation, and ultimately, in December, 1872, to the sanction of their action by the Supreme Court of Ohio. In this case (a full and interesting report of which can be obtained from Robert Clarke & Co., of Cincinnati), the Catholics were more or less implicated. I quote from the argument of George R. Sage, Esq., before the Superior Court:—

"From the year 1829 to the year 1842, the Bible, without note or comment, was read in the schools, no one objecting. There were then no Catholic parochial schools. The Bishop of the Catholic Church—he who is now Archbishop—was for some time a member of the Board of Examiners, and active in support of the schools. In 1842 the first intimation of an objection was made. It was not to the reading of the Bible, but that Catholic children were required to read the 'Protestant Bible and Testament.' The Board promptly and unanimously conceded everything suggested by the objection. From that time until the year 1852, no further objection was made. The Bible was read, and the schools prospered. In 1852 the next move was made. Almost simultaneously a similar movement in the interest of the Catholic Church was made throughout the country. It is said that this was in accordance with the action of a secret conclave of the authorities of that Church held in the city of Baltimore. Whether such was the fact is not material. A Catholic member of the Board, in the interest of the Catholic Church, presented a series of resolutions, admitting the necessity of reading the Bible in the schools, and authorizing the introduction of the translation approved by the Catholics, and that approved by the Jews, and their use by those preferring them. The Board, upon assurance that its action would be satisfactory, enacted a rule granting all that the resolutions called for. The next year the Catholic parochial schools were established, and the whole power of the Catholic Church was arrayed against the public schools. The Board, in its annual report for that year, announced that they were 'constrained to infer that no union of action or system is intended or desired by the assailants of the public schools upon any terms but such as are incompatible with the principles and usages which thus far have sustained the free schools of this country.'"

It is not easy, in reading this record of the tortuous policy pursued by the Church, to be satisfied with the degree of good faith which it manifested. Its demands to-day are inconsistent with public schools of any kind which are practically uncontrolled by itself, as is evident from Archbishop Purcell's communication to the Cincinnati Board, on Sept. 18, 1869: "The entire government of public schools in which Catholic youth are educated cannot be given over to the civil power. We, as Catholics, cannot approve of that system of education for youth which is apart from instruction in the Catholic faith and the teaching of the Church. If the School Board can offer anything in conformity with these principles, as has been done in England, France, Canada, Prussia, and other countries, where the rights of conscience in the matter of education have been fully recognized, I am

prepared to give it respectful consideration.—JOHN B. PURCELL, Archbishop of Cincinnati."

Not to multiply quotations unnecessarily, I will only add the following remarkably bold and explicit passage from the Lenten Pastoral of Bishop Gilmour, of Cleveland, Ohio, in 1873:—

"At present [note the implication of this at present] we have nothing to hope from the State. Yet we must not therefore cease to insist upon our rights, and, if needs be, at the polls demand them. Were Catholics alive and united on the school question—were they to demand from every man who asks their vote a pledge that he would vote for our just share of the school fund,—legislators would learn to respect the Catholic vote, and give us our just rights. . . . But in the meantime what are we to do? Fold our arms and sit idle? Let our children grow up in ignorance, and so be beaten in the race of life? Send them to the public schools, where not only their faith will be endangered, but their virtues exposed? No, a hundred times no! We must build Catholic schools everywhere, and at whatever cost support and lift them up till they are equal to the best. It is our solemn injunction and most positive command that every church in the diocese have its schools. Where a congregation cannot at once build both church and school, let them build the school-house and wait for the church. There is little danger of the old losing their faith, but there is every danger that the young will. On the school question there can be and there must be no division. Either we are Catholics or we are not. If we are Catholics, we must leave after us a Catholic youth. And experience has clearly proved this cannot be done, unless the children are early taught and daily taught that they are Catholics. We must not sleep while our enemies are working. Nor must we forget that the public schools are organized and managed for and in the interests of Protestantism. We solemnly charge and most positively require every Catholic in the diocese to support and send his children to a Catholic school. When good Catholic schools exist, and where it may be honestly said a child will get a fair common-school education, if parents either through contempt for the priest, or disregard for the laws of the Church, or for trifling and insufficient reasons, refuse to send their children to a Catholic school, then in such cases, but in such cases only, we authorize confessors to refuse the sacraments to such parents as thus despise the laws of the Church, and disobey the command of both priest and bishop."

This Lenten Pastoral of Bishop Gilmour, which excited a great commotion in Ohio, and contributed not a little to the remarkable agitation of the school question in the subsequent political campaign of 1875 in that State, was vigorously replied to at the time by the Rev. T. B. Forbush, a Unitarian clergyman of Cleveland, whose lectures and addresses rendered important service in securing the defeat of the Catholic-Democratic coalition of the last season.

[TO BE CONCLUDED NEXT WEEK.]

[For THE INDEX.]

PLATFORM OF THE "RADICAL DEMOCRACY."

TRANSLATED FROM KARL HEINZEN'S "PIONIER" OF MAY 10, 1876.

BY PROFESSOR ALEXANDER LOOS.

The North American republic, on entering upon the second century of its existence, is as little entitled to be proud of its present condition as it has any cause to look into the future without alarm.

It boasts of the best Constitution, and has under it fostered the greatest political corruption and confusion. It possesses the richest material resources, sufficient to secure to all its citizens a comfortable subsistence, but they serve to make the rich richer rather than to alleviate the wants of the needy. It makes the united activity of State and Church subservient to establishing the rule of religion, and under this rule the country is filled with hypocrisy, fraud, and violence.

Can the way which leads to a change of these conditions lie in the same direction as that which led to their origin? Can the principles, the parties, the institutions which have prevailed thus far, secure the desired reform? A thorough reform of permanent duration can be hoped only from a decisive appeal to the undeniable dictates of reason, to the natural rights of man, and to the fundamental principles of a truly republican life.

Under the impulse of this conviction the German Radicals and their associations intend to hold a convention at Philadelphia on the 28th of June, for the purpose of coming to a full understanding as to the principles which can guide them in their united efforts for bringing about a reform, and which they will endeavor, in union with their sympathizing American fellow-citizens, to assert, according as occasion and necessity may require in the federal policy as well as in that of the several States and in municipal life, by means of organized agitation, the formation of a party, and of legislation.

Not in superstitious belief or in authority, which the thoughtless masses are wont to consider as their guiding stars, but in the revolutions of reason and free science alone are the sources of that knowledge to be found which fathoms and establishes truth, right, and humanity,—the only tenable foundations of all human development and social institutions. All existing institutions which deviate from these principles lead necessarily to deplorable conditions and call for reform. Upon these foundations all aspirations for progress and reform must be based; they underlie also the Declaration of Independence proclaimed one hundred years ago, which acknowledges the equal right of all men to life, liberty, and the pur-

suit of happiness, as also the preamble to the Constitution of this republic, which pronounces as its aims the establishment of justice and the promotion of the general welfare.

These solemn declarations, engraven as it were upon the entrance-gate to this republic as its leading principles, with which all humane thinkers and true republicans agree, must no longer remain words without meaning and empty phrases, if the republic is to escape from the dangers threatening its very existence, but must be made a truth and a reality in all departments of civil life. For this end the Radicals invite the coöperation of all citizens of this republic who sympathize with them, in carrying out the principles and demands contained in the subjoined platform. Although these principles and demands cannot be carried out and asserted simultaneously and all at once, yet a rational and provident conception of the political and social development requires their comprehensive statement, in order to facilitate a timely and all-sided consideration and discussion of the principal needs of reform.

PLATFORM.

A.—Political Questions.

People, Nation, and Union form one political idea and one inseparable totality, with which no separate right of single States or other political divisions must be in contradiction. "State-sovereignty" would not signify anything but the reserved disintegration of this totality, secessions and civil war.

The unity of the people, as well as the realization of the democratic idea, is possible only on condition of the full equality of all citizens. Still less than color, nationality, or property, can the difference of sex constitute any difference of human rights.

The sovereignty of the people is inalienable, and can as little be transferred to its legislative representatives as to its executive officers. As everything must be done for the people, so it must also be done by the people. For this reason the latter has to secure the constant and direct dependence and responsibility of those to whom it entrusts the care for its interests. For this end it must reserve for itself the right to remove them at any time from their places of trust, and call them to account in case of dereliction of duty. At the same time the validity of all laws passed by its legislators must be made dependent upon their subsequent approval on the part of the people.

Complicated representation and artificial division of powers, borrowed from the political institutions of the Old World, are dangerous obstructions in the path of true democracy, and promotive of reactionary tendencies. The people need for legislation and the administration of the State only one chamber of responsible and revocable agents, whose legislative resolutions are carried out by an executive or administrative commission chosen by them from among the whole people, and directly responsible to them. The Senate as well as the Presidency, both of which are only copies of monarchical institutions, are to be abolished as incompatible with a truly democratic republic. The Presidency, especially, is the principal source of all official and party corruption. The right of the single States to make laws or regulations in contradiction to the spirit of the Federal Constitution, especially such as involve the freedom of the press, matters of religion, and the right of free assembly, is to be entirely abolished.

Likewise the differences of rights and laws existing in the several States are to be removed by the introduction, on the part of the Union, of uniform regulations of all essential points.

The electors are to be endowed with the right of electing candidates also from outside of their electoral district.

B.—Social and Economical Questions.

Modern political economy, like any other department of political and social life, is under the control of public justice.

A republic based upon humane and ethical principles has to reject the pretensions of the Manchester freebooters not less decidedly than the barbarous theories of the Malthusians. Nor can its destiny be confined to keeping in motion the mechanisms of political activity, and to act the part of a protective police between freely contending interests and passions. It rather has the positive task of securing to all its citizens as much as possible the benefits of civilization, consisting in their mental development, the free play of their faculties, and the material requirements for a truly human existence, and cannot leave the attainment of this end to blind accident, or to the contest between the weak and the strong. While favoring the Utopian theories of communism as little as artificial antagonisms of classes, it is to aim at filling the chasm which lies between abundance and misery; it is not to interfere with the industrial life of the nation by controlling or creative measures, but to aim at becoming a mediator of justice for all by protecting the weak, restricting the strong, and equalizing the interests of all.

As means to this end are to be considered:—Protection of labor against the unjust pretensions of capital; restriction of the profits of capital for the purpose of securing to labor its fair compensation; and promotion of labor associations. Further reduction of the maximum of working time.

Prohibition of overworking children in manufactories.

Cessation of all further land-grants and sales to individuals or corporations. The public lands must remain the inalienable property of the people, and be entrusted only to actual settlers under precautionary conditions, and in consideration of a reasonable tax. Support of indigent colonists from public funds under condition of their reimbursing the State. Repurchasing of all public lands which are not brought un-

der cultivation up to a certain time, at the original purchase price.

Gratuitous instruction for every one in all educational institutions supported by the State or the community.

Progressive income-tax and hereditary-tax, with exemption from taxation of a minimum requisite for the support of a family.

Abolition of all monopolies.

Gratuitous dispensation of justice for the poor.

In international commerce, nearest possible approach to free trade. Articles of luxury to be the principal objects of taxation.

Exclusive right of the Federal government to issue paper money, and its legal equalization with specie.

C.—Religious Questions.

Religious belief or unbelief is a matter of the mental and moral needs of each individual, corresponding to his or her individual culture and intellect. It must be left to mental development, as mediated by free instruction and discussion through word and pen. According to its whole nature, it is exempt from all authoritative influence or control. The State, therefore, must interfere with its domain and development neither by prohibition nor command, and has to abstain from all laws, institutions, and regulations which are subservient to belief or unbelief, or lay any restraint upon its citizens regarding them. All such laws, institutions, and regulations are infringements upon the personal rights and the liberty of conscience of the citizens, differing in their belief and manner of thought, and are as tyrannical as they are contrary to reason, while at the same time directly antagonistic to the spirit of the Constitution, and are therefore as soon as possible to be prohibited by a special Amendment to the Constitution. To these infringements belong especially the following:—

Introduction of the Bible into the public schools, which ought to be replaced by instruction in the rights and duties of men in the spirit of the Declaration of Independence.

The enforced observance of Sunday.

The exemption of church-property from taxation. The appointment of chaplains for Congress, the legislatures, the army and navy, the prisons, and other institutions supported by public taxes.

The appointment of religious festivals and fast-days by the President and the State Governors.

The judicial oath upon the Bible.

The standard of Christianity as applied to the appointment of candidates for public offices or to the official estimation of individual morality.

The support of religious tendencies or institutions from public means or through public manifestations.

The only right in religious matters invested in the State is that of self-defence by the institution of proceedings against religious organizations which form a State within the State, and which by their tendency and power endanger liberty, especially against those which obey the dictates of a foreign authority.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

NON-RESISTANCE AGAIN.

It is a marvel that the combined evils of the world, all the baleful agencies—despotism, persecution, the complex and cunning modes of torture, grievous injustice, constant and inexorable oppression,—should have failed to perform their sole office, that of rooting out the pestilent spirit of non-resistance. It is not to be excused by terror; that is plain.

Evil was launched into society to strengthen good; good relaxes, succumbs, and evil has the field. Amid the shout of victory that ascends can be perceived the faint huzzas of the vanquished. Error was intended to force the truth to become manifest. At the first bravado, truth prevaricates and apologizes, even explains away its substance in order to mollify its formidable accuser. Why is not the truth formidable? It ought to be. It has all the might and the power. Why is not goodness impregnable? Rely upon it, that is not goodness which yields.

Non-resistance indicates the absence of mental or moral vigor, a sleepy conscience, benumbed activities. Non-resistance in the face of great exigencies is criminal. It boasts of its peaceful tendencies; why? it is the cause of all the wars on record! War is impossible, unless a long period of non-resistance has prepared the way for it. Nipping things in the bud would spare nations and individuals the barbarous last resort.

I witness on all hands the dilapidation that weakness has wrought; that is the great destroyer. History has but the one phenomenon to show,—human abjectness. One monarch, and a kingdom of subjects; one Church holding with a grasp of iron the whole group of civilized nations; the dominant few invariably controlling the passive many; and these sorrow-laden, afflicted multitudes rend the air with their complaints and sighs of misery.

We have but just passed through a disgraceful civil war, brought about by the direct and potent instrumentality of those who were willing to be slaves, and those honest, peace-loving folk willing to see them slaves. There is a great hue and cry about woman's rights; the sex is borne down, they say, with its weight of woe, dependence, moral degradation. Men are accused of subjecting them to all this. Oh, no! woman's voluntary submission induced it. They have always had the inveterate habit of putting up with men, the peculiar type of men, too, which the suffragists are so fond of describing. To touch up their portraits a trifle—that is, to make out all men fac-similes of Nero and Henry VIII.—I say that even then, with their consummate sagacity and cruelty, they would be overcome by the first woman who did not mean to be ruled or interfered with.

Non-resistance has hurried us into our present plight. Its silence and shame-facedness; its lying, obeisances to that which it did not believe in and inwardly despised; its smiles and benevolence and perverted virtues of all sorts, have made us entirely subservient, socially and publicly, to theological dominion. In twenty-five years more free speech in regard to religion will be attended with as much risk as was free speech in regard to abolition twenty-five years ago; in fact, liberal views are now expressed with extreme caution, the penalty being social ostracism.

How could the encroachments which threaten to culminate in the infusion of two-thirds of the Trinity into the Constitution have been possible, except through the remissness of all the liberal-minded, loyal, republican people in the country,—those who, inclining to rational views, support the churches; those who, sifting the Scriptures, glean for their own spiritual nurture what may be termed the *Christian* portion of Christianity, and yet listen patiently Sunday after Sunday to sermons of crude dogma; those who believe in everything wholesome and necessary, and yet hold that it is neither wholesome nor necessary to disseminate their opinions; those who deem truth the most dangerous of all things, and keep it about them as bottled poison; those who are forever talking about quiet processes, and imperceptible advances, and growth (as if growth had not formed mountains and forests and cataracts, and the dazzling sun, and the invincible human being,—all that is material, tangible, solid, all organized and fitted for use)! A continual effort to grow without palpable result indicates blight; invisibility is the worst of signs. If liberals cannot be found, if they do nothing, are indistinguishable from the mass, dispense with their natural characteristics, the conclusion is that they do not exist, and it would distress them terribly to be obliged to prove the contrary. To stand out in a strong light; to be themselves; to organize; to proclaim not their principles, but *principles*; to say emphatically, proudly, on every occasion, "I know," when they do know, withholding nothing of the truth,—is the course the mere proposal of which now calls down such a storm of opposition. It is "aggressive," "coercive"; it is an invasion of other people's rights; it is the pursuance of the same methods we condemn in Orthodoxy; it is "narrow," "unspiritual." "We are content to be," say these modest lovers of obscurity and inaction; "self-assertion is unnecessary." Ah, if they were!

Those cast-off virtues that ecclesiasticism found ill-adapted to its purpose, patience, forbearance, mildness, and the like, are more vicious than vice, and the men or women who cannot, or will not, stand for the right, always facilitate wrong and provide it with incentives. Those whom we have always supposed to be the enlightened, moral, saving element in the community, the benefactors and promoters of civilization, have through their tolerance, their numerous concessions, their stillness, their systematic falling back when presumptuous ignorance advanced, plunged the whole American nation into the present trouble. Let them unite and repair the damage inadvertently done the government by its delinquent friends! Secularization means nothing more nor less than this.

The call to organize is primarily a test. If no "National Liberal League" be formed, it will be because there are no liberals this side of the water; we shall know that the old Revolutionary stock has become extinct. There are but two alternatives open to the professed liberals of the United States: either to render the obedience due to their principles and their fellow-thinkers, or to continue to fill the ranks of the enemies of free thought and free institutions. National integrity demands of us unequivocal language and straightforward conduct. Let us have the courage to say, if it be true,—*"We deem the severance of Church and State one hundred years ago a mistake; we have permitted them to reunite; we approve of having our former free government merged into an ecclesiastical establishment; the republic founded on the rights of conscience is no more. Requiescat in pace!"* Or else,—*"We are of the same mind as the founders of the republic; our principles must and shall be maintained. We are a force,—a large, determined force; we will multiply evidences: numbers, wealth and resources, system, material power, increase, unity!"*

MARIE A. BROWN.

JOURNALISM IN 1776.—There were no daily newspapers in the time of the Revolution. Of some fifty papers which were born, and lived, or died, between 1748 and 1783, all were weeklies or semi-weeklies. There were forty-three such in existence at the end of the war. They were poor affairs, viewed in the light of the journalism of to-day; but, measured by their times, displayed considerable enterprise, and exerted an immense influence. It was their characteristic that they aimed not so much to print the news of the locality in which they were published as to bring to that locality news from distant parts of the country and of the world. In fact, the newspapers of the Revolution had comparatively little to do with news of any kind. The gathering of it had not been reduced to a system. The publisher was his own editor and reporter. There were no telegraph tolls to pay; and, had there been, there would have been no money with which to have paid them. News travelled to the paper by private conveyance. It was two months coming from Great Britain, and six months from Constantinople. That useful and widely-known individual, "a gentleman of undoubted veracity," lived, however, in the country at that time, and rendered valuable services. The papers were filled with political sayings, satires, and lampoons. By many of them the largest liberty of discussion was allowed; and there were noticeable tendencies to the freest sort of speculation. Of journalism in the modern sense of the term, elaborated, en-

terprising, competitive, lavish in outlay, and presenting a field for the highest attainments and most carefully acquired professional skill, there was absolutely nothing. And yet we must accord to the journals of the Revolution, small, irregular, struggling sheets that they were, the credit of a generally heroic spirit, and a very noble achievement in shaping the patriotic temper of the times.—Edward Abbott's *"Revolutionary Times."*

CASH RECEIPTS.

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The Index.

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Office.ACKNOWLEDGMENTS of contributions to the funds
for the Congress of Liberals and the Paine bust, re-
ceived during the week, are necessarily postponed to
next week's issue of THE INDEX on account of our
recent absence in Ohio.WITH THE full consent of Mr. John Morley, the
editor, we begin this week the republication of our
article in the March number of the London *Fort-
nightly Review*, on "The Catholic Peril in America."
It will be completed in our next issue. The *Eclectic*
magazine has already reprinted it, but probably it
will be new to the majority of our readers.

THE DIVIDING LINE.

This argument is adduced by the Brooklyn *Cath-
olic Review* of May 16:—"When the State steps in to arbitrarily set aside
that Providential law, it does so on the plea that it is
so vitally interested in the intelligence of its citizens
that it is entitled to take effectual means to prevent
them from growing up in ignorance. But see with-
out this assumption leads. The morality of its citizens
is far more essential to the State, and the only effect-
ual basis for morals is the Christian religion. There-
fore, the State would be yet more bound to provide
that all youth should be taught Christianity, and
hence to support an established Church."The words we have italicized constitute the divid-
ing line between the two theories of ecclesiastical and
secular government."The only effectual basis for morals is the Chris-
tian religion."Whoever believes that proposition is committed to
a premise which, if he is a good reasoner, will render
him a deadly foe to the United States Constitution.
Grant it, and what follows? That no civil State can
sustain itself except on the foundation of the Chris-
tian religion; that the Christian religion cannot sus-
tain itself except on the foundation of the Christian
Church; therefore, that no civil State can sustain it-
self except on the foundation of the Christian
Church. In other words, the State cannot without
self-destruction separate itself from the Church, but
on the contrary must depend absolutely upon it.
That doctrine would overthrow totally the United
States Constitution.Every honest Catholic who accepts the *Syllabus*
would at once admit this; for the *Syllabus* denounces
it as a damnable error to hold that—"In case of con-
flict between the laws of the two powers [Church and
State], civil law takes the precedence; in conflictu
legum utriusque potestatis, jus civile prevalet." That
solemn declaration of the infallible Pope destroys ab-
solutely the principle on which the United States
Constitution rests. The Catholic Church, therefore,
is really an organized treason against the government
of the republic; and if it should ever proceed to overtacts, it would have to be put down like the Southern
Confederacy.Evangelical Protestants, however, would demur at
the proposition that the Christian religion cannot
sustain itself except on the foundation of the Chris-
tian Church. They would claim that Christ, not the
Church, is the foundation of the Christian religion;
they would claim that Christ in the believer's soul,
converting him from sin to righteousness, is the
source of a truly moral life; they would claim that
the civil State, therefore, resting on Christian moral-
ity, rests on Christ in the believer's soul, not on the
Christian Church. Hence they hold that the United
States government is founded on Christianity, but
not on the Christian Church; and on no other ground
can they defend the Sunday laws, the Bible in the
schools, and so forth. Their claim runs inevitably,
if carried out, into the demand for a Christian
Amendment of the Constitution, but this they do not
all see yet. They are at present content to maintain
that "the only effectual basis for morals is the Chris-
tian religion," and that Christ in the believer's soul,
not the Church as an organization, is the true basis
of this "Christian government."A little reflection shows how shallow is their view
of their own position. Without the organized
Church, the "preached word" of the Christian pulpit,
the "means of grace," and so forth, they know per-
fectly well that Christ could never reveal himself to
the believer's soul. That is why they sustain for-
eign missions at such great cost, and send their or-
dained missionaries to the heathen. There would be
no Christianity, no Christ in the believer's soul, no
"effectual basis for morals" at all, were it not for the
Christian Church; and the foreign mission system is
proof positive that they perfectly comprehend this
fact. Very well, then; the Christian morality with-
out which the civil State cannot exist is, by their own
theory and practice, impossible without the Christian
Church; and so it appears that the State must be
founded on the Church in fact, whether one adopts
the Catholic or the Evangelical Protestant theory.Whoever believes, then, that "the only effectual
basis for morals is the Christian religion" holds to a
principle which denies point-blank the fundamental
principle of the United States Constitution: namely,
the total separation of the State from the Christian
Church and the Christian religion. Remember the
Treaty with Tripoli (repeatedly quoted in THE IN-
DEX) which was signed by George Washington, and
which expressly declares that "the United States
government is not in any sense founded on the
Christian religion." But the United States govern-
ment is founded on the principles of justice, honesty,
freedom, equal rights, and so forth, which are morals;
and therefore the United States Constitution is
founded on natural morality, and not on Christian
morality. The dividing line between those who
would more or less conjoin Church and State, and
those who would totally separate them, can be found
nowhere, in the last analysis, save in the proposition
that "the only effectual basis for morals is the Chris-
tian religion." Both parties believe equally in the
necessity of good morals; but the one party finds
no true morality save in the Christian religion, while
the other party finds it in the universal nature of things,
above all in the fundamental laws of human nature
itself.Fortunately for freedom and the most precious in-
terests of mankind, the United States Constitution
which makes us a nation was framed wholly on the
latter or secular view. But there is no public danger
more subtle or more grave than the danger that the
great, organized, powerful Christian party in politics,
which everywhere takes the other or ecclesiastical
view, may yet attempt to mutilate the Constitution
in the imagined interest of "morals." If the people
need instruction in any one thing more than in an-
other, it is instruction in the true nature and grounds
of morality; yet no one who holds that "the only
effectual basis of morals is the Christian religion" is
competent to give it, and no other can gain the public
ear. Even the majority of liberals still cleave verbally
to this utterly false proposition, and, by shrinking
from the necessary plain speech, fall altogether to clear
away the misconceptions which cluster so thickly
about this momentous subject. Morality should be
universally recognized as independent of all religions,
as constituting a part of that "Nature" which is the
true object of science, and as only obscured by the-
ological pretensions. By no other conception than
this can the United States Constitution be under-
stood, or its immeasurable greatness appreciated;
and if this true conception is ever forced to give way
to the claim that "the only effectual basis for morals

is the Christian religion," the result will be destruction alike to real morality and to all religious liberty.

The "only effectual basis for morals" is the great fact of HUMAN SOCIETY, with its necessarily implied rights and duties; and this basis is just as certain, just as fixed, just as indestructible, whether man is immortal or not, whether God is a mere myth of the imagination or the noblest discovery of the reason, whether religion is the artful invention of priests for the enslavement of mankind or the great, eternal striving of human nature to realize its own divine ideal. The real sanctions, motives, hopes, fears, rewards, punishments, temptations, inspirations, and so forth, which move the vast majority of men in their daily conduct, are all implied and contained in the ever-present fact of human society; theology can add nothing to them, and take nothing from them; and the Church renders herself a vulgar charlatan and quack, when she thrusts herself forward as the "only effectual basis for morals." She no more sustains the vast weight of human society and morality than Atlas sustained the world on his mythical shoulders. In truth, Christianity is only one of the multifarious and transient forms which Conscience, ever changing yet eternally the same, has assumed from age to age in adapting itself to the successive stages of gradually developing human intelligence. When Christianity was a babe in the manger, Conscience was the "Ancient of Days"; human morality dates back to the birth of the first distinctively human consciousness, and was the parent, not the child, of the Church. Because human society is the same substantial fact, no matter what religions or churches come and go, the United States Constitution recognizes it alone, with its inherent laws of right and wrong, as the great foundation of civil government; and no religion can claim to be the "only effectual basis for morals" without striking a treasonable blow at the very roots of all our national prosperity and greatness. Morality is secular, not theological—natural, not ecclesiastical or Christian; and so long as the Constitution stands unshattered by mad fanaticism and unbetrays by priestly ambition, just so long will morality be safe from murder by its "only effectual basis."

A TEST FOR SUFFRAGE WANTED.

Carlyle is reported as saying that he had no faith in a government which allows Judas and Jesus the same right of suffrage; and this smart epigrammatic saying, made more striking by "alliteration's artful aid," will probably weigh more with many minds than serious arguments.

But will Mr. Carlyle or some of his followers please tell us what test the chief rulers of Jerusalem could have applied that would have given Jesus a vote and kept Judas disfranchised? A property qualification would have been quite ineffectual, for there is no proof that Jesus ever earned or owned any money; while Judas was evidently shrewd in getting it in ways not entirely forsaken by politicians yet.

Jesus was not a householder, for "the Son of Man had not where to lay his head." That he was a taxpayer is doubtful; for certainly the resource he relied upon in looking for a penny in the fish's mouth was a very uncertain one, and it is not even asserted that Peter found the penny there.

There is some reason to believe that Jesus could read, it is true; but there is nothing to show that Judas could not, and his being appointed to carry the bag rather implies that he was "forward in his arithmetic."

If a man is to be judged by the company he keeps, the reputation of Jesus was none of the best; for he was a friend of publicans and sinners. He was far from being respectable, but was accused of being a wine-bibber, a pestilent fellow, a stirrer-up of strife, and other naughty things.

The entry into Jerusalem must have looked like a very insane, fanatical proceeding to the better class at Jerusalem, and his claims to miracle-working undoubtedly stamped him as a lunatic or an impostor in the minds of the scribes learned in the law.

What restriction or test would have enabled any legal tribunal to recognize the noblest man of the age in the victim crucified between two thieves? If the Jesuses have their characters stamped upon their foreheads, and all men could read the inscription, and if the Judases showed a cloven foot which no one could mistake, the law might distinguish between them; but it is not so. There may be the possibilities of a Jesus or a Judas in every child, and only in the actual deed can either character be recognized. "Only God," says Lessing, "knows us as we are, and not by our deeds." Actual crime, therefore, may be

restrained or punished by society, but differences in intelligence or virtue cannot be classified into a ground of privilege. No law could have excluded Benedict Arnold from office before his treason was known; none knew that the ignorant slave Robert Small had the soul of a hero under his black skin, till he showed it by his deeds.

Universal suffrage is based upon the faith in human nature,—that good is a stronger power in it than evil, and that the surest way to bring all the good into action is to give it free play and full responsibility. Evil is just as powerful in the dark as in the light; a mob of ignorant men with the pike and the torch are just as dangerous as with the ballot. It is the ignorance we must abolish, for we cannot destroy the men.

In the present reactionary distrust of universal suffrage, I see the greatest danger of our institutions. In trying to escape from it, many of our best minds are wasting energies that should be given to making it safe, by deepening the moral convictions of the people, restoring confidence between different classes, and extending intelligence and education among all.

E. D. C.

SECULAR UNITY.

No. XIV.

The Secular party are going to see if they have a little of that sense which they constantly recommend to others. They are going to promote liberal action on liberal grounds among the freethought liberals of England. For some years an annual conference has been held of the National Secular Society, of which Mr. Bradlaugh is this year President. The conference for 1876 will meet at Leeds early in June. On the invitation of the President I purpose attending it, as will many friends of mine, leaders of secular opinion in various towns. At present Secular Societies in this country are taken to be of two kinds, bearing two banners. The object which interests us is, to see whether they might not be ranged under one standard.

The earlier Secular Societies, for which I am mainly responsible, accept the universe and the order of the universe as they find them,—those being facts not to be changed or accounted for. Into the origin of the universe they do not, as a party, inquire, nor exact any agreement of opinion concerning it from members. Into theories of supernatural revelation they do not officially look, nor stipulate that members shall look; nor do they require that members—if they do look—shall look this way or that. They concern themselves with the duties of this life (a form of piety very much needed), and they separate positive principles from speculative questions.

The other class of Secular Societies, of which Mr. Bradlaugh is President, are best known as Free-thought Societies; and busy themselves chiefly with theological questions, and debate them considerably, debate them "some," as Americans sometimes say. The public imagine them to hold that the Secular is, in some way, synonymous with the atheistic; or in some way to imply or include it. This has never been laid down officially in any document of the society, nor is atheism exacted as a condition of membership in any society. However, as it is not disowned, an ambiguity of position remains which it is desirable to remove if it can be honestly done. Some speakers have said that Secularism is a sort of half-way house to atheism. The same foolish thing, we know, the Catholics said of Protestantism. If it be true that Secularism means atheism, or necessarily conducts to it, I am for saying so. For myself I would take no part in trepanning anyone even into Paradise. Whoever goes any way that I advise, will go with his eyes open.

It will, however, appear that Secularism is a distinctive thing—as distinct from atheism as the *Iliad* is from the *Logarithm*.—If I proceed with my story of our projected unity.

We live, as you know, in a disreputable, not to say deplorable, age, when hoary faiths are put to the question in this country, and so respectable a party as Satan is refused legal recognition in the Church. Therefore any change we can effect will be regarded with approval as our proper contribution to the ecclesiastical innovations of the times. But our capacity to promote useful changes—which mean progress—depends upon unity of action among ourselves.

In a new movement, like that of Secularism, which teaches not merely the "right," but the necessity of individuality in thought, and the duty of acting upon intelligent conviction (I say purposely intelligent conviction, for there is too much stupid conviction already acted upon), there will be diversity of opinion.

Among persons so advised, unity can be based only on agreements already subsisting. Unity now cannot be founded on any new invention in ideas, because years would be required to explain it and get it accepted. No! we must look among convictions established for a basis of unity. The history of free-thinkers for two centuries shows plainly what the points are upon which unity can be had to-day. There has been and is now agreement among them as follows:—

1. In promoting the good of this life for others as well as ourselves, and in the duty of doing it.
2. In attempting improvement mainly by material means, and of neither reproaching the gods nor bewailing our destiny, until these means have been tried.
3. In increasing the motives to morality, by taking what care can be taken, that truth, honesty, industry, and temperance shall be associated with honor and advantage in this life; and in fulfilling the obligations of these principles as though they were a religion.

These propositions neither involve atheism, nor connote it, nor require it to carry them out. Neither is atheism disparaged or condemned. It is simply left alone as another question altogether, as is the cognate question of futurity. The principles are "Secular" because their proof and scope lie in this world. If these are accepted as marks of membership by any society, that association is Secular. Other questions might be raised on the platforms of the society, but only on the individual responsibility of those who put them forward. The society will only be answerable for its official and corporate principles, and individual members will no longer, as now, be able at will or caprice to make other persons who may detest his views answerable for them in public opinion. The concise and mighty motto of Comte was—"Order and Progress." There must be order, in order that there may be progress: but it must be order which admits of progress. That is the order which I advise should be established in Secular Societies.

GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.

ESSEX STREET, Temple Bar, London.

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY R. C.

The Committee which has been investigating the connection of Mr. Blaine with the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad has discovered evidence which decidedly contradicts some statements contained in the personal explanation which Mr. Blaine gave recently in the House of Representatives. According to the testimony of Messrs. Adams, Fisher, and Mulligan—testimony supported by Mr. Blaine's letters, or by memoranda in his handwriting,—Mr. Blaine has had a great deal to do with the stocks and bonds of various railroads, "controlling interests" in them, etc., at a time when these roads were before Congress for legislation. In order to get at the particulars of Mr. Blaine's railroad operations, the Committee summoned a Mr. Mulligan, of Boston, formerly clerk of Mr. Warren Fisher, with which latter gentleman Mr. Blaine has done considerable business during the past twenty years. Besides acting as clerk for Mr. Fisher, Mr. Mulligan is also one of the trustees of the will of Mr. Fisher's father, and has always had an intimate knowledge of, in fact has managed, the son's business. With the express sanction and assistance of Mr. Fisher, Mr. Mulligan took with him to Washington a number of letters addressed to Fisher by Blaine. Immediately upon Mulligan's arrival at Washington he was sent for by Blaine, but believing that an interview under the circumstances would not be in accordance with propriety, he declined to go; whereupon Blaine came to Mulligan, at the latter's hotel, and requested permission to read the letters. Permission was at first refused, but, upon Blaine's promise to return them, they were handed to him. Blaine read the letters and then refused to return them. This astonishing and dishonorable conduct was reported to the Committee, the following morning, by Mulligan, whose testimony was confirmed by Fisher and Atkins, who were witnesses of a portion of the transaction, and by Mr. Blaine himself who admitted the essential truth of Mulligan's statement.

The outcome of this affair, so far as the Committee's investigation is concerned, we cannot surmise, and, in fact, this has now become a matter of secondary importance. As we write, Mr. Blaine, by advice of his counsel—Jere. Black and Matt Carpenter,—declines to surrender the letters to Mr. Mulligan or to the Committee. As regards Mr. Blaine, however, it is already proven (1) that his explanation in the House of Representatives was neither candid nor true; (2) that he acted as stock-broker, at least, if no worse, under very suspicious circumstances, and in connection with railroads with which he should have had nothing to do; (3) that he endeavored to tamper with a witness who he supposed intended to testify to his disadvantage; and (4) that, according to his own admission, he has been guilty of an extremely dishonorable act,—a compound of falsehood and robbery.

We have met with no attempt to justify Mr.

Blaine's conduct in retaining possession of the letters, with the exception of a passage in the Boston Traveller, which affirms that Mr. Blaine retained possession of the letters "as any other man would have done under the circumstances." If this statement be true, we think it is about time for a new deluge and a new race. Even from the evolutionist's point of view, it should not require many geologic ages to develop from an intelligent monkey a race of beings some of whom at least might be expected to exhibit a keener sense of honor than that which the Traveller now permits to any member of the human race.

The effect of the week's revelations upon the Cincinnati Convention will be revolutionary. Blaine's nomination is now out of the question; and even if it were still possible, political expediency would forbid, as his election would be an impossibility,—a fact which his most zealous friends must now admit. But as a plurality of the delegates to the convention were chosen for the purpose of nominating Blaine, their probable course now becomes a matter of deep interest. The Blaine delegates, should they remain united, could probably determine the nomination of any one of the prominent candidates remaining; but it is not at all likely that they will remain united, unless, as is possible, Blaine himself should formally withdraw from the contest, and advise them to vote for some specified candidate. This advice a large portion of them would be likely to follow, unless, as is again possible, something should occur to destroy the influence which Blaine still retains. All in all, the matter of Presidential nomination is now in an interesting state of uncertainty. The queen of the Republican chess-board has been unexpectedly captured; and although several pawns are pushed towards the queen's place, it is impossible to predict which one will get there, or by what combinations. As regards the Democratic nomination, Mr. Tilden's prospects of late steadily improve.

Last week's rumors with reference to Speaker Kerr have taken a distinct and very unpleasant form. A man by the name of Green testifies before the Committee that he received, in 1866, through Mr. Kerr's influence, an appointment in the regular army, and although a Republican and a resident of New York, he received the appointment by Democratic recommendation and as though he resided in Indiana. Green declares that for this appointment he paid Harney, an assistant doorkeeper of the House, the sum of \$450, which sum, Harney affirms, was passed over to Mr. Kerr. Mr. Kerr denies that he received the money, but has declined thus far to give any satisfactory explanation of his peculiar appointment of Green. All attempts to break down the testimony of Green and Harney have failed, and the matter rests at present upon Harney's affirmation and Kerr's denial, (with the circumstantial evidence (in the absence of other explanation) in Harney's favor.

The question of jurisdiction in the Impeachment case is at length disposed of, the Senate having decided that it can try Belknap notwithstanding his resignation. It is quite possible, however, that the trial may be deferred for some time. The Senate also decided, by a vote of 24 to 20, to return nearly \$800,000 of the Japanese Indemnity Fund; directed the President to appoint five commissioners to visit the Sioux Indians and to negotiate with them, if possible, a treaty for the surrender of the Black Hills to the United States; granted a small pension to the widow of the late Admiral Winslow; passed a bill providing for the sale of the lands of the Otoe and Missouri Indians in Kansas and Nebraska; and debated at length and made numerous amendments to the Legislative Appropriation Bill. The House, after debate and amendments, passed the Army Bill; and a bill providing for the sale of the Osage lands in Kansas to actual settlers. The tariff question came up, but its consideration was deferred. Morey, a republican Representative from Louisiana was unseated, and William B. Spencer, a Democrat, was put in his place.

Senator Morton, it is reported, procured last week the discharge of a clerk from the Treasury Department because the clerk, who had been appointed from Indiana, was not in favor of the nomination of Mr. Morton, at Cincinnati. For our present purpose we need not ask whether this report be true or not. We mention it only to call attention to what we understand to be an existing rule at Washington; namely, that a clerk can be dismissed from any department, upon the recommendation of the Senator from his own State, without the filing of any charges against him. The absurdity of this rule, from a business point of view, is apparent. Its equivalent would be to allow a manufacturer or customer to dismiss a clerk from a retail store, in the business of which the manufacturer or customer had no interest whatever save a desire to sell or a wish to purchase goods. The making and recalling of appointments by Congressmen—an assumption of power which custom is rapidly confirming—is at the bottom of the worst evils of our civil service. We need a President with courage enough to declare that Congressmen shall not make appointments to office, and having made the declaration, to stand by it with downright dogged or donkey stubbornness until its rightfulness is universally recognized.

It is pleasant to find one's prophecies coming true, even when these have been the warnings of Cassandra. When the "Silver Bill" was debated in Congress, we ventured to suggest that any attempt made at present to substitute silver change for fractional currency would be likely to cause more mischief than benefit; that it could only succeed with difficulty,

and that in the event of a rise in the market-price of silver our small change would run away from us as surely as water runs down hill. The experiment has now been in progress for several weeks, during which time small change has remained steadily at a premium of from one to three per cent.; the larger silver coins are bought up by brokers as soon as they are issued, and are sent away to places where the premium upon them pays a profit upon their price and the cost of transportation; and some of the smaller coins remain only because the present value of silver is lower than has ever before been known. Some day our brilliant legislators will find out that the laws of political economy cannot be humbugged by Act of Congress, and that specie payment means solid gold and not silver sham.

The peculiar period of time known in Boston as Anniversary Week, seems to hold its own in point of attractiveness, and the various meetings held improve in character as they become less sensational. There is far less extravagance and sentimentalism manifested than in former years. One old "war-horse," who yet snuffs the memory of anti-slavery days, managed to get off, during a speech before the Woman's Suffrage Association, the amusing declarations that "there wasn't a boy in America who wasn't educated to steal"; "there wasn't an official in the Commonwealth who hadn't a stolen coat on his back"; and "the disfranchisement of woman was a sin, and the disfranchiser of woman was a sinner"; but, as a rule, this kind of nonsense and the various forms of rudomontade were not very plentiful. There can be no question but that religious, reform, and philanthropic meetings do a great deal of good. At least they furnish excellent escape-valves for a large amount of enthusiasm, which, under pressure, might become fanatical.

Nine students of the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis have been dismissed from the academy upon the charge of stealing. Several of them were members of the highest class, had been in the institution nearly four years, and were nearly ready to begin active service. From newspaper reports we infer that the young men were guilty of a discreditable boyish trick, and were deserving of severe punishment; but that they intended to steal is, under the circumstances, a preposterous conclusion, and to punish them by a dismissal which entails a change of prospects and purposes for life seems to us, at this distance, to be unnecessary, and unjust. We should be glad to receive further information with regard to the unfortunate affair.

Messrs. Jarrett and Palmer, of New York, have succeeded in running a special train of cars from New York to San Francisco in 83 hours and 24 minutes, a rate of speed which, if it could be continued, would take them around the world in less than 35 days. At one time, in Pennsylvania, the train ran 44 miles without any stop. The most rapid rate attained was, we believe, 62 miles in an hour, or, at another time, 70 miles in 75 minutes. One result of this successful attempt is likely to be a general increase of speed of through trains upon all main roads.

All other news from Europe continues secondary in importance to that received from Turkey. The deposition of the Sultan Abdul-Aziz (since followed by his death by suicide) and the elevation to the throne of his nephew, Murad, seemed at first to present an opportunity for the settlement of existing difficulties, especially as the new Sultan was understood to be in favor of what may be termed constitutional reform. But the insurgents have taken advantage of the Sultan's deposition to increase their warlike preparations and to push their demands for independence. According to one report, Servia, Roumania, Montenegro, and Greece have entered into an offensive and defensive alliance, and although this report has been contradicted, we know that Greece is making warlike preparations, Servia has refused to pay tribute, on the ground that the new Sultan was illegally enthroned, Roumania, Bosnia, and Bulgaria are in a condition of partial insurrection, and Murad is resolved to fight rather than to allow European intervention. To crown all, England is reported to have decided in favor of preserving the integrity of Turkey, a phrase which is supposed to mean that England will assist Turkey in case other nations interfere.

ENGLISH SKETCHES.

BY MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

LONDON, May 10, 1876.

Meeting after meeting is still the order of the world-ecclesiastical. Christians of every shape and form are gathering together, counting up gains and losses, and preparing for the coming year. Among other societies, that entitled the "British and Foreign Bible Society" has had its annual conference, has rejoiced over the number of Bibles and Testaments circulated, and over the many thousands of pounds which have poured into its exchequer. A serious thought is "borne in upon my mind" in connection with this wholesale scattering of Bibles. Two revision committees are now sitting, one on the Old Testament, the other on the New. They are amending mistranslations, correcting errors, making the infallible word less fallible, and the perfect truth less full of imperfections. Such a work would not have been commenced, had there not been grave reason for it; such a shock would not have been permitted to shake the easy credulity of Christians, unless it had been the only way of avoiding a more dangerous earthquake. To alter the Bible, to change the well-known phrases, to overthrow the old memories connected

with it, was too serious a risk to be undertaken without the pressure of necessity. Now the work is still incomplete, and, if the opinion of Dr. Tischendorf be correct, it is necessary "to entirely reconstruct the whole text of the New Testament." What pleasant news for the subscribers to Bible societies! They have been scattering broadcast all over the world Testaments so incorrect that they need the whole text to be entirely reconstructed! Then they have not been taking the message of salvation to the heathen; they have been preaching "another gospel," which if any shall preach, "let him be accursed." Had not good Christians better button up their pockets until they are quite sure they have got the right thing, and that there is not a future Dr. Tischendorf lurking in some monastery, ready to spring upon them the mine of a newly-discovered manuscript older than the Sinaitic and more reliable than the precious parchment fragments which lay hid in the Mount Sinai waste-paper basket, "watched over by an invisible eye"? It is sad to reflect how much deadly spiritual harm the Bible Society has done during the past year, by persuading the ingenious savage that they have given him the word of God, when after all they have only deceived him into a treacherous sleep from which he will, we fear, only be awakened by the trumpet-blast of a new version.

For our further comfort, Dr. Angus, one of the revisers, tells us that there are 100,000 different readings in the various manuscripts of the New Testament; 100,000 different readings, and only one right? Alas, poor humanity! 99,999 holes into which thou mayest slip and lose thy soul, and only one spot of firm ground whereon thou mayest safely rest. Truly the ways of the Lord are marvellous, and his footsteps are not known.

The Congregational Union of England and Wales has also met to sing praises unto the Lord. They gathered in the City Temple, the place of worship whence was sent across the Atlantic the congratulatory message to the notorious pastor of Plymouth Church. The chairman was charged with the duty of delivering the annual address, and he selected as his subject, "Within the Fold." Some of his observations were curious, not to say impertinent: "Doubts and denials, which a short time ago were uttered with bated breath, were now blantly proclaimed. They partook of the outspoken character of the times, and they could not afford to ignore them. But they need fear nothing. From some indications which presented themselves, it would seem as if they might safely leave the potsherds of the earth to strive among themselves for mutual overthrow." And who are the "potsherds," pray, Mr. Dissenting Priest? Only such foolish and degraded people as Tyndall, Huxley, Clifford, Owen, and men of that stamp. Humility is scarcely one of the virtues of the Rev. Thomas Aveling, D.D. He proceeds disdainfully: "Like Cadmus, the men of letters and philosophy were sowing dragon's teeth, from which would spring an armed host." (It would perhaps be hypercritical to suggest to the learned D.D. that it was not Cadmus who sowed the teeth, but Jason, the enemy of Cadmus.) "At first they might think that they would be destroyed. But, as was seen in the fable, an invisible hand would throw a stone into the midst of them, and make them contend with one another, till but few remained, and these would assist in building the city of God, while his Church looked calmly on till the undertaking was accomplished, and then the cry there would be heard, 'This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.'" The metaphor seems rather "mixed." The men of letters are sowing the dragon's teeth; from the dragon's teeth spring an armed host; these fall out and fight each other; but, according to the story, Jason, who sows the teeth, remains triumphant, while the dragon's-teeth warriors slay each other. The moral, then, is that the men of letters will remain triumphant, while whatever is signified by the dragon's teeth will destroy itself though endeavoring to destroy them. The learned doctor should study his classics a little more accurately before drawing upon them for illustrations; like Balaam, he has essayed to curse the Israel of science, and, behold, he hath blessed them altogether, and hath prophesied in a parable of their ultimate triumph.

It seems, however, that the dragon's teeth, or Jason, or Cadmus, or somebody else, is to be opposed. "To some it might appear madness for men to attack that which they—the ministers—knew to be impregnable fortresses, and they might feel disposed to think that they might safely be left to their own undoing. But there was a method in their madness, and therefore they must be resisted, and with an intelligent ministry they had nothing to fear." An intelligent ministry combating methodically mad potsherds is a beautiful thought! There is only one disadvantage about an intelligent ministry. The most intelligent members of it have a bad habit of slipping into infidelity, and joining the ranks of the potsherds.

Dr. Aveling does not appear to be quite easy in his mind as to Messrs. Moody and Sankey. He says he approves of revivals, but nevertheless he gives a sly kick to "the evangelists." "The healthiest condition of a church" is when it is "not exhibiting a morbid craving for this or that delicious spiritual food, but, led to green pastures, to find them so satisfying that it had no desire to stray elsewhere (to big revival-meetings), or to have some shepherd from other places [Moody, bien entendu] to lead it to more stimulative, but perhaps more artificially-produced, food [oh, fie, Dr. Aveling, to speak thus of the simple and childlike Moody], that might not be found to be so truly nourishing." Carried away by professional jealousy, Dr. Aveling continues: "I fear there is sometimes a propensity to attach undue importance to the coming of evangelists to labor among our churches, looking for the advent of proposed revival-

lets as if that were almost essential to the awakening of renewed life. Now, though no one will be more ready than we are to honor such excellent men as were recently among us, or to avow a respect for their piety, simplicity, and disinterestedness of aim, yet are we to believe that the work of revival could not have gone on without them? that apart from their presence and teaching there would have been no success? that they were the sole *avant couriers* of the spirit of God? and that no one else might presume to look for and obtain the Divine influence which is necessary to awaken people? In plain words: "Is not an Aveling as good as a Moody?" It must be pleasant for Mr. Moody to see the kindly Christian feelings his "big success" has caused in the bosoms of his brethren. Would some reader of THE INDEX kindly mail him a marked copy of his brother's loving remarks? But let him be consoled. For *l'imitation c'est la flatterie la plus sincère*, and Dr. Aveling thinks that perhaps, if they try to be as illiterate and boorish as Moody, they may share his success. "We may be certain that God will come to us, if we, too, be single-minded [narrow-minded?]; be content even to be thought illiterate, unscientific, if we can only succeed in obtaining a hearing for our message. Be satisfied with the simple presentation of the truth as it is in Jesus." In fact, be as clumsy, as awkward, as uneducated as a Moody, and then, perhaps, God will grant you crowded houses and hysterical audiences. We wish the congregations joy of their new style of preachers; but Dr. Aveling seems to have forgotten all about his "Intelligent ministry" who were to cope with the men of science.

A strange sermon has been preached, one of a course to be delivered at the request of the Christian Evidence Society, by a Rev. F. J. Jayne, M. A., tutor of Keble College, Oxford, on the text: "We walk by faith and not by sight." The preacher appears to have fallen in love with the famous saying: "I believe because it is impossible." "We were invited," he said, "to confront the darkest and most overwhelming of all mysteries,—the existence of physical and, still more, of moral evil, in a world made by an all-good and almighty Creator." No attempt at solution of the problem appears, according to the report before us, to have been attempted by the preacher. He simply stated that "it became easier to believe that we could not know the whole on this side of the grave, than it would be to accept any hypothesis which would claim to solve the mystery." So it is "easier" to shut the eyes and guess at a good God, than to peer steadily into the darkness and try to see. "We believed some dogmas because they were irrational, and though that fact set the teeth of fanaticism on edge, it had a fascination for us." But that is just the sort of declaration which pleases fanaticism. Only a fanatic could accept anything so utterly monstrous. What is the use of reason, if unreason is to be accepted as divine? Surely, this is the very Nemesis of faith. "We must return to the old grandly illogical position that, though evil was above, beneath, around, within us, yet God was at once all-good and almighty." The position is certainly "illogical," but does that make it "grand"? According to this dangerous doctrine, the more irrational the creed the more likely to be true. Then why not believe in a dozen gods, in dragons, in unicorns, in flying fiery serpents? Why not worship stones, lizards, monkeys, images? It would be "grandly illogical" to do all this, and thoroughly "irrational": no argument can serve against it, as the confessedly irrational cannot be touched by argument. And this from the Christian Evidence Society! Mr. Jayne concludes that "no one had discovered peace by discussing the problem of evil, but tens of thousands had found blessing in contending against it." That is, of course, no answer to the problem, but to fight against evil is sound practical advice, and as Mr. Jayne is manifestly not suited to metaphysics, had he not better confine himself for the future to showing people how to destroy evil, instead of talking about its origin?

As an English Secularist, permit me, Mr. Editor, to send, through THE INDEX, a word of congratulation to the Secularists in New York City. "Jenny June" writes me that a "Hall of Science" has just been opened in that town "at 141 East 8th Street, by Mr. G. L. Henderson, a man of some means," and that he has been joined in the effort by a gentleman "once a Po-tivist, and by far the most able man we had," and by another clever thinker. She speaks of these as "solid, excellent, earnest men." Thus the venture opens under favorable auspices. Here in England, our "Hall of Science" in London flourishes and grows ever stronger, and is becoming more and more recognized as a power to be reckoned with; it is a centre of radical political, as well as radical religious, thought, and as a London daily said sadly, "The Hall of Science can always furnish the nucleus of a formidable political demonstration." Why should not the New York Hall of Science prove the centre whence should flow a purifying current of political action? Right politics are the secret of a nation's happiness, and what but the happiness of the nation is the aim of the secularist?

ON A SULTRY Sunday morning the pastor's little girl, of nearly three summers, became wearied at the length of the sermon, and in a low tone of voice, but very earnestly, said, to the great amusement of those who sat near: "Come, papa; that's enough. Let's go home."

I LIKE THE sentiment of the poor woman who, coming from a wretched garret in an inland manufacturing town for the first time to the sea-shore, gazing at the ocean, said "she was glad for once in her life to see something which there was enough of."—Emerson.

Communications.

PHILADELPHIA LETTER.

PHILADELPHIA, May, 1876.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Not the least impressive among the many objects of interest at the Centennial Exhibition is the scene presented within Machinery Hall. There is this vast building, filled with machinery of every variety imaginable, from its adaptation to the finest work entering into the exact mechanism of a watch, to its applicability for effecting the most ponderous results, and all so complicated, yet acting with the utmost precision, as if instinct with intelligence. In the midst of all stands the omnipotent, giant engine, which at a touch sends life and action into its entire little universe of wonderfully-organized subjects, inertly waiting for the quickening impulse which its concentrated force can give. The impression produced is one of wonder and admiration at what the eye beholds, mingled with a sense of awe and reverence in contemplation of the invisible powers of Nature, by whose agency all this is wrought.

Emerson says, "We see God face to face every hour." This is usually understood to apply to the works of Nature, in contradistinction to the works of man. But, thus surrounded by the achievements of man, I was penetrated with the thought that God was there, the prime inspirer of it all; that, in the process of carrying out the grand designs of the universe, the Divine Architect, by a chosen method of evolution, by long and slow processes, at length brought matter to that nice degree of refinement which fitted it to serve, in the brain of man, as a medium of his own intelligence, and that thus, through man's agency, the Divine could evolve those products which could not be attained by the comparatively crude forces of Nature, and which, though usually ascribed to the wit and cunning of man, are really but manifestations of the Divine idea.

In a different way is the presence of Divine intelligence, as manifested through man, suggested by the innumerable products of skill—the contributions from all nations,—to be seen in the Main Hall of the Exhibition. Vain would it be to attempt a specification of interesting objects comprised in this seeming infinity of devices. To say nothing of the physical fatigue of traversing these many long avenues, stretching from end to end of the building, together with the frequent cross-alles from side to side, the eye soon becomes weary of seeing, and the mind too much bewildered to take in and retain a just impression of the multitudinous and widely diverse objects presented. To do justice to this grand Exhibition, one needs to take up his abode in the city for months, and study at leisure, from day to day, its separate portions. In this way the purposes of foreign travel might be largely accomplished. Still, much satisfaction may be obtained from spending only a day or two upon the grounds, and thus getting a general knowledge and impression of the whole.

The material advantages arising from the introduction of the arts and productions of one country to the knowledge of another are, of course, very great; but more important than these is the gain to humanity from bringing the diverse elements of it into familiar intercourse and acquaintance. It cannot but suggest to the different nations and races, that they are members of one great common family; that the interests of one are the interests of all; and that a narrow, selfish policy cannot but be suicidal to the highest good and prosperity of any one who should adopt it. And so, to the philanthropist and to the man possessing the spirit of a true, universal religion, this Congress of Nations, with the results of their civilization, cannot but encourage hope and stimulate effort in laboring for the elevation of humanity to a higher plane of freedom, justice, and righteousness—in short, to all that constitutes religion in its highest sense—than the world has ever yet known. A. H.

THE GREAT OPPORTUNITY.

NEW YORK, May 8, 1876.

EDITOR INDEX:

Dear Sir,—The sentiment of the working people is undoubtedly in favor of having the Centennial Exhibition open on Sunday. They feel the need of recreation as well as rest on that day; and the idea that they, as a class, are to be deprived of the benefits of the national exhibition, because of the mistaken zeal of Christians, is not pleasant to contemplate. Even thus early do we hear expressions showing plainly that the poor think the Centennial is to be managed so as to exclude them, in order that the rich may enjoy the Exhibition more exclusively; and so, at the beginning, the grand possibility of making it a place where all might mingle in harmony is thrown away. Whether we favor opening the Exhibition on Sunday or not, and whether our reasons are "Christian" or not, the fact remains, that Sunday is the people's day,—a day when the rank and file would turn out en masse to honor the nation's Centennial by their presence.

The zealous Christians in the Commission say No to this; and what else could we expect from those whose conception of the Ruler of this universe is developed from long years of slavery to creeds which reason and science have long since proved foolish?

Now more clearly apparent than ever is the necessity for the meeting of the Congress of Liberals; and I hope every earnest man and woman who has heard of that proposed meeting will, by word and presence and money, assist in making that meeting a grand success. The list of money received for this purpose grows, but not fast enough to prove that we are in earnest.

There are many who have not responded who can and should; and surely another appeal would arouse

them to the propriety of backing up their principles by something more substantial than words. Words do some good, as evinced by the article from a country paper sent you yesterday, which was suggested by a postal addressed to the editor asking him "to speak for many an earnest word against closing the Centennial on Sunday."

But now we should all earnestly help to make our Liberal Congress a grand meeting, protesting in solemn tones against religious slavery.

Yours truly,

"A."

A BAPTIST'S FREEDOM.

MR. EDITOR:—

Do you know of any kind of religious freedom equal to this?

At one of the revival meetings held here a year ago, the Baptist minister of this place rose and said:—

"I am a free man. There is no ecclesiastical power on earth that has a feather's weight of authority over me. I think as I please; I act as I please; I believe what I please; and I please to think, and act, and believe as my Bible tells me to."

On another evening he accounted for certain strange phenomena thus:—

"It is true that infidels often lead moral lives. They are good neighbors, good citizens, and just in their dealings with their fellow-men; but they are so because they are obliged to be, in order to maintain their position. They claim to be as good as Christians, and therefore must behave decently before the world. A Christian does right simply because God requires it."

One night, at the close of an exhortation, this same gentleman stepped forward, and, walking slowly up the aisle in a fruitless quest for symptoms of penitence, unlocked his heavy lips to proclaim: "This is a free country. 'Tis a very free country. You can go to heaven or hell, just as you like." He then passed on in silence, leaving his ponderous words to impress the audience. X.

FUNERAL OF THE LATE BARON DE PALM.

NEW YORK, May 28.

The funeral of Baron de Palm according to ancient Egyptian rites was the occasion for a gathering of nearly 4,000 people at the Masonic Temple this afternoon. The deceased Baron, who came to this country fifteen years ago, had expressed a wish that no Christian priest or minister should be allowed to take part in his obsequies. They were conducted by the Theosophical Society of this city, of which the deceased was a member. Only those having tickets, about 1,500 in all, were admitted to the building. The assemblage was well dressed and intensely curious in regard to the nature of the funeral rites. They were of a much simpler character than had been expected. The coffin containing the body was placed on a dais on the platform. On the coffin were seven lights arranged in the shape of a triangle. Colonel Olcott acted as master and conducted the ceremonies. With him were six others to make responses. They were habited in long black robes. After brief intervals of music the questions and responses began. They consisted of curiously-phrased questions and answers from a regular ancient Egyptian liturgy, in regard to the nature of God, the human soul, and a future state of existence. During the questions and answers incense was burned and a figure of a serpent, twisted round a wooden cross, stood beside the coffin. An old gentleman, who did not like the nature of the ideas put forth in the ritual, ordered his daughter to leave the organ, so part of the musical portion of the ceremonies had to be dispensed with. Colonel Olcott delivered a long address on the nature of theosophy, and said the deceased Baron, after a long life in courts and a career of ambition, finding nothing in the creeds to satisfy his inquiries in regard to a future state, found consolation in theosophy. After the rites were over the remains were removed to a vault in the Lutheran cemetery, and will, it is said, be cremated as soon as permission can be obtained from the authorities. The body was embalmed soon after death. The Times has the following description of the scene: The platform or altar was embellished by an incense-burner which, according to the offices of the society, was emblematic of the worship of fire, and a wooden cross bearing a serpent who seemed to be engaged in an honest but fruitless effort to bite his own tail. This was typical, according to a member of the association of "the evolution of matter." Between the cross and the vase of burning incense, and directly in front of the stage, appeared the coffin. It was a handsome ebony casket, bound with silver, and bearing the name, age, and titles of the dead gentleman. On it were placed seven lighted candles, five of them white, one of them red, and the other green; they were also intended to typify the worship of fire and light. Seated on the stage, in a circle behind the coffin, were the president and six members or fellows of the association. They were all clad in long flowing gowns of a heavy black woollen material, and each of them bore in his hand a bunch of green leaves, which signified their "good will and peace toward men."—Advertiser.

THE LOUISVILLE Courier-Journal tells of an impecunious tramp therewith, who offered a cancelled postage-stamp for sale at a high price as a sacred relic, declaring that it was from one of St. Paul's letters to the Corinthians. This is a hard winter.

A LITTLE half orphan, four years old, who has been taught that her papa is in heaven, and who was particularly annoyed by loud thunder one day, said: "I wish I could speak to my papa to ask God not to make so much noise up in heaven."

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Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America—that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country,—is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large." And later still: "I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest."

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Property is the Right of Increase claimed by the Proprietor over anything which he has stamped as his own.

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Second Proposition. Property is impossible, because, wherever it exists, Production costs more than it is worth.

Third Proposition. Property is impossible, because, with a

given Capital, Production is proportional to Labor, not to Property.

Fourth Proposition. Property is impossible, because it is Homocidal.

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Journal of Radicalism and Freethought.

EDITED BY

CHARLES BRADLAUGH.

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CONGRESS OF LIBERALS!

AN APPEAL TO ALL

Who believe that the United States should be

Absolutely Secularized,

And who favor the movement to carry out the principle of

STATE SECULARIZATION,

As indicated in the "Demands of Liberalism."

605 WALNUT ST., PHILADELPHIA, }
March 1, 1876. }

To the Liberal Leagues and the Liberal Public of the United States:—

The General Centennial Committee, appointed at a convention held in this city last September for the purpose of making all necessary arrangements for a General Centennial Congress of Liberals next summer, have decided to call said Congress to convene at Philadelphia, Saturday, July 1, 1876,—further particulars to be hereafter announced.

Each organized Liberal League will be entitled to send five delegates as special representatives—three in addition to its President and Secretary. But all individual Liberals who sympathize with the general objects and aims of the Liberal Leagues will be equally entitled and welcomed to seats and votes in the Congress.

REPORT PROMPTLY!

In order to lessen as much as possible the expenses of the delegates, each League is requested to elect them as soon as possible, and to report their names to the undersigned through its Secretary. All Liberals, delegates, or individuals who desire and intend to participate in the Convention are requested also to forward personally and immediately their names and full post-offices addresses to the undersigned, that he may be enabled to make the most favorable terms possible for their accommodation. If notified early, he hopes to secure for them a considerable reduction in railroad fares, and to provide boarding-places at perhaps half the usual rates of the season.

Donations Solicited!

The Centennial Committee on Finance having through their Chairman transferred their duties to the General Centennial Committee, the undersigned has been appointed to attend to the financial department, and hereby appeals to the Liberals of the country for voluntary contributions to the amount of One Thousand Dollars. This amount will be needed to make the Congress a complete success, though the utmost possible will be done with whatever is contributed. The officers of the union of Liberal German societies propose to raise the same amount for their convention, and have already raised \$600 of it. The Young Men's Christian Association here have already spent this year nearly \$100,000 in preparation for the Centennial, in the interest of Orthodox superstition; it would be a pity if all the friends of "Liberty and Light" could not do a hundredth part as much for the cause of national development and free humanity! The money will all be wanted (and much more could be advantageously expended) in providing suitable halls and head-quarters, advertising the Congress liberally in advance in the chief dailies of the country, defraying the necessary expenses of desired and invited speakers, paying verbatim reporters, publishing a complete pamphlet report of the proceedings, etc., etc. What is done must be done speedily, since the arrangements should be completed, as far as practicable, by the first of May.

All sums donated will be duly acknowledged in THE INDEX, and a full report of all expenditures will be sent for publication in the same paper. Remittances should be sent to the undersigned, 605 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. Will not all friends of the movement respond heartily and at once?

DAMON Y. KILGORE,

Acting Treasurer.

I believe that Mr. Kilgore is a gentleman of unimpeachable personal integrity, and that all money remitted to him as above will be faithfully and economically devoted to the legitimate uses of the Congress.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT,

Chairman of the General Centennial Committee.

General Centennial Committee:

FRANCIS E. ABBOT,

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with power to increase their number to fifteen. The completion and success of the arrangements must depend on the liberality of the friends of the movement, who are respectfully and earnestly solicited to contribute the necessary funds.

The Index.

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VOLUME 7.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, JUNE 15, 1876.

WHOLE NO. 338.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

Therefore, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

- ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF —.
- ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in —, and thereby to effect the total separation of Church and State in fact as well as in theory.
Also to send delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League, when organized, and to cooperate heartily with all the liberals of the country in furtherance of the above-named object.
- ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.
- ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.
- ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.
- ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League.
- ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

ion. No person shall ever in any State be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious practices shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

THE LATEST EDITION of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* estimates that within four centuries America will sustain a population of thirty-six thousand millions!

A NEW Liberal League has just been organized at Adel, Iowa, and Hon. Benjamin Green elected its delegate to the Congress of Liberals. We learn indirectly of other elections of delegates, but not officially.

THE NINTH Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association, which imperative duties elsewhere forbade us to attend, is said to have been as interesting and enjoyable as ever. We are sorry to have received no report of the proceedings to supply the deficiency of personal participation.

AN ITEM is floating through the press, saying that a clergyman, being invited to open a State Legislature with prayer, uttered the following ambiguous petition: "May corruption and sin of every form be as far from every member of this Legislature as Thou art." We are almost in favor of appointing that clergyman a chaplain.

A VERY INTERESTING circular on "The Sacred Books of the East" was kindly forwarded to us by Professor Max Müller, just before he left England to secure a year's rest on the Continent. It gives valuable information concerning the great literary enterprise to which he intends devoting several years of toil, and is republished in full in this issue of THE INDEX. Every one interested in the religions of the Orient will wish for Professor Müller a renewal of health and vigor, and await with keen expectancy the final result of his indefatigable labors.

THE DESTRUCTION of the historic Old South meeting-house was actually begun last Friday, June 9. By permitting this act, Boston proves its "Centennialism" to be sheer vandalism, thinly varnished over with a pretence of reverence for the precious heirlooms of the Revolution. She is unworthy to have the custody of such things, and will soon be as bare of them as Chicago. But what a year to select for the display of her "cheap commercial spirit"! Boston as a city has sunk to the level of a miser who should sell his mother's coffin for the sake of a few silver-plated nails.

THE NATIONAL Woman Suffrage Association have opened "Parlors" at Philadelphia. On July 4 they propose to issue a "Declaration of Rights" for woman, and a "Grand Protest" against the Centennial celebration of "the Independence of the People" while one-half of the people are political slaves. They call upon all women, "in meetings, in parlors, in kitchens, wherever they may be," to join in this declaration and protest, and to send them copies of their utterances for preservation in a Centennial Book. They also announce a great mass-meeting in Philadelphia on July 19 and 20. For further particulars, address "The National Woman Suffrage Parlors, 1431 Chestnut St., Philadelphia."

THE LIST of subscriptions for the Centennial Congress of Liberals has swelled so rapidly this week that it bids fair to crowd our editorials over to the advertising pages! It is like an oak planted in a flower-pot, threatening to burst the confines of THE INDEX

altogether. Very well: so be it! For two or three weeks longer we cheerfully yield all the space which is needed to tell the story of the generous enthusiasm of the friends of the National Liberal League. It is a story a thousandfold more eloquent and inspiring than any words of ours could possibly be. We exult in this proof that the liberals of America are baptized with a new spirit of earnestness for freedom and equal rights; and we believe that in the years to come every one whose name is there inscribed will point to it with pride and pleasure. That list is the Roll of Honor of this Centennial year; and our children, conning the records of the long conflict by which religious liberty in America was made forever safe from the crafty assaults of its enemies, will rejoice to read in it the names they hold most dear.

THE CHRISTIAN AMENDMENT party (misnamed the "National Reform Association") announce a great convention in the Academy of Music, Philadelphia, beginning on Wednesday, June 28, and closing on Friday, June 30—just before the Centennial Congress of Liberals is convened. They publish a list of ninety-two Vice Presidents, all eminent in Church or State. On June 7, Senator Cameron, of Pennsylvania, presented in Congress numerous petitions, signed by 3,964 persons, "in favor of an amendment to the Constitution recognizing the Almighty God and the Christian religion." It is as easy to vote this Christianizing movement dead as it is to vote oneself a farm; and it is as easy in one case as in the other to execute the vote. The stubborn fact is that "the movement moves"—which is all that can well be expected of any movement. These persistent fanatics perfectly comprehend the situation; they perceive the necessity of making the national Constitution and the national administration harmonize; and they propose to do it by making the Constitution recognize Christianity. The Liberal League proposes to do it by making the administration recognize secular freedom. One or the other policy must triumph in the end: which shall it be?

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, who is regarded as the ablest Catholic in England, has written: "Whatever be historical Christianity, it is not Protestantism. If ever there were a safe truth, it is this. And Protestantism has ever felt it. I do not mean that every Protestant has felt it; for it was the fashion at first, at least as a rhetorical argument against Rome, to appeal to past ages, or to some of them; but Protestantism, as a whole, feels it, and has felt it. This is shown in the determination of dispensing with historical Christianity altogether, and of forming a Christianity from the Bible alone; men never would have put it aside, unless they had despaired of it. It is shown by the long neglect of ecclesiastical history in England, which prevails even in the English Church. Our popular religion scarcely recognizes the fact of the twelve religion ages which lie between the Councils of Nicea and Trent, except as affording one or two passages to illustrate its wild interpretations of certain prophecies of St. Paul and St. John. It is melancholy to say it, but the chief, perhaps the only, English writer who has any claim to be considered an ecclesiastical historian is the infidel Gibbon. German Protestantism, on the other hand, has been of a bolder character; it has calmly faced and carefully surveyed the Christianity of eighteen hundred years, and it frankly avows that it is a mere religion of man, and the accident of a period. It considers it a syncretism of various opinions, springing up in time and place, and forming such combinations, one with another, as their respective characters admitted. It considers it as the religion of the childhood of the human mind, and curious to the philosopher as a phenomenon. And the utter incongruity between Protestantism and historical Christianity is true, whether the latter be regarded in its earlier or in its later centuries."

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The Catholic Peril in America.

REPRINTED FROM THE "LONDON FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW,"
OF MARCH, 1876.*

BY FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT.

[CONCLUDED FROM LAST WEEK.]

No doubt can be left in the mind of any one who even superficially studies this subject, that the entire forces of the Catholic Church (excepting only here and there an isolated and half-liberalized Catholic, like Senator Kernan, of New York, or Mayor Kelly, of Richmond,) are gradually becoming massed in determined opposition to the public school system, or that their opposition, which is already arousing an aggressive Evangelical reaction, threatens to destroy even the present imperfect secularism of the schools, and thereby ultimately the public school system itself; for it may be safely said that American voters will certainly refuse to be taxed for the support of other men's religions, and that, if they cannot agree to support public schools independent of all religions, they will sooner or later refuse to be taxed for public schools of any sort. And the worst peril of the Catholic agitation at present is the possibility of its so inflaming the jealousy and bigotry of Protestants as to lead to a general adoption of church-schools, or (worse even than that) the effective and permanent fortification of the present sectarian features of the public schools by the adoption of measures which, as I shall show below, must involve a tremendous revolution in the whole theory of American politics.

SUCCESS OF THE ATTACK.

The degree of success already achieved by the Catholic clergy in alienating the affections of their flocks from the public school system may be seen by the public boast of Bishop McQuaid, of Rochester, New York, who said, four years ago: "There are at the present time not far from one hundred thousand Catholic children in the Christian free schools of the State of New York"—i. e., in the parochial schools supported voluntarily by Catholics. Turning over the leaves of *Sadler's Catholic Directory*, in every diocese there is seen to be a long list of such schools, with a large number of pupils in each; but the labor of adding them all up, which would be herculean, is left to the reader. It is evident that the parochial school system is in a highly flourishing condition, and must be supported by the vast majority of the Catholic laity. Whoever imagines (and multitudes of otherwise intelligent persons in this country indulge the imagination) that the Catholic laity cannot

be depended upon to follow the lead of their clergy in opposition to the public school-system, should devote a few hours to a careful inspection of this *Directory*. To select the very first list of parochial schools, that of the archdiocese of Baltimore, as an illustration, he would find 61 schools, with a total attendance of 13,016 scholars, and an average attendance of about 240. A similar showing is made in all the other archdioceses, dioceses, and vicariates apostolic. Of course there are not a few individual Catholics who are too lax in the faith to give up the substantial advantages of a public school education for their children, even for the threats or promises of the Church; and for the present the ecclesiastical authorities tolerate a certain amount even of open opposition. But it is the extreme of credulity to be deceived by such facts as these into doubting the fixity of the ecclesiastical purpose or the certainty of general lay compliance. The parochial system is so flourishing, and so well sustained by lay contributions, as already to have seriously reduced the attendance at the public schools in many places, and in a few (as in some parts of Brooklyn, I believe) to have almost broken them up. Bishop McQuaid declared, in 1871, that the city of Rochester, New York, in which he resides, had 4,000 children in the Catholic schools, and 5,500 in the public schools; and he added, in the same spirit as that of Bishop Gilmour's above-quoted Lenten Pastoral: "In the years to come we shall be more occupied with school-building, and with the education of our children, than the erecting of churches, although this work will not be permitted to stand still."

Bishop Ryan, of Buffalo, like every bishop who has spoken publicly on the subject, has declared the same policy, and avowed himself "a stern, avowed, and uncompromising enemy" of all schools in which positive instruction in the Catholic faith is not given. The result of this unanimous policy has been to tax heavily the pockets of the people, who have nevertheless cheerfully submitted in the main.

But the Catholic warfare against secular State education is not alone manifested by the establishment of a great independent system of Church schools: it adapts itself to circumstances. Wherever the Church can get control of the public schools, it does not scruple to do so; and, if the Catholics ever become the majority, as they confidently expect, their objections to State education will vanish: The Louisville, Kentucky, *Catholic Advocate*, of August 12, 1875, published the following letter:—

"EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL., August 4, 1875.

"EDITOR CATHOLIC ADVOCATE:—

"Yours of the 28th ult. was received, but, being absent from home, I could not answer you ere this. The scrap of news hailing from East St. Louis is true. The Board of Education permits us to select our own teachers, and they are approved of by the Board according to law. Catechism is taught outside of school hours in the school-rooms. Our text-books are all right. You seem anxious to know how comes it that our schools are supported by the public funds. Well, it is this wise: the majority of our population are Catholics, and they elect Catholic directors. This is the key that solves the grant. You may make any comment you please. I simply give the facts as required.

"Yours very respectfully,
"P. J. O'FALLORAN, V. F."

Some of the comments on this letter, made by the editor of the *Catholic Advocate*, are so instructive, and throw so much light on the subject under discussion, that I must not omit them, considering that the original words are more satisfactory than any paraphrase of my own:—

"Catholics may from this plainly see for themselves that the settlement of this fretted question depends altogether on votes. In cities where justice to Catholics is most easy, there are always a sufficient number of Catholic voters to turn the tide of election in any way they please, if they will but unite and intelligently use their franchise, the only argument that can reach the non-Catholic public. It is by no means necessary that Catholics should be in a majority in a community to obtain a division of the school-fund,—a small return for what they yearly pay for this purpose into the public treasury. It is only necessary that they should allow politicians to divide among themselves, as their own ambition and pecuniary interest will always divide them, and then cast the weight of the Catholic vote in favor of every good man who is willing to support the Catholic claim for justice. In this way a comparatively small band of voters may elect to office men of their own principles."

THE POWER OF A MINORITY.

The whole world knows how New York city lay for years at the mercy of a gang of thieves and robbers called the Tammany Ring, who stole millions upon millions of the public money, and kept themselves in power by the Catholic vote, which was always ready to support such "good" men as Tweed, Sweeney, Connolly, Hall, Barnard, McCunn. In 1869, 1870, and part of 1871, under the régime of this precious set, sectarian appropriations out of the money raised by tax on the property of New York citizens were made to 103 Catholic institutions, including churches, hospitals, parochial schools, and so forth, to the amount of \$1,390,339. During the same time, appropriations were made to Protestant institutions to the amount of \$112,293, and to Hebrew institutions to the amount of \$25,852: both together, \$138,145. All this money was virtually stolen money. The Protestants accepted 7 per cent., and the Catholics 91 per cent. Over and above this, in 1869, the Catholics got \$178,072, the Protestants \$0,500, and the Hebrews and others \$29,738 of excise money. And the same story must be told of the succeeding years, even after the downfall of the Ring, the amounts

only being less, down to the 1st of January, 1875, when the exasperated people put a summary stop to all further sectarian stealings by an amendment to the State Constitution. But the debt of New York city, according to Comptroller Green's statement, amounted, on October 1, 1875, to \$131,113,900.74; and for a very large, if not the major, part of this enormous debt the Catholic vote must be held responsible, since without it the rogues could not have committed their robberies, nor their insatiable party remained in power. In this manner, the Catholic Church, accepting largesses of money which it well knew to be stolen property, built up its costly parochial schools for the better training of its children in the elements of morals. If it should be held to be directly implicated in the thefts by which it so largely profited, and to be consequently unfitted for giving instruction in any morals but those of the pick-pocket, it might protest against the severity of such judgment, but would find it extraordinarily difficult to dispute its justice. So far as they shared in this public iniquity, the Protestants and Hebrews also must share in the public disgrace; but the chief offenders have the chief title to the unenviable distinction it confers. There is little cause for surprise, if the astonishing growth of the Catholic Church, and its relentless hostility to thoroughly honest education as given in the public schools, have excited grave disquietude in the minds of all American citizens, who do not favor a general corruption of public morals.

Perceiving, then, how easy it is in this country for an unprincipled minority to acquire controlling power, and how ready the Catholic Church is to aid and abet their plots for its own sinister purposes, and how mischievously it is already using its great political influence to compass the destruction of our only real safeguard, the public school system, every intelligent and sincere friend of free institutions must deplore the garrulous fatuity which so loudly and frequently urges that because the Catholics are only a minority they are not to-day dangerous. Is it so new a thing for a minority to govern? Did not a minority of 300,000 slave-holders conquer the whole United States, compelling us, for many decades, to obey their own imperious will? Did not a ridiculously small minority, the Tammany Ring, conquer the city and State of New York, ruling and robbing without check, because they were cunning and organized, while the great public were stupid, indifferent, and disunited? What gigantic and persistent efforts were necessary to break the sceptre of this half-dozen of treasury-pilferers, and how small has been the success of those who tried to punish the robbers and recover the plunder! Minority, indeed! But has not the world been ruled by minorities from time immemorial? The Catholic party is certainly a minority; nevertheless it is to-day winning victory after victory over the great helpless majority, and will continue to do so, fastening itself on the neck of the nation, like the Old Man of the Sea on the neck of Sindbad the Sailor, unless the majority have sense enough to open their eyes and enact the measures necessary for the preservation of their liberties.

THE ELEMENTS OF CATHOLIC POWER.

The elements of its power are chiefly these:—
 [The Catholic theory is, intellectually considered, a self-consistent and logically compacted whole; it can be understood, therefore, and over every mind untrained to see the falsity of its premises possesses that mighty power which grows out of this easy intelligibility. This is a cause of perpetual fidelity to Catholicism among intellectual people who can comprehend logic, but know little or nothing of science. Most Protestant theological arguments against Catholicism they see to be mere blunders,—failures to understand what is controverted; and scientific arguments against it they themselves fail to understand. A high degree of mental culture in certain directions is thus compatible with profound faith in Catholicism; while uncultured people, being relieved from the necessity of thinking for themselves, encounter no difficulty in submitting to a faith which is only presented to them in a simple, attractive, and harmonious manner. Few non-Catholics are able to appreciate this element of strength, from a lack of that logical imagination which is requisite to look at Catholicism heliocentrically, so to speak,—from an inability to discern the rigorous intellectual unity of a system the premises of which they themselves reject. But no one who is competent to comprehend Catholicism can fail to be struck with the logical power often displayed by Catholic reasoners, or to perceive the secret cause why so few Catholics become Protestants: namely, the fact that Catholics are logically more true to the premises of Christianity than are Protestants, whose system is an image of gold with feet of clay. What makes Catholics apostatize is very seldom the arguments of Protestantism: it is the demonstrations of science, the influences of secular civilization, the mighty fascinations of spiritual and political freedom. Its intellectual unity deserves to be considered as the great cause of the power of Roman Catholicism. With unerring logical sequence, the Church has drawn out of the original "Christian confession" its latent implications, and expressed them historically in her own career; and she has nothing to fear from Protestantism till Protestantism has advanced to the freedom and enlightenment of positive knowledge.]

The Roman Catholic Church is a universal, political power, foreign nowhere, but everywhere at home—a Theocratic Imperialism of the most absolute character, both spiritual and temporal—a system of government claiming and exercising the most despotic authority over the action of every one of its subjects, in political just as much as in private concerns. It commands the conscience and the suffrage of every Catholic citizen in support of every measure which it judges advantageous to its own interests, and thus

* The introductory portion as far as the sub-heading, "ROME IN AMERICA," and also a passage bracketed under the sub-heading, "THE ELEMENTS OF CATHOLIC POWER," were omitted in this article as published by the *Fortnightly Review*, and are here supplied from the manuscript sheets kindly returned by the editor.

lays an iron hand on the very roots of all political power. It wields this power solely with an eye to its own aggrandizement, and aims at a universal dominion which is hostile to every fundamental principle of the United States Constitution and of modern civilization.

In America, where everything is done by voluntary association, and where Protestant organizations are forced to enter into competition with the Catholic Church, the superior efficiency of the latter as an organization is indicated unmistakably in the statistics of their relative growth given above. There is no "canon law," technically considered, which is recognized by the civil courts of the United States; and the priests enjoy none of the protection against the arbitrary authority of their bishops which the "canon law" itself confers. This is a so-called "missionary country," in which the dioceses, however, are governed by canonical bishops, not by vicars apostolic; and the sixty-four bishops constitute a close corporation, with absolute power over the priests, who are thus mere slaves of Episcopal domination. Further, the title to the entire Church property of each diocese is vested in the bishop in fee simple; and the laity are thus as powerless as the priests against him. Lastly, the Catholic press is as completely under Episcopal control as the priesthood and the laity. This absolute concentration of all substantial power, alike over pulpit, property, and press, makes the bishops the most thoroughly despotic body in the land, and gives them a degree of power greater than they possess in any other country. The appointment of Cardinal McCloskey has completed the structure of Catholic ecclesiastical absolutism, against which there is no powerful barrier except the general protective influences of free political and educational institutions. Whether this protection will prove adequate or not, or whether it must be supplemented by positive restrictive legislation, is a question for the future to decide. Unfortunately, the case is complicated by the existence of a rival, but much feeble, spirit of propagandism among Protestant sects, which dangerously retards the establishment of that absolute separation of Church and State which is the vital principle of American republicanism.

Again, the wealth of the Catholic Church, which is the great weapon of its ambition, is accumulating, as I have already shown, far more rapidly than the general wealth of the country. By their individual tenure of all Church property, the bishops are enabled to manage it as they please; and they are shrewd enough to invest it as much as possible in real estate, holding it untaxed in consequence of the policy of exemption by which the States are preparing a bitter future for themselves, and leaving it to rise in value by the labors of the outside world. In addition to the constant contributions they collect in small sums from servant-girls and other poor Catholics, they thus contrive to levy taxes on the general community, and put their hands into the pocket of every business man in the nation. History and experience go for nothing with the preoccupied and apathetic public, who submit to all this in the half-defined but insane notion that somehow or other the laws of Nature are not the same here as in the Old World. Meanwhile the process continues, and the Roman Catholic Church is fast becoming the richest corporation in the land, with all its despotic money power in the hands of an Episcopal "Roman Ring," who use it in making it greater and more effective still for the overthrow of free institutions.

But greater than all these sources of strength put together, is the weakness of the public conscience and the unsuspiciousness of the public intelligence. The people have too long submitted, half angrily, half lazily, to the control of caucus-managers, petty rings, and utterly selfish politicians, who are all ready to make any sacrifice for immediate partisan success, and therefore to make any bargain, however corrupt, with those who hold the balance of power. Here is the unguarded point in the defenses of the public freedom. It is this moral and mental weakness of the people themselves, their blindness to the duty of the hour or their criminal negligence in performing it, which makes the Catholic minority so dangerous to the country.

THE THREE PHASES OF PROTESTANT REACTION.

Such are the chief elements of power, though many more might be enumerated, possessed by the Roman Catholic Church in its assault on the public schools, and (through them) all free institutions. But the real peril lies less in the present actual extent of this power than in the character of the reaction excited by its direct assault on the system of State education. Catholic ambition is rousing Protestant Evangelical ambition to new and dangerous manifestations; and between these rivalries of religious fanaticism, each party aiming at political power, I believe that the institutions of the Republic are certain to be subjected to a strain severer than any they have hitherto experienced. There are three leading forms assumed by the distinctively Protestant reaction against Catholic assaults on the public school system:—

1. A movement to surrender State education altogether, and to fall back on a system of denominational schools. This movement, which adopts the Catholic premise that doctrinal religious education is paramount in importance to all other, and which has been to some extent carried out by the establishment of Church schools of various Protestant sects, has not been a very influential one hitherto. But its ideas have been stated with great force in the *New York Tribune* of December 9, 1875, by the Rev. John Miller, in a letter headed "State Schools a Mistake."

2. A movement to defend State education is now conducted, including reading of the Bible "without note or comment," and also Protestant hymns and prayers. This movement represents the fixed determination of the vast majority of Evangelical Prot-

estants, as proved by the almost unanimous declarations of their ecclesiastical assemblages; although some influential journals whose orthodoxy is very imperfect—as, for instance, the *New York Christian Union* and *Independent*—are in favor of secular schools.

3. A movement to fortify the existing advantages of Evangelical Protestantism, both in the political and educational institutions of the nation, by securing the adoption of a doctrinal amendment of the United States Constitution, incorporating into its preamble a distinct national recognition of Protestant Christianity. This movement, of which I shall speak again, is numerically weak, but represents the logical necessity to which the Evangelical party will be driven by events, if the agitation of the Catholic question continues.

These are the three phases of Protestant reaction, as such, against the aggressive activity of the Roman Catholic Church. Of course there are a great many individual members of the Protestant sects who favor the principle of absolutely secular education in our public schools, and who will fail to act with their fellow-believers at the ballot-box. But, on the other hand, a great many persons who are totally disconnected with any Protestant sect, will be sure to vote in support of the Evangelical policy, whether from social, business, political, or other interested motives. Notwithstanding the wild and sanguine hopes of many liberals, and notwithstanding the loose boastfulness of superficial and flippant writers for the daily press, no intelligent observer can seriously doubt that the vast preponderance of political power is at present on the side of Evangelical Protestantism, whenever it chooses to assert itself at the polls; or that its strength lies chiefly in its rapidly consolidating organization, its wealth, its social supremacy, and its power to gratify or defeat political aspirations; or that its strength is relatively decreasing every day under the opposite encroachments of "Romanism and infidelity" on its domain; or that the instinct of self-preservation, together with the natural conservatism of all power and wealth, will drive it to give desperate battle in defence of its existing privileges rather than submit to deprivation of them by either of the foes that hem it in. While the great struggle over the slavery question continued, public attention was withdrawn from religious issues to a large extent. But now there is no longer any question of universal, absorbing interest before the people which can be compared for a moment with the question—*What shall be the permanent religious character of American civilization?* Every indication of the deeper currents of thought and feeling points to an approaching contest of unprecedented proportions in working out a practical solution of this mighty problem; and, roughly outlined, three great religious parties are now in the field, destined each to play a momentous part in the immediate future. The Centennial year of the national existence marks the beginning of a political epoch, of unknown duration, in which religion is evidently to take the lead of all public issues; and these three parties are slowly gathering themselves together for a struggle that must be forever memorable in the history of the race.

THE CATHOLIC PARTY.

The first of these parties—the Roman Catholic Church—I have already sufficiently described as it exists in the United States. Its power has been sufficiently proved by the fact that it has deliberately selected the field of battle for the first great shock of arms; namely, the public school system. It has also selected its own time, and made the first attack in force, and compelled its antagonists to assume the defensive attitude.

THE EVANGELICAL PARTY.

The second of the three parties is the Protestant Evangelical party, not compacted into one powerful organization like the Catholic Church, but composed of several great sects, and a swarm of minor ones, and weakened by mutual jealousies, discordant interests, and rival ambitions. But, politically considered, it is very likely to unite on some definite measure which shall be "unsectarian" as to its own component factions, yet "sectarian" as to both Catholics and "infidels," whom it dreads and hates as heartily as it does the Catholics. It has taken up the phrase "non-sectarian schools," as its watchword; but by this it means the schools as now conducted, with Protestant prayers, hymns, and scriptures. The studied ambiguity of this phrase (which, properly interpreted, would satisfy the friends of positive or secular education) is one of the dangerous elements of the situation. That the present school system is rendered in the large and true sense sectarian by the support of Protestant worship, would be stoutly denied by the vast majority of Protestant Evangelicals; but they are prepared to fight to the death in defence of this strictly sectarian worship, as the flag of Protestantism floating over the public schools. This was a leading issue in the Ohio campaign during the summer and autumn of 1875; and it promises to be a leading issue in the Presidential campaign of 1876. It is only by keeping the ambiguity of the word "sectarian" in mind that recent events can be understood in their full significance.

On September 29, at Des Moines, Iowa, President Grant made at the Reunion of the Army of the Tennessee one of the most important speeches ever delivered in this country, for it marked the definite introduction of the school question into national politics. Taking his cue from this speech, the Hon. James G. Blaine, late Speaker of the House of Representatives, and a well-known aspirant for the Presidency, wrote a private letter to an Ohio friend, under date of October 20th, proposing a form of amendment to the Constitution. This letter was not published till more than a month later, when it

made a great sensation; and on December 13th, Mr. Blaine formally proposed his amendment in the House, with slight modifications, as follows:—

"No state shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; and no money raised by taxation in any State for the support of public schools, or derived from any public fund therefor or any public lands devoted thereto, shall ever be under the control of any religious sect; and no money or lands so devoted shall be divided among religious sects or denominations."

This amendment is a direct blow aimed at the Roman Catholic Church in the interest of Evangelical Protestantism; for, if passed, it will defeat the Catholic effort to get control of or else divide the school funds, and at the same time will leave the Protestants in undisturbed mastery of the schools themselves. Mr. Blaine's proposition is a pretty evident bid for the support of the Evangelical party in the approaching political contest. But the President, in his annual message to Congress, dated December 7th, had already recommended measures still more sweeping, which have astounded the country by their boldness, and perplexed all parties alike. They include, among other things, the taxation of all church property (with "possibly" the exception of church edifices), the establishment of compulsory education so far as to make illiteracy a cause of disenfranchisement after 1890, and the formal declaration that Church and State shall be forever separate and distinct. With reference to the schools, I quote his language:—

"As the primary step, therefore, to our advancement in all that has marked our progress in the past century, I suggest for your earnest consideration, and most earnestly recommend it, that a Constitutional Amendment be submitted to the legislatures of the several States for ratification, making it the duty of the several States to establish, and forever maintain, free public schools adequate to the education of all the children in the rudimentary branches, within their respective limits, irrespective of sex, color, birthplace, or religion, forbidding the teaching in said schools of religious, atheistic, or Pagan tenets, and prohibiting the granting of any school funds or school taxes, or any part thereof, either by legislative, municipal, or other authority, for the benefit, or in aid, directly or indirectly, of any religious sect or denomination, or in aid, or for the benefit of any other object of any nature or kind whatever."

It is at present uncertain whether the President means to include Protestant worship under "teaching religious tenets"; but the courts could hardly construe the phrase so strictly. His language, like Mr. Blaine's, is open to more than a single construction; and it would hardly be just to insist on any particular one. Unfortunately ambiguous phraseology is no new thing in American politics. But the flood-gates are opened, and the public must be prepared for a deluge of propositions to amend the Constitution. It is a grave and anxious time for patriots. The school question is now fairly up for discussion and decision, and the form it has inevitably taken—that of a constitutional amendment—cannot fail to call public attention to another proposed amendment, which has been lying for years like a lighted slow-match near a powder-magazine.

THE "CHRISTIANIZERS," OR EVANGELICAL RADICALS.

The Protestant Evangelical party are evidently determined not to consent to the thorough secularization of the school system; they are doggedly resolved to keep the Bible in the schools. Starting with this foregone conclusion, there is an extreme left wing of the party which discerns the defective legal guarantees for the perpetuation of religious worship in the schools, and is shrewd enough to see that there is no way to perpetuate it without some formal recognition of Protestant Christianity in the fundamental law of the land. Every great question, like the slavery question, must be finally settled in this country by a constitutional amendment. To "defend the existing Christian features of the government" (for, notwithstanding the theoretical separation of Church and State, we have many such "survivals" of a pre-national period), these long-headed men, with the enthusiasm which is easily generated by clear conviction in logical minds, declare the absolute necessity to their cause of some adequate change in the Constitution, which is, thanks to the wisdom of its heterodox framers, a purely secular document from beginning to end, and contains not a clause or word by which, in the United States Courts, the "Christian features" alluded to could possibly be defended against a strong effort for their abolition. Consequently they propose to amend the preamble of the Constitution, which is its enacting clause, so as "suitably to express our national recognition of Almighty God as the author of national existence and the source of all power and authority in civil government, of Jesus Christ as the Ruler of nations, and of the Bible as the fountain of law, and the supreme rule for the conduct of nations."

"The birth of the movement for this purpose," says the Rev. David MacAllister, one of the leaders of it, "may be dated from the 4th day of February, 1863." Its first convention was held at Xenia, Ohio; and a similar convention, without any knowledge of the other, was held at Sparta, Illinois, on February 6th of the same year. Since then, numerous conventions have been held in different parts of the country on behalf of the movement, and have been usually largely attended and widely reported. United States Senators, Governors, Judges of the Supreme Courts of the United States and of many States and Territories, presidents and professors of colleges, bishops and clergymen of many denominations, and numerous dignitaries of all sorts, have

been found to lend the sanction of their names to these conventions and the object for which they are held. A weekly journal is published in Philadelphia as the organ of the movement, called the *Christian Statesman*, and edited by the Rev. T. P. Stevenson, an able and earnest man. A National Reform Association is about to be incorporated for the more effectual prosecution of the cause. Public petitions for this "Christian Amendment," as it has been appropriately designated by those who perceive that its real object is to make Christianity the established religion of the United States, have long been circulating for signatures; and it has been declared that 2,000,000 signatures are to be collected and presented to Congress in its support by the next 4th of July. That this movement is a thoroughly vital one, and certain sooner or later to create a fanatical enthusiasm of a very dangerous character, I became more than ever profoundly convinced on attending the national convention of these men at Cincinnati in 1872. It is a movement strong with all the strength of fixed moral purpose and of logic applied unanswerably to the universally accepted premises of the Evangelical Protestant faith; and now that the time is evidently drawing near for amending the Constitution with reference to the religious issue, those who are determined to keep the banner of Protestant Christianity flying over the public schools will soon come to see that they cannot ultimately succeed except through the success of this Christian Amendment. All that is wanting is to "fire the Evangelical heart"; and if the aggressiveness of Rome cannot do this, nothing can. President Grant's proposed amendment is not enough; Mr. Blaine's is not enough; nothing but this thoroughgoing Christian Amendment will impregnably fortify the Bible in the schools. The brain and the soul of the whole Protestant party are in this body of extremists,—this squad of determined soldiers of the Cross, who have carried on undauntedly their weary thirteen years' warfare in the face of indifference and opposition, and now see the decisive hour approaching. I know the tone of intense moral enthusiasm, as every one does who ever heard Garrison and Phillips and their followers in the anti-slavery warfare; and it is a perilous thing for liberty when a manifest spirit like that of the "original abolitionists" can be enlisted in the cause of a Christian Amendment. For this measure means disfranchisement and disability to hold office for every conscientious freethinker; and that means the concentration of all political power in the hands of bigots with conscience, or hypocrites without it, and that must mean, in the end, a million-fold more cruel civil war than the one that so lately filled the land with blood and with tears. Need more be said?

THE CATHOLIC PERIL.

This, then, is the Catholic peril in America,—not alone that the Roman Catholic Church may become a ruling majority, or (what is worse) a ruling minority, with all the measureless miseries and mischiefs of such rule, but that, in order to strengthen the Republic against the possibility of such rulership, the great Protestant party may resort to measures involving a revolutionary subversion of the fundamental principle of the Republic itself. For a hundred years our national life has been slowly developing into a more complete accordance with the principle that the Church and State can be and ought to be wholly separate. To reverse this principle now would be national ruin—a melancholy failure of the experiment of establishing a great civilization on universal reverence for the rights of man. It would not be our loss alone, but the world's as well; for the vitality of American institutions is in their strictly universal and cosmopolitan character, and in their adaptability to every community which has reached a certain average of popular intelligence and independence of character.

THE LIBERAL PARTY.

To defeat all such changes, and to carry forward to a higher, fuller, and nobler realization, the national ideal of a purely secular government, is the one object of the third great party of which I spoke. By this term I mean the vast unorganized body of all those who accept in its fulness the conception of a State absolutely emancipated from all ecclesiastical dictation or influence, and who intelligently defend the total separation of State and Church. Many such may be found, doubtless, among the nominal Protestants,—a few among the nominal Catholics; but the great majority are unconnected with ecclesiastical organizations. In this age of slowly disintegrating beliefs, the positive conception of a purely secular or civil State finds a hearty welcome in many minds which are not yet wholly rid of all contradictory conceptions; the contradictions, however, may be unconsciously harbored and practically inoperative, so far as conduct is concerned. All such are Liberals, in the broad sense I intend; and the true Liberal party must be held to include all citizens who comprehend and embrace the principle of absolutely secular government, whatever their opinions may be in religious matters.

Now this great third party, being unorganized, is of yet undetermined strength. For the first time in our national history, questions are arising for solution at the polls which will reveal its actual numbers and power. But their political programme, enumerating the points on which reform is actually required in order to render the State totally secular in its administration as well as in its theory, has been drawn up as follows in the so-called "Demands of Liberalism":—

"1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

"2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and

militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

"3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

"4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

"5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

"6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

"7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

"8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of 'Christian' morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

"9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made."

These "Demands of Liberalism," originally published in the *THE INDEX* (a weekly journal now printed in Boston), on April 6, 1872, have been copied and scattered all over the country through other publications. Early in 1873, "Liberal Leagues" began to be organized on them as a basis of action, and now number at least thirty, and probably more; but they have accomplished little in the way of tangible results. In fact, the time is hardly yet arrived for opportunities of efficient action.

Although the actual organization of this party is as yet inconsiderable, no thoughtful man will from this circumstance draw any augury as to its future; he will rather study closely the principles it represents, and its necessary relation to the issues which, as I have shown, are already compelling the attention of President, Congress, and people. It is absolutely impossible that the religious agitation into which the Catholic attack on the schools has precipitated the people of the United States should long continue, without calling out from an immense party some powerful affirmation of the fundamental principle [of the Total Separation of Church and State]. I believe that this party will speedily be a majority of the whole people. Even the Protestant Evangelical party are accustomed to accept this principle verbally; what is wanted is to convince them of the necessity of its thorough practical application.

THE FIRST BATTLE-FIELD.

Two representative gatherings are to be held in Philadelphia, at the great Centennial Exposition of 1876, which will bring out in bold, dramatic, and almost startling opposition the antagonistic ideas now agitating the nation. The advocates of the Christian Amendment of the Constitution have called a great convention in support of that ominous measure, and will appeal to the now rapidly reviving bigotry of the Protestant party to take the only step which can perpetuate their present power. The advocates of the "Demands of Liberalism" and the "Religious Freedom Amendment," have also called a convention in support of the movement for thorough secularization of the State, and will appeal to the enlightened patriotism of all American citizens to carry out the measures which may be necessary to that great end. The one convention would undo the work of the forefathers, and prevail upon the children to abandon forever the great principle of the divorce of Church and State, by which the Republic has thus far prospered, in order to restore the antiquated mischief of a State taking its laws from the Church. The other convention would fulfil and perfect the forefathers' work, and prevail upon the children to complete the structure they have inherited, by carrying the same great principle to its consummation in a State whose fundamental law shall be the natural reason and conscience of the people, without a vestige of supernaturalism in its government or administration. In the vast crowd of other interests and excitements, both these conventions may pass comparatively without notice at the time; but the future student of history may yet point back to them as the negative and positive electrodes of a great battery of moral forces, and note here the first spark of a discharge destined to shake a continent to its foundations.

A CURIOUS CUSTOM still survives in North and South Wales and the Border. At a funeral a hireling, "who lives by such services, has handed over to him a loaf of bread, a maple bowl full of beer or milk, and a sixpence, in consideration of which he takes upon him all the sins of the defunct, and frees him or her from walking after death." The scapegoat is called a "Sin-eater." People who laugh at this absurdity think nothing of accepting the immoral doctrine of the Atonement, which has for its leading idea that one man can take upon himself the sins of others, who shall then go scot-free.—*Liberal Christian*.

THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST,

TRANSLATED, WITH INTRODUCTIONS AND NOTES BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS, AND EDITED BY F. MAX MÜLLER.

Apart from the interest which the Sacred Books of all religions possess in the eyes of the theologian, and, more particularly, of the missionary, to whom an accurate knowledge of them is as indispensable as a knowledge of the enemy's country is to a general, these works have of late assumed a new importance, as viewed in the character of ancient historical documents. In every country where Sacred Books have been preserved, whether by oral tradition or by writing, they are the oldest records, and mark the beginning of what may be called documentary, in opposition to purely traditional, history.

There is nothing more ancient in India than the Vedas; and, if we except the Vedas and the literature connected with them, there is again no literary work in India which, so far as we know at present, can with certainty be referred to an earlier date than that of the Sacred Canon of the Buddhists. Whatever age we may assign to the various portions of the Avesta and to their final arrangement, there is no book in the Persian language of greater antiquity than the Sacred Books of the followers of Zarathustra, nay, even than their translation in Pehlevi. There may have been an extensive ancient literature in China long before Kung-fu-tze and Lao-tze; but among all that was rescued and preserved of it, the five King and the four Shoo claim again the highest antiquity. As to the Koran, it is known to be the fountain-head both of the religion and the literature of the Arabs.

This being the case, it was but natural that the attention of the historian should of late have been more strongly attracted by these Sacred Books, as likely to afford most valuable information, not only on the religion, but also on the moral sentiments, the social institutions, the legal maxims, of some of the most important nations of antiquity. There are not many nations that have preserved sacred writings, and many of those that have been preserved have but lately become accessible to us in their original form, through the rapid advance of Oriental scholarship in Europe. Neither Greeks, nor Romans, nor Germans, nor Celts, nor Slaves have left us anything that deserves the name of Sacred Books. The Homeric poems are national epics, like the *Rāmāyana*, and the *Nibelunge*; the Homeric hymns have never received that general recognition or sanction which alone can impart to the poetical effusions of personal piety the sacred or canonical character which is the distinguishing feature of the Vedic hymns. The sacred literature of the early inhabitants of Italy seems to have been of a liturgical rather than of a purely religious kind; and whatever the Celts, the Germans, the Slaves, may have possessed of sacred traditions about their gods and heroes, having been handed down by oral tradition chiefly, has perished beyond all hope of recovery. Some portions of the Eddas alone give us an idea of what the religious and heroic poetry of the Scandinavians may have been. The Egyptians possessed Sacred Books, and some of them, such as the Book of the Dead, have come down to us in various forms. There is a translation of the Book of the Dead by Dr. Birch, published in the fifth volume of Bunsen's Egypt, and a new edition and translation of this important work may be expected from the combined labors of Birch, Chabas, Lepsius, and Naville. In Babylon and Assyria, too, important fragments of what may be called a sacred literature have lately come to light. The interpretation, however, of these hieroglyphic and cuneiform texts is as yet so difficult that, for the present, they are of interest to the scholar only, and hardly available for historical purposes.

Leaving out of consideration the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, it appears that the only great and original religions which profess to be founded on Sacred Books,* and have preserved them in manuscript, are:—

1. The religion of the Brahmans.
2. The religion of the followers of Buddha.
3. The religion of the followers of Zarathustra.
4. The religion of the followers of Kung-fu-tze.
5. The religion of the followers of Lao-tze.
6. The religion of the followers of Mohammed.

A desire for a trustworthy translation of the Sacred Books of these six Eastern religions has often been expressed. Several have been translated into English, French, German or Latin; but in some cases these translations are difficult to procure; in others they are loaded with notes and commentaries, which are intended for students by profession only. Oriental scholars have been blamed for not having as yet supplied a want so generally felt, and so frequently expressed, of a complete, trustworthy, and readable translation of the principal Sacred Books of the Eastern religions. The reasons, however, why hitherto they have shrunk from such an undertaking are clear enough. The difficulties in many cases of giving complete translations, and not selections only, are very great. There is still much work to be done in a critical restoration of the original texts, in an examination of their grammar and meters, and in determining the exact meaning of many words and passages. That kind of work is naturally far more attractive to scholars than a mere translation, particularly when they cannot but feel that, with the progress of our knowledge, many a passage which now seems clear and easy, may, on being reexamined, assume a new import. Thus while scholars, who are most competent to undertake a translation, prefer to devote their time to more special researches, the work of a complete translation is deferred to the future; and historians are left under the impression that Oriental scholarship is still in so unsatisfactory

* Introduction to the *Science of Religion*, by F. Max Müller (Longmans, 1873), p. 104.

a state as to make any reliance on translations of the Veda, the Avesta, or the Tao-te-king extremely hazardous.

It is clear, therefore, that a translation of the principal Sacred Books of the East can be carried out only at a certain sacrifice. Scholars must leave, for a time, their own special researches, in order to render the general results already obtained accessible to the public at large. And even then, really useful results can be achieved *viribus unitis* only. If four of the best Egyptologists have to combine in order to produce a satisfactory edition and translation of one of the Sacred Books of ancient Egypt, a much larger number of Oriental scholars will be required for translating the Sacred Books of the Brahmans, the Buddhists, the Zoroastrians, the followers of Kung-fu-tze, Lao-tze, and Mohammed.

Lastly, there was the most serious difficulty of all, a difficulty which no scholar could remove; viz., the difficulty of finding the funds necessary for carrying out so large an undertaking. No doubt there exists at present a very keen interest in questions connected with the origin, growth, and decay of religion; but much of that interest is theoretic rather than historical. How people might or could or should have elaborated religious ideas is a topic most warmly discussed among psychologists and theologians; but a study of the documents in which alone the actual growth of religious thought can be traced is much neglected. A faithful, unvarnished prose translation of the Sacred Books of India, Persia, China, and Arabia, though it may, interest careful students, will never, I fear, excite a wide-spread interest, or command a circulation large enough to make it a matter of private enterprise and commercial speculation.

No doubt there is much in these old books that is startling by its very simplicity and truth, much that is elevated and elevating, much that is beautiful and sublime; but people who have vague ideas of primeval wisdom and the splendor of Eastern poetry will soon find themselves grievously disappointed. It cannot be too strongly stated, that the chief and, in many cases, the only interest of the Sacred Books of the East is historical; that much in them is extremely childish, tedious, if not repulsive; and that no one but the historian will be able to understand the important lessons which they teach. It would have been impossible to undertake a translation even of the most important only of the Sacred Books of the East, without the support of an academy or a university which recognizes the necessity of rendering these works more generally accessible, on the same grounds on which it recognizes the duty of collecting and exhibiting in museums the petrifications of by-gone ages, little concerned whether the public admires the beauty of fossilized plants and broken skeletons, as long as hard-working students find there some light for reading once more the darker pages in the history of the earth.

Having been so fortunate as to secure that support, having also received promises of assistance from some of the best Oriental scholars in England and India, I hope I shall be able, after the necessary preparations are completed, to publish about three volumes of translations every year, selecting from the stores of the six so-called "book-religions" those works which at present can be translated, and which are most likely to prove useful. All translations will be made from the original texts; and, where good translations exist already, they will be carefully revised by competent scholars. Such is the bulk of the religious literature of the Brahmans and the Buddhists, that to attempt a complete translation would be far beyond the powers of one generation of scholars. Still, if the interest in the work itself should continue, there is no reason why this series of translations should not be carried on, even after those who commenced it shall have ceased from their labors.

What I contemplate at present—and I am afraid, at my time of life, even this may seem too sanguine—is no more than a series of twenty-four volumes, the publication of which will probably extend over eight years. In this series I hope to comprehend the following books, though I do not pledge myself to adhere strictly to this outline:—

1. From among the Sacred Books of the Brahmans I hope to give a translation of the hymns of the Rig-Veda. While I shall continue my translation of selected hymns of that Veda, a *traduction raisonnée* which is intended for Sanskrit scholars only, on the same principles which I have followed in the first volume,* explaining every word and sentence that seems to require elucidation, and carefully examining the opinions of previous commentators, both native and European, I intend to contribute a freer translation of the hymns to this series, with a few explanatory notes only, such as are absolutely necessary to enable readers who are unacquainted with Sanskrit to understand the thoughts of the Vedic poets. The translation of perhaps another Sanhita, one or two of Brāhmanas, or portions of them, will have to be included in our series, as well as the principal Upanishads, theosophic treatises of great interest and beauty. There is every prospect of an early appearance of a translation of the Bhagavadgītā, of the most important among the sacred law books, and of one at least of the Purānas. I should have wished to include a translation of some of the Jain books, of the Granth of the Sikhs, and of similar works illustrative of the later developments of religion in India; but there is hardly room for them at present.

2. The Sacred Books of the Buddhists will be translated chiefly from the two original collections, the Southern in Pali, the Northern in Sanskrit. Here the selection will, no doubt, be most difficult. Among the first books to be published will be, I

hope, Sūtras from the Dīgha Nikāya, a part of the Vinaya-pīṭaka, the Dhammapada, the Divyāvadāna, the Lalita-Vistara, or legendary life of Buddha.

3. The Sacred Books of the Zoroastrians lie within a smaller compass, but they will require fuller notes and commentaries in order to make a translation intelligible and useful.

4. The books which enjoy the highest authority with the followers of Kung-fu-tze are the King and the Shoo. Of the former the Shoo King, or Book of History; the Odes of the Temple and the Altar, and other pieces illustrating the ancient religious views and practices of the Chinese, in the Shi King, or Book of Poetry; the Yi King; the Li Ki; and the Hiao King, or Classic of Filial Piety, will all be given, it is hoped, entire. Of the latter the series will contain the Chung Yung, or Doctrine of the Mean; the Ta Hioh, or Great Learning; all Confucius' utterances in the Lun Yu, or Confucian Analects, which are of a religious nature, and refer to the principles of his moral system; and Māng-tze's Doctrine of the goodness of Human Nature.

5. For the system of Lao-tze we require only a translation of the Tao-te-king with some of its commentaries, and, it may be, an authoritative work to illustrate the actual operation of its principles.

6. For Islam, all that is essential is a trustworthy translation of the Koran.

It will be my endeavor to divide the twenty-four volumes which are contemplated in this series as equally as possible between the six religions. But much must depend on the assistance which I receive from Oriental scholars, and also on the interest and the wishes of the public. Among the first volumes to be published will be translations by Prof. Cowell, Dr. Legge, Mr. A. Burnell, of Tanjore, Prof. Childers, Prof. Kielhorn, of Poona, Prof. Eggeling, and myself.

F. MAX MUELLER.

OXFORD, Easter, 1876.

IS SUBSERVIENCY the essence of Christianity, or even tolerable to it? Must a Christian empty himself of all manliness, and recognize God in the person of a man invested with external authority? That Catholicism demands this we all know, as witness the following rule from the Constitution of the "Christian Brothers of the Schools" in Germany: "They must always see in the person of their director God; and they must act toward him as though he were clothed with the presence of God. If the director chides or instructs a brother, that brother must rise up, if he be sitting, and take off his head-covering; if he be standing, he must fall on his knees, and must not resume his place without a sign from the director." And this relating to the "School Sisters": "They shall accustom themselves to regard their superior as the person of Jesus Christ. Their obedience shall be blind. They shall do as commanded, and they shall not ask why." They must "feel that they must be ruled in obedience as by divine authority, just as dead bodies are moved from side to side; they shall in blind subjection renounce every emotion and judgment, and be carried by their superiors as a corpse, or as the staff of an old man, which he holds in his hand, and which serves for any purpose to which he applies it." What moral degradation is involved in rules like these! Christianity, if it were capable of sanctioning or even tolerating them, would be the direst curse that ever afflicted the world. But it does not sanction them; it frowns upon them as cunning devices for crushing all manliness out of men, and making them the dupes and tools of priestly despotism.—*Christian Union*.

MISS KATE FIELD sends from London these anecdotes of John Bright, which she has from high English sources, to the *Courier-Journal*: "When Artemus Ward was here he gave a children's party, to which one of John Bright's sons was invited, and from which he returned aglow with delight. 'O papa,' exclaimed the little Bright, when asked by the great Bright whether he had enjoyed himself, 'indeed I did; and Mr. Brown gave me such a nice name for you, papa!' 'What was that?' inquired the father. 'Why, he asked me how that gay and festive cuss, the governor, was!' replied the child. Perhaps you think the great Bright was highly indignant at this taking of his name in vain. He laughed. He didn't laugh, however, on another occasion during our civil war, when the Prince of Wales, while smoking a cigar with him on the terrace of the House of Commons, said to him, 'Don't you think, Mr. Bright, that this war has rendered the Americans heartily tired of a republican form of government, and that they'll adopt a monarchy?' 'On the contrary,' answered Mr. Bright, 'the very struggle the Americans have gone through will render their institutions dearer to them than ever. The Americans are eminently fitted for a republican form of government. They will not abandon it; and the English will never abandon monarchy until they have a king whom they detest.' Comment is unnecessary."

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A CLERGYMAN who had been staying for some time at the house of a friend, on going away, called to him little Tommy, the four-year-old son of his host, and asked him what he would give him for a present. Tommy, who had a great respect for the "cloth," thought it was his duty to suggest something of a religious nature, so he answered, hesitatingly: "I—I think I should like a Testament, and I know I should like a pop-gun!"

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* *Rig-Ve-Sanhita*, The Sacred Hymns of the Brahmans, translated and explained by F. Max Müller. Vol. I. Hymns to the Maruts, or the Storm-Gods: London, 1869.

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" 22.	"	C. M. Dennison, New York City	5.00	
" 22.	"	James McArthur, Chicago	20.00	
" 22.	"	C. H. Shepard, Brooklyn	5.00	
" 22.	"	Liberal League, Toledo, Iowa.	10.00	
" 22.	"	" " " " " "	Boston	25.10
" 22.	"	Mrs. A. L. Richmond.	5.00	
" 30.	"	L. Scott, Waynesburgh, O.	1.00	
" 30.	"	E. R. McKenzie, Charlestown, Ma.	1.00	
" 30.	"	C. K. Whipple, Brookline, Mass.	1.00	
" 30.	"	E. B. Moore, Charlestown, Mass.	1.50	
" 30.	"	E. H. Warren, Chelmsford, Mass.	2.00	
" 30.	"	D. Deming, South Bend, Ind.	1.00	
" 30.	"	S. C. Mason, Moberly, Mo.	1.00	
" 30.	"	H. C. Hanson, Barnesville, Ga.	.50	
" 30.	"	A. M. Dent, Weston, West Va.	1.00	
" 30.	"	F. M. Vaughan, Middleboro, Mass.	1.00	
" 30.	"	M. P. Barber, Pleasantville, Pa.	1.00	
" 30.	"	"Cash," Phoenix, N. Y.	1.00	
" 30.	"	G. Cope, West Chester, Pa.	1.00	
" 30.	"	Wm. Dudgeon, New Hartford, N. Y.	5.00	
" 30.	"	H. Andriessen, Beaver, Pa.	2.00	
" 30.	"	E. A. Spring, Perth Amboy, N. J.	.50	
" 30.	"	A. Morrison, Braintree, Mass.	5.00	
" 30.	"	G. Lieberknecht, Geneseo, Ill.	1.00	
" 30.	"	Sophia B. Carter, Andover, Mass.	2.00	
" 30.	"	"Widow's Mite," Portage City, Wis.	2.00	
" 30.	"	H. C. Southworth, Stoughton, Ms.	1.00	
" 30.	"	B. Hollowell, Sandy Spring, Md.	2.00	
" 30.	"	E. P. Hassinger, Brodhead, Wis.	5.00	
" 30.	"	D. B. Hale, Collinsville, Ct.	1.00	
" 30.	"	Rev. J. S. Richards, Liberty, Me.	.10	
" 30.	"	H. D. Maxson, Amherst College	1.00	
" 30.	"	W. H. Studley, Rockland, Mass.	5.00	
" 30.	"	J. W. Marshall, Plattsmouth, Neb.	2.00	
" 30.	"	Dr. C. Wesselschaff, Boston.	1.00	
" 30.	"	C. A. Greenleaf, Chicopee, Mass.	.50	
" 30.	"	L. Goepfer, Union Village, O.	1.00	
" 30.	"	W. C. Fuller, Willimantic, Ct.	5.00	
" 30.	"	Dr. G. E. Francis, Worcester, Ms.	1.00	
" 30.	"	W. W. Baker, Boston.	5.00	
" 30.	"	James Parton, Newburyport.	25.00	
" 30.	"	Dr. J. D. Thorley, Steel Works, Pa.	1.00	
" 30.	"	H. S. Bacon, Milford, Mass.	5.00	
" 30.	"	E. C. Darling, Ipswich, " "	2.00	
" 30.	"	"Friend," Chelsea, " "	1.00	
" 30.	"	Matilda Goddard, Boston	10.00	
" 30.	"	"Cash," Boston	1.00	
" 30.	"	Dr. W. P. Wesselschaff, Boston.	2.00	
" 30.	"	P. A. Chamberlin, Wauseon, O.	1.00	
" 30.	"	Albertina von Arnim, Long- wood, Mass.	3.00	
" 30.	"	D. P. Wilcox, Yankton, Dak. Terr.	1.00	
" 30.	"	C. Lohmann & Son, Edwards- ville, Ill.	1.00	
" 30.	"	J. Blain, St. James, Mo.	2.00	
" 30.	"	H. T. Wright, Washington Hts. Ill.	2.00	
" 30.	"	P. H. Macgill, Baltimore, Md.	10.00	
" 30.	"	C. T. Pratt, Pawtucket, R. I.	3.00	
" 30.	"	J. N. Clark, E. Somerville, Mass.	3.00	
" 30.	"	T. J. Atwood, Albion, Wis.	1.00	
" 30.	"	L. Prang & Co., Boston	10.00	

April 30.	Received of	W. S. Cunningham, Vienna, O.	1.00
" 30.	"	C. F. Paige, Boston	2.00
" 30.	"	D. E. Mayo, Chelsea, Mass.	2.00
" 30.	"	Jos. Post, Old Westbury, Mass.	2.00
" 30.	"	Louise M. Thurston, Lynn, Mass.	2.00
" 30.	"	J. G. Richardson, Lake City, Minn.	5.00
" 30.	"	G. M. Wood, Washington, D.C.	1.00
" 30.	"	Liberals of Defiance, O.	17.00
" 30.	"	Liberal League, Medina, O.	25.00
" 30.	"	Liberal League, Minneapolis	20.00
" 30.	"	J. W. Cabot, Boston	10.00
" 30.	"	D. Ferguson, Waupun, Wis.	10.00
" 30.	"	Mrs. H. Grinnell, New Milford, Pa.	1.00
" 30.	"	Arethusa Hall, Northampton, Ms.	2.00
" 30.	"	J. Scott, Dighton, Mass.	2.00
" 30.	"	G. M. Wood, Washington, D. C.	1.00
" 30.	"	Thos. Curtis, St. Louis	1.00
" 30.	"	F. Fradley, Brooklyn	2.00
" 30.	"	S. R. Smith, West Winfield, Ct.	5.00
" 30.	"	Mr. and Mrs. J. C. Godfrey, Brooklyn	10.00
June 5.	"	Noah Green, New York	1.00
" 5.	"	P. Sidebotham, Fall River, Mass.	2.00
" 5.	"	Mary H. L. Cabot, Boston	1.00
" 5.	"	L. Kingman, Buffalo	2.50
" 5.	"	M. A. Blanchard, Portland	1.80
" 5.	"	C. M. Dennison, Brooklyn	1.00
" 5.	"	J. Damon, Ipswich, Mass.	3.00
" 5.	"	Cash, Haverhill, Mass.	.50
" 5.	"	Dr. L. P. Babb, Eastport, Me.	2.90
" 5.	"	Isalah West, New Bedford, Ma.	1.00
" 5.	"	Thos. Nye, Ridgeville, O.	1.00
" 5.	"	J. W. Braley, New Bedford	5.00
" 5.	"	J. Keppler, New Frankfort, Mo.	2.00
" 5.	"	Beth Hunt, Northampton, Mass.	2.00
" 5.	"	Dr. E. B. Foote, New York	5.00
" 5.	"	C. M. Waddell, Argillite, Ky.	2.00
" 5.	"	W. R. Morgan, New York	10.00
" 5.	"	C. M. Cuyler, Albany	2.00
" 5.	"	Elizur Wright, Boston	10.00
" 5.	"	B. B. Griswold, Madison, N. J.	2.00
" 5.	"	C. Graeter, Vincennes, Ind.	2.00
" 5.	"	W. Coleman, Leavenworth, Kan.	1.00
" 5.	"	J. L. Cutler, Quitman, Ga.	5.00
" 5.	"	J. Farnsworth, Fort Scott, Kan.	2.00
" 5.	"	M. F. Whitehead, Jersey City, N. J.	2.50
" 5.	"	G. Dimmock, Cambridge, Mass.	3.00
" 5.	"	H. Lieber, Indianapolis	5.00
" 5.	"	D. B. Morton, Groton, N. Y.	5.00
" 5.	"	F. Plimpton, Florence, Mass.	2.00
" 5.	"	A. R. Hinchey, Burr Oak, Mich.	2.00
" 5.	"	Z. S. Wallingford, Dover, N. H.	2.00
" 5.	"	Dr. G. F. Matthes, New Bedford	2.00
" 5.	"	A. Schüller, Keokuk, Iowa	5.00
" 5.	"	M. Peckham, Utica, N. Y.	2.00
" 5.	"	F. Loesser, Brooklyn	5.00
" 5.	"	J. W. Frank, Dysart, Iowa	5.00
" 5.	"	J. Chappellsmith, New Harmony, Ind.	1.00
" 5.	"	Mrs. M. Chappellsmith, New Harmony, Ind.	1.00
" 5.	"	Susanna E. Hinkly, New Harmony, Ind.	1.00
" 5.	"	Margaret Burns, New Harmony, Ind.	1.00
" 5.	"	C. H. White, New Harmony, Ind.	1.00
" 5.	"	J. C. Wheatcroft, New Harmony, Ind.	1.00
" 5.	"	Wm. Green, Brooklyn	5.00
" 5.	"	M. Fleischmann, New York	10.00
" 5.	"	E. Eising, New York	5.00
" 5.	"	O. O. Friedlander, New York	1.00
" 5.	"	F. Dessaur, New York	2.00
" 5.	"	C. Dessaur, New York	1.00
" 5.	"	G. Biker, New Philadelphia, O.	3.00
" 5.	"	Rabbi M. Samfield, Memphis	2.00
" 5.	"	M. S. Devereux, Irvington, N. Y.	2.00
" 5.	"	E. B. Wolcott, Milwaukee	2.00
" 5.	"	R. M. Whipple, Chicago	2.00
" 5.	"	S. D. Bardwell, Shelburne Falls, Mass.	1.00
" 5.	"	Mrs. L. C. Bardwell, Shelburne Falls, Ms.	1.00
" 5.	"	W. D. Pitt, Groton, N. Y.	2.00
" 5.	"	H. L. Green, Syracuse, N. Y.	1.00
" 5.	"	E. D. Cowperthwaite, Washingt'n	1.00
" 5.	"	J. Wright, Rock Falls, Ill.	1.00
" 5.	"	B. Breed, Lynn, Mass.	1.00
" 5.	"	W. E. Lukens, Rock Falls, Ill.	1.00
" 5.	"	A. Skinner, Ceresco, Mich.	1.00
" 5.	"	F. H. Guivits, Avoca, N. Y.	1.00
" 5.	"	J. T. White, New York	1.00
" 5.	"	J. Maddock, New York	1.00
" 5.	"	B. Lindsey, Boston	1.00
" 5.	"	G. Billings, Chicopee, Mass.	1.00
" 5.	"	O. K. Crosby, Syracuse, N. Y.	.50
" 5.	"	J. Marsh, Northampton, Mass.	1.00
" 5.	"	M. Shore, Litchfield, Ill.	.50
" 5.	"	Dr. S. Wolfenstein, St. Louis	1.00
" 5.	"	Cash, Indianapolis	1.00
" 5.	"	I. P. Greenleaf, Boston	1.00
" 5.	"	J. Ahrens, Monticello, Ark.	.50
" 5.	"	H. Ahrens, Longview, Ark.	.50
" 5.	"	L. G. Jones, New York	.50
" 5.	"	J. Consalus, Troy, N. Y.	1.00
" 5.	"	A. Keen, Duplain, Mich.	1.00
" 5.	"	J. E. Sutton, Olathe, Kan.	1.00
" 5.	"	R. B. Miller, Utica, N. Y.	1.00
" 5.	"	H. H. Chace, Union City, Mich.	.50
" 5.	"	T. Lamory, Concordia, Mo.	.50
" 5.	"	T. Tibbetts, Augusta, Me.	.50
" 5.	"	F. Goodeyar, Cortlandville, N. Y.	1.00
" 5.	"	John Orth, Boston	1.00
" 5.	"	Henry Damon, Boston	2.00
" 5.	"	Jos. Warbasse, Newton, N. J.	5.00
" 5.	"	E. E. Chapin, Rockford, Ill.	.25
" 5.	"	T. Martin, W. Boylston, Ms.	1.00
" 5.	"	H. H. Fletcher, W. Boylston, Ms.	.50
" 5.	"	Nath. Little, Newbury, Ms.	1.00
" 5.	"	E. R. Sanborn, Leavenworth, Kan.	1.00
" 5.	"	W. H. Farrell, Leavenworth, Kan.	1.00
" 5.	"	J. Reedy, Toledo, Iowa	3.00
" 5.	"	B. F. Horton, Dexter, Me.	1.00
" 5.	"	W. F. Johnson, Cleveland, O.	6.80
" 5.	"	T. J. Crouse, Clinton, N. Y.	1.00
" 5.	"	R. S. Perrin, New York	2.00
" 5.	"	L. Lamott, Groton, N. Y.	2.00
" 5.	"	F. G. Johnson, Towanda, Pa.	1.00
" 5.	"	Rabbi A. Rosensplitz, Nashville	1.00
" 5.	"	E. D. Stark, Cleveland, O.	1.00
" 5.	"	J. S. Thomson, Bloomington, Ill.	1.00
" 5.	"	Mrs. J. N. Lyman, Columbus, O.	2.00
" 5.	"	John Alexander, Shelby, O.	1.00
" 5.	"	R. Pritchett, Fort Madison, Iowa	2.00
" 5.	"	Peter H. Clark, Cincinnati	1.00
" 5.	"	Geo. Lewis, Providence	1.00
" 5.	"	B. S. Hopkins, Providence	2.00
" 5.	"	J. S. Bonsall, Salem, O.	1.00
" 5.	"	W. T. P. Menefee, Crittenden, Ky.	1.00
" 5.	"	H. W. Gilbert, Philadelphia	1.00
" 5.	"	A Friend in Concord, Mass.	1.00
" 5.	"	J. E. Oliver, Ithaca, N. Y.	5.00
" 5.	"	Wm. J. Potter, New Bedford	3.00
" 5.	"	R. Wilkin, San Buenaventura, Cal.	2.00
" 5.	"	W. S. Shepherd, San Buenaventura, Cal.	2.00
" 5.	"	Jacob Hoffer, Cincinnati	5.00
" 5.	"	A. Braasch and friends, Mishi-	5.00
" 5.	"	cott, Wis.	5.00
" 5.	"	W. F. Allen, Madison, Wis.	5.00

June 13.	Received of	L. J. Burch, Modoc, Col.	.25
" 13.	"	G. A. Hill and friends, San Francisco	5.00
" 13.	"	E. Bentley, Morgan City, La.	1.00
" 13.	"	L. A. Harbaugh, Toledo, Iowa.	3.00
" 13.	"	Cash, Cambridge, Mass.	.50
" 13.	"	E. Z. Penfield, New York.	5.00
" 13.	"	R. O. Old, Georgetown, Col.	1.00
" 13.	"	L. Liebmann, Brooklyn.	2.00
" 13.	"	W. Barnsdall, Titusville, Pa.	2.50
" 13.	"	Miss H. S. Ware, Boston.	5.00
" 13.	"	Eben Turk, Chelsea, Mass.	2.00
" 13.	"	W. H. Saxton, Oberlin, O.	1.80
" 13.	"	J. Miehli, Decatur, Ill.	.60
" 13.	"	D. H. Schofield, Baker City, Or.	1.85
" 13.	"	J. C. Ruud, San Francisco.	.50
" 13.	"	Jos. Barnsdall, Titusville, Pa.	3.00
" 13.	"	Cash, Delphos, O.	1.00
" 13.	"	H. Frederic, Utica, N.Y.	1.00
" 13.	"	H. Brown, Mondovi, Wis.	.25
" 13.	"	L. Markham, Madison, Ga.	1.00
" 13.	"	G. Frauentstein, New York.	5.00
" 13.	"	A. Loos, Germantown, Pa.	1.00

izing a NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, and of promoting the organization of local auxiliary Liberal Leagues throughout the country.

"Resolved, That we heartily coöperate with the Freie Gemeinden of North America, who propose to meet there in general convention at the same time and for a similar purpose."

At the same convention Francis E. Abbot, Damon Y. Kilgore, Alexander Loos, Isaac Rhen, B. F. Underwood, and H. S. Williams were appointed as a General Centennial Committee "to make all necessary arrangements for the general Congress of Liberals at Philadelphia in 1876, and also to draft a Constitution and By-Laws for a NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE"; and it was further ordered that "said Constitution and By-Laws [should] provide for the formation of local auxiliary Liberal Leagues throughout the country, and be submitted for approval to said general Congress of Liberals."

In obedience to these instructions, the General Centennial Committee now beg leave to announce the following arrangements and general programme of proceedings, subject to such modifications as may be rendered inevitable by circumstances or by the action of the convention itself.

The Centennial Congress of Liberals will be convened at Concert Hall, on Chestnut Street, between Twelfth and Thirteenth Streets, Philadelphia, on Saturday, July 1, at 2 o'clock, P.M. Concert Hall will seat about two thousand people, giving each a cushioned chair. It has a large stage and two large ante-rooms, and is excellently adapted to secure the comfort and convenience of a large convention.

Railroad officials refuse to make any other reduction in fares than the excursion rates agreed to by all the principal companies, of which all delegates and members can avail themselves. A local committee is at work to secure a list of cheap boarding-places for the accommodation of members. The necessary price will not exceed \$1.50 per day, nor be less than \$1.00. All who wish to avail themselves of these accommodations should write without delay to D. Y. Kilgore, Secretary, 605 Walnut Street, Philadelphia.

In order to enjoy the rights and privileges of membership, it will be necessary for delegates from Liberal Leagues, or other Liberal Societies desiring to join in the Liberal League movement, to be provided with proper credentials signed by their own local officers. Individuals not delegates can receive a certificate of membership on writing for, filling up, and returning a blank form of application which can be obtained by addressing F. E. Abbot, Chairman, 1 Tremont Place, Boston. It can also be obtained at Concert Hall, July 1, at 1 P. M.; and all who may not previously have received their certificates should not fail to present themselves promptly at that time. This is the only way to prevent confusion and vexatious delays to all concerned. Over five hundred certificates have been already issued to applicants for membership; there is every indication of a great increase of this number; and immediate application will save trouble and time in organizing the Congress when it meets.

The following order of business has been adopted by the Committee, subject to ratification by the Congress itself:—

Saturday, July 1: Afternoon Session, 2 P. M.

1. Temporary Organization.
2. Appointment of Committee on Membership, and reception of credentials.
3. Address of Welcome, by the President of the Philadelphia Liberal League.
4. Reply, by the Chairman of the General Centennial Committee.
5. Report of the Committee on Membership.
6. Report of the General Centennial Committee.
7. Appointment of Committees on Permanent Organization, on Finance, on Resolutions, and on Address to the People.
8. Consideration of the General Centennial Committee's Report.
9. Consideration of the Constitution of the National Liberal League.

Evening Session, 7 1-2 P. M.

1. Consideration of the Constitution of the National Liberal League, continued.
2. Report of the Committee on Permanent Organization: election of officers of the National Liberal League.
3. Short speeches.

Sunday, July 2: Morning Session, 10 1-2 A. M.

1. Reading of extracts from letters by distinguished citizens.
2. Address by F. E. Abbot: "The Liberal League Movement; its Principles, Objects, and Scope."

3. Address by Mrs. C. B. Kilgore: "Democracy."

4. Short speeches.

Evening Session, 7 1-2 P. M.

1. Address by James Parton: "Cathedrals and Beer."
2. Address by B. F. Underwood: "The Practical Necessity of Separating Church and State."
3. Short speeches.

Monday, July 3: Morning Session, 10 1-2 A. M.

1. Address by Charles F. Paige: "Is Christianity a part of the Common Law?"
2. Report of the Committee on Resolutions: free discussion of the proposed methods and measures of the National Liberal League; action of the League on the Resolutions taken singly.

Afternoon Session, 2 P. M.

1. Address by Damon Y. Kilgore: "Ecclesiasticism in American Politics and Institutions."
2. Continuation of the discussion and action on the Resolutions.

Evening Session, 7 1-2 P. M.

1. Address—[probably by Charles D. B. Mills].
2. Reports by Delegates from various Liberal Leagues throughout the country.
3. Short speeches.

Tuesday, July 4: 9 A. M.

1. Report of the Committee on Finance.
2. Report of the Committee on Address: "Patriotic Address of the National Liberal League to the People of the United States."
3. Action on the Report.
4. Adjournment.

According to this general programme, Saturday, Monday, and Tuesday will be devoted mainly to business, and Sunday to addresses. It is hoped that all who propose to attend will be on hand punctually at the first session of Saturday, in order to participate in the important proceedings of that day. The Committee have labored assiduously for months to bring the business of the Congress into shape to be acted upon without unnecessary delay, and to render the sessions in the highest degree effective; but whatever is done will be done by the Congress itself in the exercise of its own independent judgment. The Committee's only object has been to facilitate, not to forestall; and they have been governed throughout by the conviction that the Congress will be composed of members representing the best practical wisdom and most earnest spirit of the liberals of the country. Whether this conviction is well-grounded, or not, can be shown only by the ultimate result. But the importance of a full attendance, in view of the momentous subjects on which the Congress will be called to act, is sufficiently obvious. Let every one who values the fortification of religious liberty and the establishment of equal religious rights be present.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT, Chairman.

DAMON Y. KILGORE, Secretary.

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY R. C.

The prospects of the several candidates at Cincinnati is the most exciting theme of the hour, and promises to become more and more exciting until about the time that this number of THE INDEX is mailed to our readers. Mr. Blaine's friends are confident of his success; Mr. Morton's friends are sure that he will obtain the nomination; and Mr. Conkling's friends know that he will carry off the prize; and yet we suppose that none of our readers need to be assured that there is very little likelihood that any one of these gentlemen will reach the longed-for goal, and this fact is probably pretty well understood by some of those who talk the bravest and about the loudest for their acknowledged favorites. We hardly dare to prophesy that no one of the three will be nominated, for the reason that we have very little faith in the wisdom of the practical politician, and cannot tell in advance, therefore, what he may be persuaded to do; but we have good reason to believe, nevertheless, that the party leaders will labor to prevent any nomination which would surely be followed by consequences disastrous to the organization. The Republican party can carry the next election, without doubt, if it will only adopt a sufficiently explicit reformatory platform and nominate a man of the purity and firmness of character requisite to carry out reformatory principles; but it will certainly lose the next election if it nominate a man who, like Blaine, or Morton, or Conkling, has long been a necessary part of the thing to be reformed.

The notorious letters of Blaine to Fisher were made public early last week. Had we been aware of their contents, at the time of writing last week, the knowledge would only have intensified the opinions then expressed concerning Mr. Blaine and his character. The letters, notwithstanding Mr. Blaine's pretended explanation of them in the House, prove conclusively that he was mixed up with the affairs of the Union Pacific, Northern Pacific, Kansas Pacific,

and Little Rock & Fort Smith Railroads at a time when these roads were before Congress for legislation; that he held stock and bonds in them, "controlled interests," and advised his friends to invest in them, and wrote to their managers in order to remind them of the services he had rendered and could render them. We are willing to admit that Mr. Blaine, in all probability, has never been guilty of safe burglary or highway robbery, and that he may never have taken money as a bribe in the vulgar way in which it was taken by Belknap or Orville Grant; but his own admissions, as well as these letters and his actions, show that he utterly lacks the high standard of honor which should be necessary at all times in a President of the United States, and which is especially necessary at the present time in the man who will have to encounter the political corruptions which are sure to assail the coming President.

Blaine's deficiencies have nothing whatever to do with the fairness or unfairness of Proctor Knott and the Judiciary Committee, with the misconduct of the Democrats or the maliciousness of late secessionists, and the attempt of Blaine's friends to divert attention from his past conduct to the present methods of his enemies shows a sad lack of apprehension of the requirements of a candidate for the Presidency. A curious instance of this kind of judgment was exhibited the other day by the Rev. L. I. Townsend, a professor in the Boston University, in giving an address before the graduating class of the Theological Department. His subject was Christian heroism as illustrated by John the Baptist, and among modern illustrations of the same quality he actually referred to Blaine "routing the riff-raff of secession on the floor of Congress." Some little time ago, when commenting upon Bishop Haven's droll advice to pray for the reflection of Grant, we warned the Methodists that they seemed to be in especial danger of moral deterioration. We think our words are quite likely to be confirmed when already one of their leading divines and professors can behold a Christian hero in a railroad-operating and stock-jobbing political wire-puller, and another clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Mallalieu, can refer to the same man as one "who has been lied about and who has suffered from malicious detraction" but who yet "stands up true to our churches, true to our schools, true to the old flag." This kind of talk, especially from religious teachers, is very sad stuff. A man may be able to "rout the riff-raff of secession," or may be "true" to church, school, and flag, and yet—as we have learned from those pious men, Howard, Harlan, and Smith—may be a very sorry rascal.

Some of the scenes in Congress during the past week have been very peculiar, and the House has presented more than once an appearance about midway between that of a bear-garden and a circus. Notwithstanding the tumults, however, a considerable amount of work has been got through with by both Houses. The Senate agreed to listen to evidence in the impeachment trial July 6th; resolved to favor a common unit of money and accounts for the United States and Great Britain; passed the Legislative Appropriation Bill; the Fortification Appropriation Bill, without amendment; the Post-Office Appropriation Bill; and a bill relating to the jurisdiction of Circuit Courts; accepted the report of a conference committee with reference to a bill appointing receivers of national banks; increased the number of army officers detailed to teach military tactics; and accepted, from the State of Vermont, a statue of Ethan Allen. The House passed a resolution allowing the Committee on Banking and Currency to report at any time,—a vote favoring the soft-money men and intended to permit a repeal of the Resumption Act; passed also the Indian Appropriation Bill, retaining the clause which transfers the Indian Bureau to the War Department; and a bill intended to expedite the sale of public lands in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Florida; prohibited lottery circulars from passing through the mails, and provided a penalty for the circulation of obscene books; discussed the Geneva Award Bill; passed the Post Route Bill; and a bill to prevent "straw" bids; accepted the report of a conference committee on the appointment of receivers of national banks; passed two Senate bills,—one amending the Bankruptcy law, and one reducing the Medical Corps of the Army; passed a bill to facilitate the philosophical, mechanical, and scientific exhibition at the Centennial; and passed also two "silver" bills,—one authorizing the issue of \$10,000,000 of silver coin now in the Treasury in exchange for legal tender notes, and one authorizing the coinage of \$20,000,000 of silver coin, to be issued in the ordinary disbursements of the Treasury.

Rapidly-accumulating evidence goes to show that Secretary Robeson was well-fitted to be a companion of Belknap, and that he may yet be obliged to accompany the latter in his retirement from the Cabinet. The evidence against him, although purely circumstantial, is, nevertheless, terribly damaging. Of late years he has been growing rich with astonishing rapidity although living in a very expensive manner upon a salary of only \$8,000 per year. During the same time he has had very intimate business relations with and received large sums of money from A. G. Cattell & Co., who were also comparatively poor men a few years ago. During the same time, also, Messrs. A. G. Cattell & Co. have had a strange amount of influence in the Navy Department, and have been steadily bleeding contractors at an enormous rate. Some of the connecting links of this evidence are lacking, the Cattells having destroyed their accounts, and having conveniently forgotten what they did with a great deal of their money; but no one doubts the character of their relation to Robeson, which was

openly talked about, in fact, long before suspicions were entertained of the guilt of Belknap.

Speaker Kerr has given an apparently candid and satisfactory explanation of his appointment of Green, and it is to be hoped that Harney's testimony, if true, may receive additional confirmation, or that, if untrue, its falsity may be fully demonstrated. It is difficult to believe, or at least would be so in ordinary times, that a man of Kerr's reputation and ability would sell out his honor for so small a mess of pottage. The Committee will report, unanimously it is said, in Kerr's favor.

Secretary Fish's reply to the last letter of Lord Derby, with reference to the extradition of Winslow, makes the neat point that in 1886 "when it was proposed to amend a bill to carry into effect the treaty with France by requiring a stipulation similar in its purport to that now asked of the United States, his Lordship at the time Lord Stanley, and then as now Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, opposed the amendments, saying that in a 'case like this international courtesy demanded that the treaty should not be materially altered without communication with the other party.'" After further comment Mr. Fish states finally that "the United States has in due form, and after complying with every requirement of the treaty, demanded the surrender of Winslow and the other criminals in London, and it is for Her Majesty's government to decide whether Great Britain will or will not perform her treaty obligations." In the mean time, Mr. Hoffman, our *Chargé d'affaires* at London, had agreed to an amendment to the treaty of 1842, which amendment, in the opinion of Secretary Fish, yielded the very point in controversy in the Winslow case, and was, moreover, identical with one previously rejected by the United States. Mr. Hoffman was immediately informed by telegram that his conduct in this respect was "unauthorized, regretted, and disapproved," and the English government was assured that Mr. Hoffman, so far as relates to the extradition treaty, is strictly limited to conveyance of specific instructions from his government. As the case now stands, Winslow will be released on the 15th inst., unless the English government recedes from its present ill-advised position.

Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, in a very excellent speech in favor of public parks in Boston as means of reducing the high annual death-rate of the city, calls attention to facts which cannot help being of interest to all parents during the hot weather; namely, that the most prevalent disease among children from June to October is cholera-infantum, and that the very best medicine for cholera-infantum is fresh air. Children may be cured, when all drugs fail, by a ride in the open air or a sail upon the water, which latter may be obtained simply by crossing and recrossing a ferry upon a steamboat. He quotes from statistics, and from eminent physicians, and gives facts of personal observation, in support of his statements.

Servia, under the pressure of Russian influence, is reported to have accepted an armistice of six weeks proposed by the new Sultan who desires to enter upon direct negotiations with the insurgents. Disraeli has stated, in Parliament, that Murad will be recognized immediately by all the great powers. The insurgents are divided upon the question of accepting the armistice proposed by the Sultan, but there is little danger of any immediate outbreak. Russia seems determined to preserve peace, if possible, and as no other nation would be helped by a general European war at present, the evil day for Turkey may be for a short time postponed.

ENGLISH SKETCHES.

BY MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

LONDON, May 10, 1876.

The British, Continental, and General Federation for the Abolition of Government Regulation of Prostitution, have just been holding their first annual *conversazione* and conference at the Westminster Palace Hotel. For many years past an earnest and devoted band of laborers have been agitating in England for repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts, and have struggled bravely on, amid much obloquy and bitter attacks. Many men, who show no indignation against the evil of prostitution, have no words harsh enough for those who speak about it, and while they appear to consider that some women are in their necessary sphere in the streets, they think that other women are out of their sphere when they protest against the degradation. It ought to be clearly understood that the real immodesty lies with those who make the social evil, and not with those who strive to remedy it. There is too much of the false shame which hides a wound, and too little of the real shame which would shrink from inflicting it.

The English society for the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts may congratulate itself on having made it impossible that these Acts should be extended over the country. Mrs. Josephine Butler, as noble and gallant-hearted a woman as ever breathed, has been the life and soul of the movement. She has sacrificed to it comfort, health, worldly admiration. Universally courted, she resigned the flattery of society for a crusade which has made her the mark for every unmanly taunt and bitter sneer which could be uttered by those whose vice she assailed. Hooted at, howled down, exposed sometimes to personal danger, she has gone on with tireless courage; only the pain and the toil are seen in the ravages they have wrought. They have not daunted the brave heart, but they have shattered the health, and on the once exquisitely lovely face

they have stamped the signet-mark of suffering, which will never again pass away. Mrs. Butler deserves the reverence and the homage of every one who knows how to honor self-devotion, and to admire heroism. In the prosecution of her labors, Mrs. Butler was naturally led to examine into the working of similar legislation in the countries where it prevails, and some months ago it struck her that it would much strengthen the hands of her co-workers if it were possible to bind together into one strong union those in every country who sympathized with the movement for repeal. Right through Europe she travelled, lecturing as she went, until in the various towns the seed she scattered sprang up and bore fruit, and men and women banded themselves together to work in the ranks of abolition. At last an international federation was formed, and this is the body which has just held its first annual gathering. It was intended to add to the *conversazione* and conference a great demonstration in St. James' Hall, and M. Loyson—better known as Père Hyacinthe—came over to England specially to speak at this meeting. Unfortunately our charming English climate prostrated the French orator, and an attack of congestion of the lungs made any work from him impossible. The demonstration has consequently been postponed, in the hope that M. Loyson may speedily recover, and may afford an English audience the opportunity of hearing the eloquence which in days gone by crowded the cathedral of Notre Dame, and swayed the Parisian world.

The *conversazione* last night was well attended, Mr. Stansfeld, M. P. and ex-minister, sharing with Mrs. Butler the duty of receiving the guests. When I arrived there, accompanied by Mr. Bradlaugh, the large room was just full enough to look sociable, but not too full for pleasant sauntering. Among the first faces we saw were those of Mr. W. E. and Mrs. Ernestine Rose, and it was pleasant to see Mrs. Rose looking better and stronger than she has been for some time past. She reports herself as more in love with America than ever, her foreign travel only raising higher in her eyes the great Republic. Passing on after a few minutes' friendly chat, we met outstretched hands in every direction, finding ourselves among a number of people who knew us better than we knew them, and a pleasant feature was the kindly greeting of several clergymen, who begged permission to introduce themselves to Mr. Bradlaugh. Two of the cloth, less liberal, fled from the room profaned by the presence of the Atheist leader, but their defection did not seem to cause great regret, as we were gleefully informed of the fact by a member of the reception committee. Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Bright, Mr. Peter Taylor, Mrs. Pennington, Dr. Channing, and Professor and Mrs. Sheldon Amos were among the guests, nor should we omit the foreign guests, M. de Pressensé and M. Aimé Humbert, who came as representatives of the French and Swiss branches of the society. Needless to say that the bright face of Madame Venturi was also to be seen, the Madame Venturi who was one of Giuseppe Mazzini's closest friends, and who, in dangerous days, when Italy's unity was only a dream, proved a staunch envoy and trusty messenger to the patriot conspirator.

The conference was held to-day in the same room, Mr. Stansfeld in the chair. He opened the proceedings by referring to the present aspect of the movement, urging increased effort, as legislation of the character they were agitating against could not stand still; it must either be repealed or extended. Two or three letters were then read from sympathizers who were unable to be present, among others a rather foolish one from M. Theodore Monod, who remarked that the statement that "prostitution was a necessary evil was a libel upon God and man." One wondered drearily why God permitted it if it were an unnecessary evil. Professor Stuart then read a report, relating to the formation and progress of the international society, and specially drew attention to a work published by the society, entitled *The New Abolitionists*, which gives the details of "the mission undertaken to the Continent of Europe by Mrs. Josephine E. Butler, and of the events subsequent thereupon." This formal business over, Mr. Stansfeld called upon M. de Pressensé to address the meeting; M. de Pressensé is a pasteur of the Gallican Reformed Church, and was formerly deputy for the Department of the Seine. He is, perhaps, best known to foreigners as the author of a *Life of Jesus*, written against the more celebrated work of M. Renan. M. de Pressensé spoke fluently and with considerable power. He warmly urged that it was a degradation to the State to become, as it were, the guarantor and vendor of the human bodies and souls which filled the market of prostitution. In reply to the suggestion that the women of the streets were so degraded as not to be worthy of consideration he pithily answered: "*le vice qui se vend est abominable, mais que dites-vous du vice qui achète?*" A point of view curiously lost sight of by legislators on this subject. Most certainly there would be no supply if there were no demand. There was also true oratorical power in a picture he drew of a repenting prostitute "*qui se précipite vers Jésus de Nazareth, mais le police dit: Arrêtez, vous n'êtes pas autorisée de quitter les rangs.*" Less happy was his appeal to mothers to use on their sons' behalf the weapon of prayers and tears employed by the mother of St. Augustine. Readers of his "Confessions" will be inclined to seek some preventive more rapid in its action. When M. de Pressensé sat down, Mr. Stansfeld announced that a translation of his remarks would be given, and a gentleman stepped forward, armed with a voluminous MS., and commenced to read monotonously an English version of the impassioned French to which we had been listening. It was too much. Though several speakers remained that I desired to hear, I rose and fled, anathematizing inwardly so wearisome a proceeding,

and remarking to Mr. Bradlaugh that people who only knew their mother-tongue had no business at an international conference, however useful they might be in other walks of life.

Communications.

GLASGOW LETTER.

GLASGOW, May 21, 1876.

DEAR INDEX:—

In English-speaking countries May seems to be the sacred month. Accordingly during the past week there have met in Edinburgh the annual assemblies of our three chief Presbyterian churches. For you must observe that the Presbyterian Church of Scotland is, unlike the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost of the Athanasian Creed, not one church, but three large churches, together with a number of smaller unimportant ones. Englishmen have long ago given up trying to understand the distinctions (with a difference, it is to be presumed) which divide "the Church of Christ in our land." And Scotchmen, it seems to me, are beginning to follow in their wake; for of late the talk has been all of union. But as yet the result is "much cry and little wool," as the following *résumé* of recent Scotch ecclesiastical history will show.

About the year 1837, two or three of the various Presbyterian denominations then existent in Scotland joined to form the United Presbyterian Church which was to be run on voluntary principles; i. e., the advocacy of the separation of Church and State. In pursuance of their purpose this united body in the year above mentioned made an onslaught by speeches and discussions on the Established Church, which is also, of course, Presbyterian. The defence of the State-church was mainly, if not solely, sustained by that portion of it which afterwards in 1843 seceded from it, on the occasion of the State supporting a patron in imposing a distasteful minister on an unwilling congregation. These seceders styled themselves the Free Church, and avowed as their distinctive principle that it is the duty of the State to support the church, both by finding her in funds, and enforcing her decrees; but that it is not the duty or the right of the State to claim, in return for this support, any interference with or control over the Church,—the ultramontane claim, as Cardinal Manning not long ago pointed out. But twenty years' experience of the perverse obedience of the State to the first half of its demand, in endowing a rival church which was willing to take the State's pay without claiming to be the State's master, converted the great majority of the Free Church to the opinion that it is not the duty of the State to connect itself in any way with the Church. This point reached, there seemed no reason why an amalgamation with the United Presbyterian Church should not take place. Feelers were accordingly put forth on both sides, resulting in open negotiations for union, which were protracted through a long, weary course of years, but resulted in nothing, though the stubborn inability of a minority of the Free Church to see that "circumstances alter cases."

As this union, if consummated, would have dangerously threatened the existence of the national Church, seeing that the three bodies are pretty nearly equal in numbers, wealth, and influence, the break-down of the negotiations was hailed with joy by the Established Church, the more sagacious leaders of which immediately set themselves to the task of trying their hand at union. Accordingly, with the aid of the conservative government, patronage in the Church of Scotland was abolished about a year ago, and the congregations are now left to choose their own ministers. Of course this action was adopted in the hope that it would bring back a number of the Free Church laity, on whom the outlay in keeping up a church supported by voluntary contributions pressed hardly. It was followed by another astute but rather unhand-some stroke of policy further to weaken the Free Church. The ministers of that Church may be called by any Established Church congregation, and will be instituted to the charge without any troublesome procedures in the Church courts such as were formerly required in receiving a minister from another denomination. Up to the present time there have been but two instances of defection from the Free Church on the part of her ministers, and in neither case was the man a man of any weight or reputation. But the howls of rage on the part of the Free, and the crowings of joy on the part of the Established Church over these two events were such as would have induced a stranger to believe that they heralded the immediate downfall of the dissenting community. It is difficult, in fact for the unconverted simply impossible, to discern what *locus standi* is left the Free Church now that patronage is abolished. But the manner in which the Established Church and the Tory party have gone about to undermine a Church which seceded for an appreciable grievance, and which has worked for the ends it cherishes in the most earnest and successful way, provokes the contempt and merits the denunciation of every lover of fair play.

While the negotiations for union between the Free and the United Presbyterian bodies were pending, the United Presbyterians ceased from urging in any pressing way their voluntary principles. But since the break-down of these negotiations the United Presbyterian body is again taking up the disestablishment cry. Two acts on the part of that body lately, however, would make one believe that the real motive of the crusade is jealousy of a sister church, not loyalty to civil or religious liberty. They approved the exemption of church-property from taxation, which, as all readers of THE INDEX know, is nothing more nor less than direct endowment by the State; and still

more recently at the school-board election they approved of the teaching of the Bible and the catechism in the public (which ought to be strictly secular) schools. Their defection from principle on these occasions is only another instance of what you are constantly preaching,—that it is useless to look to any church to carry out consistently and to the final issue the conflict for LIBERTY.

If anything worthy of note should occur in the proceedings of the assemblies, you shall have a report of it next week.

Yours very heartily, JAMES BOYD.

THE INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—If the religion of a people corresponds to its collective intellectual development, and this in turn may be determined by its progress in art and science, no better opportunity could be desired for the study of the comparative value of the various religions of the civilized nations of the earth than is afforded by the Centennial Exposition. Further, if the religious and social development of a people depends upon the climate, temperature, and material products of the country which they inhabit, here is ample opportunity to trace these varied religions to their real causes. Yet, strange as it may seem, a very exciting contest is going on in Philadelphia as to whether this Exposition, with all its instructiveness on this great subject, shall be opened to the public on the first day of the week,—the day set apart by common consent for rest from physical toil and for the more thorough study of the great problem of life. One would suppose this day above all others to be the most proper time for the advantageous and, if you please, religious study of this wonderful collection of the products of Nature and art from all quarters of the globe.

The Centennial Commission, assisted largely by the Board of Finance and the Women's General Centennial Committee, have evinced much foresight, sagacity, and breadth of character in the management of this Exposition, and not only should be well paid for their labor, but deserve the thanks of the American people for the comparative study of the nations of the earth here afforded. Their action in determining to close the Exposition on Sunday is so thoroughly short-sighted and at variance with the intellectual appreciation of freedom which they have exhibited, and yet so far-reaching in its consequences to the American people, that one is led to inquire what could have been the impelling motive.

It is a difficult task to divine the motives of individuals, and there is much danger of injustice; therefore, while others conjecture that the closing of the Exposition on Sunday is General Hawley's bid for the Christian vote of the community for the Presidency, I prefer to speak only of facts and their consequences. Certain it is that the individual members of the Commission do not especially care for the Sabbath as a religious institution, but a very strong pressure has been brought to bear upon them from the Church to close and keep closed the Exposition on Sunday. Add to this the fact that, when this question was under consideration by the Commission, one of their number made an earnest, emotional speech in which, after stating that he had lived for many years in the extreme West where the Sabbath was unknown and almost forgotten, he referred to his early education received kneeling by his pious mother's side, and told them how this question brought before him not only his early lessons of the Sabbath and of Jesus, but the loved memory and influence of that Christian mother long since deceased; until two-thirds of the Commission, amid their tears, voted for the sustaining of that religion so precious to their mothers. Perhaps statesmen will yet learn that it were wiser to enfranchise the mothers of the nation, and make them intelligently responsible for the powerful influence which they ever must wield in its destiny. Liberals will do well to note the power of a thoroughly organized religious superstition and the comparative weakness of freethought.

In Philadelphia, clergymen, Jewish Rabbis, and the Liberal League, in their respective meetings, are considering this question; and large mass-meetings have been held both in favor of sustaining the action of the Commission, and also to induce them to reconsider their determination. Eminent lawyers, clergymen, and individuals of high standing have participated in these meetings, and it is well said that talent, culture, and purity are about equally divided upon this question. But outside of Philadelphia the Church, from Maine to Texas, and the Atlantic to the Pacific, as with one united voice, have sent to the Commission resolutions, earnest appeals, and promises of support and sympathy to sustain them in their action, while the freethought of the nation is dumb, having no regularly organized channel through which to communicate its demand to the Commission.

In this question is involved the whole question of the union of Church and State, and this contest is a trial of the forces of the Church and the liberal element of the nation. The Church makes bold to state that "this is a Christian country," and that the majority of citizens, being Christians, have the right to demand a national recognition of whatever religious opinions they may agree upon.

The Commission, even if now conscious of the difficulties in which their hasty and emotional decision may involve them, cannot well reconsider this question without some formal expression from the liberal element of the country. A voice should come up from every town and hamlet, demanding still that liberty of conscience guaranteed by our forefathers one hundred years ago. Can we afford to delay action? I think not. Our public buildings, newspaper offices, places of business, and private dwellings

are decorated with the flags of all the nations of the earth, expressive of our feeling of kinship and welcome to all peoples of all nationalities and religions at our jubilee. Anything that savors of national action in favor of enforcing an observance of our religious institutions upon our foreign guests is inhospitable to them and humiliating to any citizen jealous of our national reputation for justice, honor, or politeness.

But I started to write you of the Centennial Exposition. First let me say that it is a marvel, to which no pen has yet done justice. So much is there to be seen that for the first few days the visitor sees nothing minutely; but his expressions are constantly those of wonder and surprise at the vastness and magnificence of the display.

As an education to our people the Exposition is invaluable. Here are exhibited the natural products, mineral, agricultural, horticultural, and floral, of all quarters of the globe; the machinery, scientific and philosophical instruments used for the utilizing of these products; the fabrics, utensils, and articles of both utility and beauty made from them, showing the designs, workmanship, and industries of the different peoples and ages; also their works of art and literature, historical, scientific, and religious. In short, the Exposition is an epitome of civilization itself, representing the governmental, educational, social, industrial, and religious institutions of almost every land. These are hard times, but the thinker cannot afford to stay away. The result of the Exposition must be enlarged thought and a feeling of unity with and charity for all nations, peoples, and ages.

I have passed the day in Egypt. The exhibit of Egypt is situated a little to the south-east of the centre of the main Exposition Building. Her frontispiece bears the following modest and expressive inscription: "Egypt, the oldest people in the world, sends its morning greeting to the youngest nation." To be thus reminded of our exceeding youthfulness, and of course ignorance and inexperience among nations, is not flattering to our Centennial vanity, but nevertheless instructive. But on second thought we may congratulate ourselves upon this greeting, for to be counted worthy at our first Centennial to receive the greetings of the oldest people in the world, who, after having existed thousands of years as a nation, still regard themselves as in the morning of their national life, is evidence of amazing growth.

On entering Egypt, the first object on the right which attracts your attention is a model of the Pyramid of Cheops, and just back of it, hung upon the wall, is a bird's-eye view of Cairo, with the Pyramids of Cheops and Ghizeh visible in the distance. Upon the left of the doorway is the door of the sanctuary of a Cairo mosque of the fourteenth century, beautifully carved and inlaid with ebony and ivory. Just in front of it stands a statue of the original Pharaoh of Moses, claimed to have been modelled after a statue found in Egypt many hundred years before Christ, which represents the king as a young man. From the pleasant, genial countenance which the artist has given him, I conclude that the Lord had not yet hardened his heart. Here is also a statue of King Khafra, or Khephres, who lived four thousand years before Christ and was the builder of the second of the three greatest Pyramids, and another of Ameniritis, Queen of Ethiopia, B. C. 300; also photographic representations of ancient temples, mosques, obelisks, the tombs of the Califs and of the Mamelukes and the Mokattan, the statue of Ibrahim Pacha. These objects are especially dear to the Egyptian, because held in religious veneration by himself and his ancestors; while to us they are monuments of the ancient Egyptian's superstition and the modern Egyptian's knowledge of the art of photography.

I observed also a tiny pen-and-ink representation of the citadel of Cairo, which for its artistic beauty is not easily surpassed. In the furnished apartment are found Arabic carved doors, inlaid dressing-cases, book-holders, stands, and other articles of beauty and comfort; but I was most interested with the three-legged stands for candlesticks two and one-half feet high, and beautifully inlaid with mother-of-pearl and lead. The candlesticks on exhibit are of solid silver, the pedestals being representative of ancient Egyptian deities. The kitchen and toilet utensils are made of gold, of silver, ivory, tortoise-shell, the horn of the rhinoceros, and red and yellow clay. Here is also a writing-desk of solid silver, and chess-boards inlaid with ebony and ivory, showing the workmanship and social life of the Egyptian.

The wearing apparel and tapestry, consisting of window and door-curtains, tray and table-covers, are of unusual richness, mostly of silk or velvet, and embroidered in gold and silver. A blue velvet tray-cover, richly embroidered, is valued at \$2,000. Some of the Egyptian cloth upon exhibition is made from the bark of the wild fig, which grows south of the Nile,—the bark being rolled and beaten until of the proper thickness and evenness.

The models from the Polytechnic School of Cairo are of especial interest; also the specimens of the natural woods, grains, and plants of Egypt, including its lentil, wheat, maize, barley, rice, peas, beans, tamarinds, and pomegranates, its acacia, mahogany, etc. Its cotton and wool are of a fine quality; its cocoons of different shades and conditions are especially fine and very tastefully arranged,—some of them perforated by the insect eating through are still upon the leafy branch upon which they were formed. Its musical instruments are exceedingly crude; so are its implements of warfare, as Egypt, not being a Christian nation, has not for many centuries felt the necessity of extending its religion by the use of the sword.

Very truly,

CARRIE BURNHAM KILGORE.
PHILADELPHIA, June 5, 1876.

MIRABEAU'S DEATH.

The "leap-in-the-dark" story, told of Mirabeau by Rev. J. P. Newman in his last printed sermon on "Science and Religion" (p. 153), has been related also of Hume, Gibbon, Voltaire, and perhaps others. When a clergyman finds a good "infidel death-bed" story, he can make it do as well for one of these noted heretics as for another. The reverend doctor puts it in this way: "The dying words of Mirabeau must be the dying words of every man who relies on science rather than religion: 'Cover me with flowers, banquet me with music, delight me with perfume, for to die is to take a leap in the dark.'"

The following account of the last hours of Mirabeau (Honoré Gabriel Requette, 1749—1791) is from the American Cyclopædia:—

"After a night of terrific suffering, at the dawn of day he addressed Cabanis [his physician]: 'My friend, I shall die to-day. When one has come to such a juncture, there remains only one thing to do; that is, to be perfumed, crowned with flowers, and surrounded with music, in order to enter sweetly into that slumber from which there is no awaking.' He ordered his bed to be brought near the window and looked with rapture on the brightness of the sun and the freshness of the garden. His death was mourned by the whole nation; every one felt that the ruling spirit of the revolution had passed away."

The reverend gentleman's version has just enough truth in it to enable one to determine positively its falsehood on the very point he desired to emphasize; namely, the "leap in the dark." To Mirabeau death was evidently no "leap in the dark," but a calm sinking into eternal sleep,—annihilation. "Science cannot light up the tomb," says Dr. Newman. To Mirabeau this was the light it shed upon it; not as theatrical as that which Dr. Newman's theology throws on it, perhaps, but quieter, and better calculated for unselfish minds. Dr. Newman's blue and red lights are vouchsafed to every criminal who is jerked into eternity from a rope's end, and how naturally they all seem to take to it! It does not require a Mirabeau, a Hume, a Mill, or a Huxley to do that. Brimstone and blood—a damning God and a saving Christ—hell and damnation—heaven and (to quote Dr. Newman) "the crown, the palm and the harp"—to say nothing of the New Jerusalem with its streets paved with gold.

"That prophet ill fulfils his holy call
Who makes not heavens to suit the tastes of all."

Clergymen often forget that the idea of a future existence is centuries older than Christianity, and they could not learn that it will probably endure centuries longer.

There are those, however, who think that science will "light up the tomb"; not with the false lights and uncertain colors that tradition and superstition have sought to shed upon it, but with the clear light of knowledge. These so-called light-bearers under the name of religion pretended to "light up" the origin of things. Science has shown that the light led only to illusion. These, under the same holy name, declared the origin and form of the earth. Science has proven the declarations false. These, still dogmatic and self-satisfied, have sought to teach the origin of beings, and the issue of the battle now raging on this point can be foretold from the issue of the others. These, too, unfortunately, because science has not yet reached that field, assume to tell the fate of the dead. But some profit by human experience, and look to the sun for light, and if it be not yet risen, await. A want of information is always better than misinformation. Those who nobly leap in the dark, with the darkness confessed, have nothing to unlearn beyond; but those who shroud life in delusion, and leave it with false ideas and expectations of the hereafter, must there have all the pain and misery of throwing off an incubus of ingrained falsehood.

G. M. W.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

JAMES H. COTIER.

MR. F. E. ABBOT:

Dear Friend,—I have received, as a result of the article in the columns of THE INDEX, seven dollars from unknown parties for James H. Cotier; five dollars from one, two from another, for which I would thank them in behalf of Mr. Cotier. I would further state that more than a week ago the young man in question left the hospital, hoping to be able to go back to his business; but he has been obliged to return to the hospital to submit to another operation upon his eye, and may have to remain for weeks. He ought not to have left as he did; but, having no means to pay expenses, he was obliged to do so. There surely are many who will, if they can, spare him a little, that he may remain a sufficient length of time to enable him to enter upon his accustomed labors in a condition suited thereto. There is great danger of his losing his sight, if he is not favored; and, in view of all he has suffered in the past, and his great efforts to stand a man among men, weakening naturally weak eyes by reading proof day and evening, and studying often till two or three in the morning to gratify his thirst for knowledge, there certainly must be among those who remember his honest, open countenance some who will aid him at this his most trying hour. Hoping this will meet the eyes of many who can help him, I remain

Yours sincerely, M. S. WETMORE.

31 CROSS ST., CHARLESTOWN, Mass., May 28.

A LADY, in describing the attempt at singing of a gentleman who had no voice for it, and who had an uncouth peculiarity in his gait, said: "He walked up and down the room like a bear in a cage, making a noise like a choked earthquake."

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FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT.

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March 1, 1876. }

To the Liberal Leagues and the Liberal Pub-

lic of the United States:—

The General Centennial Committee, appointed at a convention held in this city last September for the purpose of making all necessary arrangements for a General Centennial Congress of Liberals next summer, have decided to call said Congress to convene at Philadelphia, Saturday, July 1, 1876,—further particulars to be hereafter announced.

Each organized Liberal League will be entitled to send five delegates as special representatives—three in addition to its President and Secretary. But all individual Liberals who sympathize with the general objects and aims of the Liberal Leagues will be equally entitled and welcomed to seats and votes in the Congress.

REPORT PROMPTLY!

In order to lessen as much as possible the expenses of the delegates, each League is requested to elect them as soon as possible, and to report their names to the undersigned through its Secretary. All Liberals, delegates, or individuals who desire and intend to participate in the Convention are requested also to forward personally and immediately their names and full post-office addresses to the undersigned, that he may be enabled to make the most favorable terms possible for their accommodation. If notified early, he hopes to secure for them a considerable reduction in railroad fares, and to provide boarding-places at perhaps half the usual rates of the season.

Donations Solicited!

The Centennial Committee on Finance having through their Chairman transferred their duties to the General Centennial Committee, the undersigned has been appointed to attend to the financial department, and hereby appeals to the Liberals of the country for voluntary contributions to the amount of One Thousand Dollars. This amount will be needed to make the Congress a complete success, though the utmost possible will be done with whatever is contributed. The officers of the union of Liberal German societies propose to raise the same amount for their convention, and have already raised \$600 of it. The Young Men's Christian Association here have already spent this year nearly \$100,000 in preparation for the Centennial, in the interest of Orthodox superstition; it would be a pity if all the friends of "Liberty and Light" could not do a hundredth part as much for the cause of national development and free humanity! The money will all be wanted (and much more could be advantageously expended) in providing suitable halls and headquarters, advertising the Congress liberally in advance in the chief dailies of the country, defraying the necessary expenses of desired and invited speakers, paying *verbatim* reporters, publishing a complete pamphlet report of the proceedings, etc., etc. What is done must be done speedily, since the arrangements should be completed, as far as practicable, by the first of May.

All sums donated will be duly acknowledged in THE INDEX, and a full report of all expenditures will be sent for publication in the same paper. Remittances should be sent to the undersigned, 605 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. Will not all friends of the movement respond heartily and at once?

DAMON Y. KILGORE,

Acting Treasurer.

I believe that Mr. Kilgore is a gentleman of unimpeachable personal integrity, and that all money remitted to him as above will be faithfully and economically devoted to the legitimate uses of the Congress.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT,

Chairman of the General Centennial Committee.

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with power to increase their number to fifteen. The completion and success of the arrangements must depend on the liberality of the friends of the movement, who are respectfully and earnestly solicited to contribute the necessary funds.

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BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, JUNE 22, 1876.

WHOLE No. 339.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fairs shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, undilatingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF —.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in —, and thereby to effect the total separation of Church and State in fact as well as in theory.

Also to send delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League, when organized, and to cooperate heartily with all the liberals of the country in furtherance of the above-named object.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be ex-officio delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification for any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

No person shall ever in any State be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious practices shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

DOM PEDRO is announced to be in Philadelphia from June 19 to July 6. Possibly he may be present at some one of the sessions of the Centennial Congress of Liberals.

THE BOSTON *Herald* of June 8 refers to THE INDEX as "the organ of the Progressive Unitarians." This must be a new sect, of which we have not heard! But THE INDEX is not the organ of any Unitarians, progressive or non-progressive.

TWO OR THREE weeks ago, as we are informed, some young men were arrested for playing base-ball on Sunday in Jamaica Plain, in this State; and our informant, who is not in favor of the Liberal League movement, added that there seems to be a new determination to enforce the Sunday laws.

AT THE Twenty-eighth Annual Meeting of the Friends of Human Progress, at Waterloo, N. Y., held early in the present month, resolutions were passed, on motion of Mr. H. L. Green, substantially reaffirming the "Demands of Liberalism," and protesting against the shutting of the Exposition on Sundays.

THE REPUBLICAN National Convention at Cincinnati proposed a Constitutional amendment, "forbidding the application of any public funds or property for the support of any school or institution under sectarian control." We repeat the warning that by this word "sectarian" is meant, and will be construed by the courts to mean, the retention of the Bible in the public schools as a non-sectarian book. The battle for a secular public school system is yet to be won. The National Liberal League will find its hands full of work.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE begins, "When in the course of human events," etc. The platform of the Republican party just adopted at Cincinnati begins, "When in the economy of Providence," etc. That is one of the stealthy approaches of the Christian Amendment. Little by little is the public mind becoming habituated to such seemingly trivial abandonments of the secular principle, till by-and-by a great body of precedents will be established for the final fatal change of the Constitution. The only preventive is the immediate and energetic protest of organized patriots.

THE GERMAN Republicans, through Mr. Vance, of New York, introduced resolutions at the Cincinnati convention, June 14, favoring non-sectarian [secular?] schools, compulsory education, church taxation, civil service reform, and legislation to protect emigrants, and opposing the compulsory observance of the Sabbath, State recognition of sects, any discrimination against foreign-born citizens, and any form of inflation or repudiation. The religious questions here raised, whatever becomes of these resolutions, can never be got out of our national politics until they have all been settled in accordance with the principles of the Liberal League.

READ THE "Call for a National Centennial Convention," issued by the Christian Amendment party, with the long array of dignitaries who indorse it; and read also the "Address of the American Alliance to American voters," with its strenuous demand to keep the Bible in the schools as "the corner-stone of our liberties," and (as an illustration of those liberties) with its proposal to disqualify all foreign-

born citizens for holding office. Both papers will be found in this issue of THE INDEX, and they are just now exactly such reading as liberals ought to have. They are very instructive—far more so than inane self-gratulations on the triumph of liberal principles. Look at the forces actually manifesting themselves in American society and shaping themselves for political action: is it a time for stupid star-gazing?

AT THE fifty-ninth minute of the eleventh hour, a public meeting was held in Boston at the Old South meeting-house, Wednesday, June 14, to try to raise sufficient funds to rescue the noble old pile from its destroyers. Charles W. Slack, John T. Clark, W. H. H. Murray, E. S. Tobey, and Curtis Guild all made earnest and excellent speeches for this purpose; but Wendell Phillips made a plea for the old edifice which will never be forgotten by those who heard it. This passage of noble eloquence and bold truthfulness made the walls ring with irrepressible cheers: "The consecration that the Puritans gave to these walls, to Christ, and the Church, in 1729, is annulled. The ark of God has sought a new and perhaps a better shelter, but these walls received as sincere consecration when Adams and Otis dedicated them to liberty. We don't come here to save the walls that have echoed to the prayers of Cotton, and Prince, and Eckley, and the early saints of the colony. We come here to save the walls that have echoed to the sublime thought of Quincy when he said: 'No matter where, nor how, nor for what cause, I mean to die a free man, and not a slave!' These arches will echo as long as they stand with the sublime and sturdy religious enthusiasm of Adams, with the unequalled eloquence of Otis, with Warren in his young genius and enthusiasm. I will not say it is a nobler consecration, I will not say that it is a better use; I only say we come here to save what our fathers consecrated to the great memories of the most successful struggle the race has ever made for the liberties of men." Once more has Boston a chance to redeem herself from the scorn of mankind: let her shrink from the shame of the impending infamy!

WHAT THE "American Alliance" is is thus told by the Boston *Advertiser* of June 17: "The foolish 'American Alliance' or 'American League' movement is said to have reached this State, and to be forming lodges of American native-born citizens against the foreign-born. Besides the object of the old Know-Nothings the 'Leaguers' are said to be in favor of maintaining the Bible in public schools. Whether any lodges have been formed in this State or not, we do not know. They have kept themselves carefully concealed if they do exist, but it would be a poor compliment to Massachusetts intelligence if such a movement could acquire a foothold here. From the occasional reports from other States it seems there is a little vitality to the league, and its national convention in Philadelphia next month may be of importance enough to attract more attention than has hitherto been given to the order. At the last meeting there were reported to be more than one hundred lodges in Pennsylvania, two hundred in New York, one hundred and thirty in Ohio, and several in New England. The objections to this movement are so strong that it cannot receive the support of intelligent men. The position of the Bible in the public schools will not be improved by the efforts of such organizations. The idea of opposition to foreigners is contrary to our whole history, besides being most injurious to American interests. Were there any reason for the action of the League, the manner in which it is undertaken would be enough to bring it into condemnation; but when the method is bad and the cause unjust to foreigners and injurious to Americans, it is strange that it gets any support. Its strength lies in ignorance and prejudice, and Massachusetts, of all States, should prove most inhospitable soil for its growth."

LIST OF LIBERAL LEAGUES.

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 BOSTON, MASS.—F. E. Abbot, President; J. P. Titcomb, G. A. Bacon, Secretaries.
 JEFFERSON, OHIO.—W. H. Crowell, President; A. Giddings, Secretary.
 SAN JOSE, CAL.—A. J. Spencer, President; J. L. Hatch, Secretary.
 TOLEDO, IOWA.—J. Reedy, President; E. S. Beckley, Secretary.
 VINELAND, N. J.—John Gage, President; Sue M. Clute, Secretary.
 JUNCTIONVILLE, NEB.—J. W. Eastman, President; B. L. Easley, Secretary.
 OLATHIE, KAN.—S. B. M. Wilson, President; H. A. Griffin, Secretary.
 DETROIT, MICH.—W. R. Hill, President; A. T. Garretson, Secretary.
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 OSOOLA, MO.—R. F. Thompson, President; M. Roderick, Secretary.
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(FOR THE INDEX.)

The Growth of Opinion

AS TO WHAT CONSTITUTES TRUE RELIGION.

A DISCOURSE FOUNDED ON II. SAMUEL XXIV., 21-24, SPECIALLY ON THE WORDS—"NEITHER WILL I OFFER BURNT OFFERINGS UNTO THE LORD MY GOD OF THAT WHICH DOETH COST ME NOTHING."

BY JAMES BOYD, GLASGOW, SCOTLAND.

Moralists have long been in the habit of summing up our duties under three heads; those, namely, which we owe to ourselves, to our neighbors, and to God. These last are universally admitted to take precedence of the others, and consist in reverence, worship, trust, gratitude, penitence, and obedience. But as all these are simply affections of the mind, men have ever felt the necessity laid upon them of giving expression to these sentiments in some outward acts, in order to prove, not less to themselves than to their neighbors, that they really do possess the merit which they claim. For, however often religious professions may be made for the purpose of imposing upon others, they are far more often made for the purpose of impressing on the individual himself a conviction of his own sincerity. Nor is there in this any conscious attempt at imposition or self-deceit. Knowledge of self is of all knowledge the hardest to acquire, and the most rarely attained. Every day we may see men, in pure and perfect ignorance, taking credit to themselves for qualities which they sincerely believe they possess; but their want of which is patent, and probably a subject of remark to every one beside. The human mind is to the immense majority of the human race a tangled skein which they cannot unravel, a document written in an unknown tongue which they may gaze upon forever and yet learn nothing from. Has it not almost passed into a proverb that the motives men assign for their acts are rarely, if ever, the motives which really induce them to act? And although the cynic may choose to interpret this only as a proof that "all men are hypocrites and liars," no man, who thoroughly knows the workings of his own mind, can admit such an interpretation to be correct. Recall, now, each one of you for himself, let us say, the action which each considers the noblest of his life. With it will be recalled, without effort, the motives which we gave ourselves at the time for its performance. They will be found to be worthy and noble ones. But now that you are removed from the circumstances and the persons you were associated with then, now when the zeal which animated you has evaporated—with changed affections and altered views of life—can you not discover on looking back some other and less worthy motive, which was in deed and in truth the real spring of your action? And yet you know there was no conscious deceit in the case. Reflect,

again, how careful we are, when tempted to commit any mean, or base, or cruel act, to refrain until we have found some reason that shall justify us to ourselves. See, even when men are anxious to obtain disinterested advice in some important crisis of their lives, how almost certain they are to resort to those whose counsel will point towards the course to which they feel themselves already inclined.

Now, although it is not every man who is familiar with these things, there yet seems to be a vague suspicion, very general among men, as to the deceitfulness of their own hearts. Hence arises the necessity we spoke of, of outward acts of worship expressing the inward feelings of love and fear, in order that men may be assured of their own state, and that they are not, in a matter of such vital import as their duty to God, practising deceit upon themselves.

Having thus seen the origin of external acts of worship, and the necessity out of which they arose, it next devolves upon us to trace the development of opinion regarding the most appropriate manner of expressing our religious feelings; when we shall find that not until long, long after man had resort to external acts of worship in order to escape the deceitfulness of his heart, was he successful in wholly conquering it, and standing at length face to face with the pure and perfect manner of discharging his duty towards God.

The first, or, at least, a very early mode, in which the expression of men's religious feelings took outward shape, was sacrifice; the meaning of which is, we apprehend, at the present day very generally mistaken. When the word sacrifice is mentioned, we are all too apt to associate with it the idea, and the one idea only, of an attempt to avert or propitiate the wrath of God by the slaughter of a beast; as if the sacrificers believed that there was virtue in the mere act of shedding blood to wash away human sin. That this notion has obtained very wide acceptance among the nations who practise sacrifice, we do not doubt or question; but it bears on its face the stamp of being one of those popular, superficial, irrational opinions, which, somehow or other, gain their way among the ignorant and unthinking. We cannot conceive how it could enter any man's mind, who was conscious of feeling himself at enmity to God, and anxious to obtain, yet, at the same time, ignorant of all means of obtaining, a reconciliation with his Maker,—we say we cannot conceive how it should enter such a man's mind that the best mode of seeking a reconciliation was by the slaughter of a beast. But we can conceive, and very readily too, how the rite of sacrifice, once introduced and established on more rational grounds, should come to be regarded by the ignorant and superstitious as a means of reconciliation with God. And we can also very readily see how, when such an opinion had once gained ground, it should also come to pass that, in the estimation of the multitude, reconciliation with God should be esteemed the end and object for which sacrifice had been instituted. But it is not in a mind of such a class that we need look for any inventive power. It was not in a mind of such a class, we may be very sure, that the idea of sacrifice originated. And when we come to the higher class of minds, in whom alone inventive or creative power resides, it would be against all experience, against the laws of our mental nature even, to suppose that such a mind could ever bear such fruit as this idea, that the shedding of the blood of bulls and goats could have any efficacy with God in washing out the stains of human guilt.

It is nothing to urge against this view, that minds of the highest class and culture have regarded sacrifice in this latter light. They had been brought up from earliest infancy to regard it thus with feelings of the most sacred awe. And so firm a hold on us have the opinions and prejudices which were inculcated on us in youth by those who claim and deserve our love and respect, that it is but one degree more difficult for the Ethiopian to change his skin than it is for even cultured men to throw off the incubus of superstition that has descended to them from their sires. But the originator of sacrifice was hampered by no traditional views respecting its nature or end. And it is on this account that we pronounce the opinion, which afterwards in narrower minds sprang up regarding it (though from its wide-spread acceptance and early inculcation it acquired, in later years, force to enthrall the noblest), to have been impossible to his free and unbiased mind.

We cannot help thinking that the original meaning of the word sacrifice was exactly that which we attach to it in common speech, as when we talk of sacrificing our time, or our position, or our means. And the idea which gave rise to sacrifice as a religious rite was this: that sincerity in the service of God can only be manifested by giving up, or parting with, something that we hold dear. As time rolled on, other ideas were gradually grafted on this one. A sacrifice might then be an expression of thanksgiving, as in Noah's case in his coming forth from the ark; or as a recognition of the lordship of God over men's persons and possessions, some share of which it was proper should be devoted exclusively to his service, in token of his rightful ownership of the whole,—which seems to have been David's meaning when, on the completion of his preparations for the erection of a house to God, he exclaims, "But who am I, and what is my people, that we should be able to offer so willingly after this sort? For all things come of Thee, and of thine own have we given Thee." Or, again, as in the text, sacrifice might be offered as an atonement for sin, and in propitiation of God's wrath. But even then we see the radical idea of loss, or deprivation, or cost, is still an essential element of the rite, for David evidently considered that it would be no sacrifice if it cost him nothing.

*Of course, I don't cite this as a historic fact,—only as showing the opinions prevalent in the time when the myth was composed.

But it is ever the fate of pure religious ideas, emanating from lofty spiritual minds, that they should have to wait for centuries before the mass of men are educated up to the point of appreciating their truth and beauty. Nor is this delay the only, nor the worst, indignity they must endure. For they are seized upon by lower minds, and distorted into uncouth shapes, in which, nevertheless, they slowly, albeit surely, do their work of purifying, ennobling, and refining man's gross and carnal mind. Thus fared it with the rite of sacrifice. From simply serving to denote the worshipper's sincere desire to surrender himself and all he owned to God, it degenerated into a ransom for the offerer's sin. Nor can we be astonished to learn what were the effects this manner of viewing it entailed. When the only fear of God before a sinner's eyes is the fear of having to immolate an extra bull or goat, we may feel quite sure that the flood of human passion can never be stayed, can scarce be checked, by a dam so frail. But although there be evil, and evil in plenty, in man's nature, there is good likewise. And it only needs that the evil should come to the worst to summon the good to the rescue. So, when the heathen darkness, which was the inevitable fruit of such a faith, had settled down on God's chosen people, there sprang up, one after another, prophets and preachers, to declare with trumpet voice that the offering of bulls and goats was a vain worship; that the sacrifices of God were a broken spirit; that burnt-offerings and sin-offerings were worthless to prevail with God; but that to obey his will and to walk in his statutes was all that he required of man.

But experience shows how hard a lesson this is for man to learn, from the length of time he has been engaged in learning it, if indeed we can persuade ourselves that he has learned it even now. For although the rite of sacrifice may be got rid of, as it has been got rid of during some outburst of zeal on the part of reformers in religion, the old error which was associated with it crops up ever anew. In every generation the forms, ceremonies, observances, by means of which it is sought to propagate and keep alive religion among men, are perversely put in the place of the ends which are intended to be secured through them; so that, instead of serving, as in every case probably their designers intended them to serve, only as expressions of certain dispositions, or as means whereby certain dispositions may be conveniently attained, they come, after a very short lapse of time too, to be regarded by the followers and imitators of those who introduced them as perfect and satisfactory substitutes for these mental dispositions, on whose account alone they at first existed, or are at any time valued.

Nor is it difficult to explain why this should be so. Two causes may be very plainly traced as cooperating to work out this effect. In every sphere of life and business we find a tendency exhibiting itself in men to erect means into the place of ends. The veracious delays and circumlocutions of law and government arise simply from the multiplication of forms, which originally were devised for the purpose of expediting business; and which, before they had become quite useless, had gathered around them such a veneration for their own sakes, that even now, when they are only obstacles and hindrances, it is always difficult to accomplish their removal, from the blind belief that has arisen in their possessing some virtue in themselves. The forms of politeness and etiquette which are devised merely to oil the wheels of social intercourse and prevent them from grating—to render the necessary relations of man with man a source of pleasure as well as profit,—are looked upon by the fool of fashion as the only ends in life which are worthy of study or attainment. So, too, with the miser and his gold. In like manner you will find no idolatry or fetich worship among even the lowest tribes of man, which, in its origin, did not clearly recognize that the stock or stone, before which it pays its homage, was merely a symbol of the unseen spiritual power, who is the true and only object of its worship. Conversely, history establishes beyond dispute that whosoever a worshipper, or sect of worshippers, adopts a material symbol as a means of quickening their apprehension of, and assisting their devotion to, the unseen God, before long, that symbol, be it sun or moon or star, bird or beast or fish, statue or painting, shall be regarded by their children as in very deed, and not in seeming only, their father's God. So, in spite of the efforts of iconoclasts and reformers, who, by abolishing or simplifying the prevailing forms of worship, seek to trample out the pernicious error which confounds worship with the observance of these forms, we find the error perennially reappearing, ready even to cling, in twining wreaths, around the barest, baldest service which puritan can devise.

Besides this tendency, which is always, or at least usually unconscious in its operation, there is another cause which contributes to the spread of the error in question, which seems to be nearly, if not quite, universal among men, and therefore has some innate root in our nature; the belief, namely, in vicarious atonement. We do not undertake to analyze the genesis of this belief, although we incline to think it is begotten through the power of the wish to become father of the thought. Certain it is, the wish to lay the responsibility for our evil deeds upon another's shoulders, or the desire to substitute for some duty, whose obligation is distasteful to us, some other which we feel to be less irksome or repugnant to our love of ease or pleasure, is a very strong one in human nature. And, as a fact, we find the belief very generally diffused among mankind that God has mercifully provided means whereby this wish may be gratified. Recognizing, as most men do, that man's original duty to God is simply to lead a pure and perfect life, they yet allege the impossibility, which is merely an exaggerated way of stating the inherent

difficulty, and their consequent disinclination, to fulfil this obligation. And so, to satisfy their consciences, they are bound to cast about for some sacrifice which they may offer, and which God will accept, in lieu of his first requirement, that they should do justly, and love mercy, and walk humbly in his sight. According to the stage and phase of civilization in which they live, this offering will take the shape of the sacrifice of their herds and flocks, it may be even of their sons and daughters; of their time and wealth, in support of and attendance upon the imposing celebration of gorgeous rites in stately temples; or, what is represented as the hardest, but in reality to the unthinking and indolent is the easiest and least costly sacrifice of all, that of the exercise of their reason respecting the inscrutable mysteries and inexplicable creeds which a priesthood, favored with a more intimate knowledge of the Deity, proposes for their acceptance.

Now, as we admit that this error has been denounced and protested against by all the prophets, seers, and holy men who have made use of the inspiration with which all men are gifted to learn of God, who have used their eyes to behold that light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and yet find that this error survives and flourishes after many of them and their teachings have vanished and been forgotten, shall we still trust, and hope, and cling to the belief that this error may be uprooted from the hearts of men? We shall still so trust and hope and believe. And we think we desecrate the dawning of a truth which has been implied, but not distinctly expressed, in the teachings of all true seers, which is destined, when explicitly stated and consciously recognized, to effectually and for ever banish the idea of sacrifice from the world. And that truth is that *we have and can have no duties to God outside of those which we owe to man*. Our duties to others and to ourselves—to relieve the widow, the orphan, the needy, and him that hath no helper, and to keep ourselves unspotted from the world—COMPRISE ALL THE DUTIES WHICH WE OWE TO GOD. And we cannot compromise for the non-performance of them. "This or nothing"—is God's and nature's demand. Call it sacrifice, if you will—it is the sacrifice of all the lower tendencies of our nature in keeping ourselves unspotted from the world; the sacrifice even of our higher selves to our brother's service. Other sacrifice there is and can be NONE. And, assuredly, if the value of sacrifice be in its cost, you will find when you proceed to offer this one, that it is not one which will cost you nothing.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

PROUDHON AND HIS TRANSLATOR.

BY STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

Benj. R. Tucker, the business partner and confrère of E. H. Heywood of Princeton, Mass., has translated and published, in an elegant volume of nearly 500 royal octavo pages, the most renowned of the politico-economical works of the justly celebrated P. J. Proudhon. The title of the work in English is: *What is Property? An Inquiry into the Principle of Right and of Government*. I am requested to write a review-notice of the work. The temptation is strong to expand into an exhaustive review, but I am not certain of any avenue to the public for such a treatise, and I shall confine myself to the smaller plan. First, as to what is usually put last. The volume as a book is superb. Print, presswork, paper, and binding are at the top of the powers of the book-making art, and the price (\$3.50, or \$6.50, according to style) is not excessive. The work of the translator is also conscientiously and well done, and is nearly faultless from the literary point of view. A few Gallicisms may be pointed out, but they are exceptionally few, and the translator's personality is completely sunk in the labor of love which he evidently had before him.

The work itself consists of two "Memoirs," the first of which is the more important, and is that to which my comments will mainly apply. Proudhon was confessedly one of the great thinkers of France, at a time, thirty years ago, when France abounded in distinguished men. He combined the metaphysical subtlety of the German with the vivacity of the Frenchman, and the dead-in-earnest character of the genuine reformer. His was a truly religious nature, in the right sense. He was in love with truth, and on fire with devotion to its promulgation; and he struggled hard with the problem of its solution. His scope was not confined to social affairs. He traversed the whole field of philosophy, and, as I think him more characterized by analytical than by constructive power, I cannot but regard his *Création de l'Ordre* as a more remarkable and valuable work than that which Mr. Tucker has chosen to introduce him to the American public; although I have no doubt that he has been judicious in his choice, as that would find a still smaller circle of minds prepared to appreciate it.

Proudhon had the genius of discovery, a wonderful depth and clearness of perception, wonderful accuracy of statement, in the main, and wonderful strength of intellectual grasp upon his conception; but after all he is by no means, always, a luminous writer; sometimes because he had not reached the bottom of his subject, and sometimes because his love of epigrammatic and paradoxical statement betrayed him into astounding rather than convincing the reader. For example, he heads a long succession of propositions with the repetition of the statement that *property is impossible*, and proceeds to show, under each head, why it is so. But if property is impossible, then it cannot exist; and if it cannot exist, then it does not exist; and why should Mr. Proudhon write a big book to do away with what does not and never did have any existence? Of course the literal meaning of what he says is absurd;

but if you have the patience to study him intensely, you will find out that what he intends by this expression is: that property (in so far as he is here considering it, as that what gives *increase*) contains within itself a suicidal principle; that it is self-defeating; that it is constantly "killing the goose that lays the golden egg." His statement *covers*, but it does not convey, that idea. The idea is, in part, true; is profound, and profoundly important; but his way of saying it is afflicted with the same evil; it is repellent, self-defeating, and suicidal of his supposed purpose, that of being understood by his reader.

But what, in fine, does Proudhon mean by property? His startling epigrammatic thunderbolt, *property is robbery*, aroused, bewildered, and repelled all Europe. Perhaps not a dozen persons from his time till now have ever studied him severely enough to understand exactly what he meant. It is just possible that he did not quite understand himself, and that if he had done so, he would never have put his statement in that form. What he meant covers an immensity of truth, of new truth (at that day), and of important truth; but is it all true, to the extent of maintaining such a sweeping indictment? Let us see what he meant by property. He did not mean possession, enjoyment, usufruct of the land, and of the products of labor. These he contrasts with "property," and maintains and defends. What he means by property is that subtle fiction which makes that mine or thine of which we are out of possession, for which we have no present use, but which by this subtle tie we may recall at our option, using it, in the meantime, to subjugate others to our service, by taking *increase*, for its use in the form of rent, interest, and the like. He uses the term property, therefore, in a very rigorous and technical sense; and unless this is constantly borne in mind, he is certain to be misunderstood, and the truth which he is representing will be lost sight of. "Possession," he says, "is a right; property is against right."

It is, however, not true that property, even so restricted in definition, is robbery, pure and simple. The acute thinker has still not discriminated closely enough. It is not proprietorship, but the use of proprietorship to extort *increase*, which is vicious in principle; or else proprietorship applied where, in the true nature of things, it is not applicable, as in the case of land. The product of the labor of the free laborer, equitably and fairly produced, is in justice his property, and the argument of Proudhon to the effect that he owes it to society even before it is produced, and holds it only on sufferance, seems to me, at least, the weakest part of his First Memoir. It (the product) is his (the producer's) to lend, to own while out of possession, to recover back in kind or in equivalent, and in all senses precisely as ownership is understood in the world and defined in the law-books. The simple distinction between natural wealth which, while it can be possessed and enjoyed when needed, ought not to be *owned* in the technical sense (except temporarily, as adjunct to improvements, to secure the repayment for them), and proprietary wealth as the product of labor, sets the whole matter right. There may be an ethical inhibition against abusing one's own, but not rightly a social one; that is to say, a man's neighbors should not be set upon him to decide when he is rightly using and when he is abusing what belongs to him by a perfect title. All that the law means here is that the decision on that point is best left to the individual; and the law of the land and the law of sociological right are in perfect harmony in that particular, and Proudhon is wrong.

This right of the free and unlimited disposition of what is really one's own is, in this property domain, precisely that individual sovereignty which, without the name, Proudhon so vigorously defends, elsewhere, against communism; and the endangering of which is his grand objection to communism. His error in denouncing property, in this limited and just sense, as robbery, is as fatal to his own system as if he had averred that the individual owes *himself*, absolutely, to the community from birth, and should, therefore, submit to established authority with a loving and unquestioning obedience. Such a view (which the Comtists now virtually affirm) would, of course, have been the reversal of his whole doctrine, but not more so than this fundamental error in denying to the individual the control over the products of his own industry. Indeed it may be said, quite generally, that he fails to distinguish between ethical and sociological questions,—those matters which appeal to the conscience of the individual, as a member of society, and those matters which authorize society to intervene, to constrain, or to regulate the conduct of the individual. He also leaves us very much in the dark as to the precise social machinery by which he would have the world organized and run. He is far more specific with regard to what he would abolish than with regard to what he would construct.

Another of Proudhon's startling paradoxes, seemingly so at least, and I think we shall see really so, is the use of the term anarchy, to denote not chaos and confusion, but the basis of order in the freedom of the individual from the control of others. Etymologically, this use of the term has a show of reason as it merely means *absence of government*; and a writer has the right, if he choose, so to revert to etymological origins; and frequently there is a great advantage in so doing. There is a loss it is true in the temporary obfuscation of the mind of the reader, but, it may be, a more than compensating advantage in arousing deeper thought, or in furnishing a securer technicality. But in this case the disadvantage is certainly incurred: and neither advantage is secured. There are two very different things covered by the term government: personal government by *arbitrium*, and the government of inherent laws and principles. Proudhon is denying the rightfulness of the former, and affirming the latter. Now the Greek

archê meant both of these things; but if either more peculiarly than the other, it meant the government of laws and principles, whence the negation of such rule by the prefix *an* has meant, and rightly means, chaos. Proudhon undertakes to make the Greek word mean exclusively the other idea, whereby he spoils one excellent technicality without getting for his other purpose a secure and good one in the place of it.

At the 56th page the author propounds the theory that there was a primitive state of social equality; that our departure from it is a degeneracy; that we are to return to that state of nature, etc. Surely our social theories are in advance of that idea now. We might as well assume that the acquired use of knives and forks is a degeneracy. Men will be just as much in a state of equality if their property rights remain, and are made equal, by equity, as they would be if they returned to a state of nature, and so had no property rights. Man never returns to prior conditions. He advances to new conditions which reproduce the *spirit* of primal states, but in *still newer* forms, which embody also the good of what now is. We pass from an undifferentiated state to differentiation, and thence not backward but forward to integration. Everything is subordinated to "The Law of the Three States" in a larger sense than is meant by the author of that phrase. So the equality which Proudhon so aspired after will never come in the simple primitive form, but it will come in a higher and scientifically adjusted form,—as a permeative factor in a highly complex order of society. That form Proudhon failed to discover and formulate. Both his argument and his remedy for existing evils, on that head, are fallacious. One side of the truth of the subject, the individualistic side, Warren, more fortunate than Proudhon, did discover and formulate; the other side, the opposite and counterbalancing side, is communism, best represented as yet, on any large scale, by the Oneida Perfectionists. These two opposite ideas and types of life are to be reconciled and united, not merely despite of their oppositeness, but *because of their oppositeness*. Everything that approximates perfection is made up, primarily, of two opposite factors. This is the meaning of sex in the universe, the type and model of the reconciliation of opposites. We must and shall attain, therefore, to the mutual adjustment, harmony, and balanced vibration of sundered equality and communistic unity in the bosom of a higher reconciliative unity. That Proudhon did not attain to this idea condemns him as a lover of thought for our epoch. It makes of him what Fourier would call a simplist, a man of one idea, of the vision of one side of the truth, and, in this case not a clear vision of that.

Now that we have this book in English, it should go into every library; should be consulted, and, if leisure permits, read by every advanced student of these high questions, and should be prized as a contribution to the history of the evolution of thought in this line. But every reader should be notified that it is already superseded by better thought on the same subjects; and it seems hardly worth while on the part of Mr. Tucker to import at great cost the less perfect lucubrations of even a truly great thinker of a past epoch, when the later thought of our home production, and of our day, is so superior, even to the extent of the whole difference between failure and complete solution. Mr. Tucker, in disposing of himself, is recommended to study the doctrine of *RELATIVE VALUES*. It is not enough that such a man should be engaged in doing a *good thing*. He should be quite certain that he is engaged in doing the *very best thing*. He should, in other words, economize himself, on the ground that *good men are scarce*.

There is, nevertheless, a sense in which this and the other works of Proudhon have an intrinsic value altogether above and beyond that which attaches to his particular dogmas and solutions. I mean in respect to method. No man of his epoch, perhaps, in the whole world, understood so well; none, I am certain, insisted so earnestly and effectively upon the true scientific method; that which carries everything by analysis back to first principles; but in this also he is superseded now by a better understanding of that method. Permit me, in conclusion, to point out some inaccuracies even in his closest reasonings.

The deepest conviction, the intellectual worship, of Proudhon was invested in the idea of equality. In this nobody is, by organization and conviction, more profoundly sympathetic with him than I am, but within limits which are also imposed upon me by intellectual analysis. I am compelled to see that intrinsically, metaphysically, mathematically, scientifically—every way,—equality has, set over against it, inequality, as a counterbalancing principle, equal in validity and extension to itself. Proudhon was grandly precise, and impressive, and almost unique, in his assertion of the principle that all science must be carried back and down to mathematical origins, before it can claim to be truly scientific. But he merely *sensed* the principle, and dogmatically maintained it. He failed to discover the method of it, so as to make it a corrective, or a canon of criticism upon his own reasonings and the reasonings of others. By the mathematical analogies, equality refers to the equal or even numbers, and inequality to the unequal or odd numbers, and both are alike fundamental in the mathematical series. What does it mean, then, when this great thinker affirms that justice and society itself are absolute synonyms of equality; except simply that he is mistaken? It means that he came short of a full understanding of his subject, and that he was not true to, because he did not comprehend, the method which he, with such utter fidelity, believed in. It was his immense merit to have "intuited" its validity, and to have deferred, even theoretically, to its demands; but it was not given to him to thread its intricacies, or rather to discover its almost infinite simplicity.

He could not fail to meet the consequences of his

lack of mastery of the true method. He came unprepared for the satisfactory answers of some of his own most pregnant questions. I cite, as instance, "that the preferences of love and friendship are unjust?" Certainly it does, if justice means simple and absolute equality. Equality is impartiality, and preference is partiality; and if justice is equality, pure and simple, which is the author's prime postulate, then justice excludes absolutely all favoritism, all partiality, the preferences of love and friendship included. Justice and equality being co-extensive and synonymous with society, there is no place left in society for grace and favor of any kind. Straight-linism has excluded the possibilities of curvature, and consequently of grace or gracefulness.

There is no avoidance of this logic. The efforts of the author to escape from his own trap are painful. "Within universal society," he says, "there exist for each of us as many special societies as there are individuals; and we are bound, by the principle of sociability itself, to fulfill the obligations which these impose upon us, according to the intimacy of our relations with them." But there was nothing said of universal and special when the prime postulate was propounded; and, what principle of sociability? By the prime postulate the only principle of sociability is equality, which prohibits absolutely what is now asserted. This introduction, on the sly, of an opposite principle of sociability, referring it to the degree of "intimacy of our relations with others" and to "social compact," new and unheard-of factors in the calculation, is what the philosophers call a "surreptitious interpolation"; and through this loop in his logic, the proprietor of every grade escapes from the force of any part of it.

What a writer discussing this subject, radically, should have done, would be, first, to lay down the proposition that society rests upon two equal and equally fundamental bases; the one impartiality or equality, and the other partiality or inequality; then to inquire and ascertain in what spheres impartiality should prevail, and in what spheres partiality should be indulged and fostered; and then what is the proportion between them, their balanced vibration, their ultimate reconciliation. Proudhon is wholly right in his conclusion, that commercial exchanges should rest, like the administration of public justice, on the basis of equality; but he is wholly wrong, when, in order to reach the conclusion, he affirms that equality is the sole factor of society itself, or that the two (equality and society) are synonymous. Indeed, it is my anxiety to place his conclusion on an absolutely safe logical basis, which he has not done, that forces me to criticize his logical procedure.

I should like to say more of the author's use of the terms justice, *équité*, and proportionality, but I must resist the temptation, and let this suffice for the present. I will observe, however, again, in conclusion, that it seems a pity to continue any longer the wholly vague, or the partially scientific, treatment of social subjects, now that science is competent to cover that whole domain. Proudhon belongs as definitely to the past, at this day, and to the mere history of ideas, as Ptolemy after Copernicus; and, while I have conceded that, from that point of view, it is well to read him, I fear that, incidentally, Mr. Tucker's enterprise may contribute to the wasting of the time of new students. Such certainly would be the case, if all that is known on the subject were published and accessible. As it is, perhaps the best that can be done is to read Proudhon.

NATIONAL REFORM ASSOCIATION,

ORGANIZED TO MAINTAIN EXISTING CHRISTIAN FEATURES OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT, AND SECURE A RELIGIOUS AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

CALL FOR A NATIONAL CENTENNIAL CONVENTION.

A century ago our fathers based the nation, in the very beginning of its independent life, on the principles of general, unsectarian Christianity. Declaring their independence of oppressive human authority, they did not fail also to declare devoutly their national dependence upon God. Having inherited Christian institutions of civil government from the fathers who settled the country, they transmitted them to their children. Providentially and historically, we are a Christian nation. With Christianity as a recognized part of the common law of the land; with the Christian Sabbath as the sacred day acknowledged by law; with the oath of God as the pledge of official fidelity and the instrument of investigation in our courts of justice; with days of public fasting and thanksgiving set apart by State and national appointment; with Christian ministers employed by government to conduct divine service in the legislatures of the nation and the States, in the army and navy, and in educational and reformatory institutions; and, above all, with the Bible as our national book, in our common schools, the symbol and standard held aloft, during all our history, in the forefront of our system of public education, we have, as a nation, Christian responsibilities which we dare not ignore, and a Christian character which we are most sacredly bound to maintain.

As we enter upon this second century of our national independence, we cannot be blind to the fact that great and growing dangers threaten our Christian institutions of government. The theory of secularism, essentially hostile to the principles and purposes of the men whose deeds we now commemorate, is undoing the work of the fathers. Its advocates have repeatedly assailed the employment of chaplains in Congress and State legislatures, and, in some cases, with success. Their influence has led judges of the Supreme Court of New York city, the Supreme Court of California, and the Supreme Court of Ohio,

and even Christian ministers, to affirm that Christianity is no part of our common law. They have rendered our Sabbath laws in many cases inoperative, and imperilled their observance in connection with the Centennial Exhibition. They have stricken the name of God from the oath, as frequently administered, and boldly demand that it be wholly abolished. They have driven the Bible from the public schools of St. Louis, Chicago, Rochester, San Francisco, and other important places. In a word, they insist that the connection which has always existed, and still exists, between the American government and the Christian religion shall be severed at every point.

In all these assaults the appeal is made to the Constitution of the United States. This written instrument, the basis of all national institutions, the compact by which we agree to be governed as a nation, acknowledges no connection between our government and Christianity. It contains no explicit acknowledgment of God, of Christ, or of the Bible. It is maintained that the government itself should be as secular as its written Constitution; that the institutions of the nation should be in harmony with the fundamental law on which they rest. The want of any acknowledgment of God or the Christian religion in the National Constitution is the most formidable weapon in the hands of the enemies of the Christian institutions of our nation. Nor do they fail to employ it.

Thus the issue is pressed upon us: clearly and indisputably conform the written Constitution to the actual character of the nation, or allow the nation itself to be drawn into conformity to the Constitution. We cannot evade it. It must be met and settled. As patriotic citizens, concerned for the nation, we must take our stand. It is not the existence of Christianity or the Bible that is at stake. It is our national welfare, our national character, our Christian institutions of government, and our religious and civil liberties resting upon them. Commemorating this Centennial year the achievements of Christian ancestors, shall we suffer the inheritance which they purchased at incalculable cost, and bequeathed to us, to be robbed of its glory? Shall we permit the Bible to be banished from our schools, and our Sabbath laws to be violated, because there is no acknowledgment of God, and Christ, and the Bible in the Constitution? Shall we not rather, in the spirit of the fathers, and carrying out their purposes, cherish the Christian schools and laws that have come down to us, and in the day of their peril secure for them an undeniable legal basis in the nation's fundamental law? Wise statesmanship, fidelity to the trust from our fathers, and our duty to the generations to come, alike dictate our choice.

In the words of one of the wisest of our citizens and most patriotic of our lawyers, now gone to his rest: "God preserve us, we must go back. We must reform our political administrations in the all-important point of their moral principles. Our Christian population must do this. It is a work for them, and every other work of theirs will be hindered till this is done. We must retrace our steps, retrieve our errors, regain the position we have lost. Reform is wanted in another sense than what party schemers think of. Let us have a reformation of the elements of public life. Let us dig up the buried standard of the fathers, and fashion ourselves anew by it. Let us return to the primary spirit of the government, ere the doom of the nations that forget God becomes our own."

The NATIONAL REFORM ASSOCIATION, organized to maintain existing features of the American government, and secure a Religious Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, invites all auxiliary associations, and all bodies of citizens who favor this cause, without distinction of party or creed, to appoint delegates to attend the Convention to be held in the ACADEMY OF MUSIC, Philadelphia, beginning Wednesday evening, June 28th, at 7 o'clock, and closing on the evening of Friday, June 30th, 1876.

FELIX R. BRUNOT,

President of the National Reform Association.

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ADDRESS OF THE AMERICAN ALLIANCE
TO AMERICAN VOTERS.1871. NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ROOMS,
NEW YORK, June 8, 1876.

At a "conference" of delegates representing different American orders in the United States, held in Philadelphia, on May 19, 1876, a joint organization was perfected under the name and title of the American Alliance, based upon, and to further the principles of, "Americans ruling America." The rules and by-laws of the American Grand Council of the United States, 1871, were adopted, and a National Committee was appointed, composed of delegates present, with instructions to issue an address to the American voters of the nation, and to take such other measures as might be necessary to further the interests of the Alliance, political and otherwise. The committee, therefore, beg leave to present the following facts for the serious consideration of their American fellow-citizens. The orders embraced in the Alliance were severally formed in the years 1871 and 1873, for the purpose of founding a political party of American-born citizens, in favor of such legislation as might be necessary for putting a check upon the wholesale manufacture of citizenship from the foreign material that floods to our land, and often unfitted to be invested with the same.

Without being able to read or write, in many instances, and even to understand the language of the country, the foreign newly-made voter easily falls a prey to some petty political aspirant for place, is marched to the polls, and his vote offsets that of the citizen who must be a resident of the country twenty-one years before exercising the same privilege.

By this system, the halls of Congress and State legislatures have been disgraced, and seats secured in the same by unfit persons, and in some instances where the proper place for such was in entirely different institutions. The American Alliance recommends that American-born citizens only be elected to official positions of high trust and responsibility, and (while admitting the right of everyone to the enjoyment to the fullest extent of his political or religious creed and convictions) favor the keeping of the Bible as the "corner-stone of our liberties," and its use in the public schools and other institutions of learning in our land, without any compromise of any kind with any sect whatever. The orders of the American Alliance have secretly organized, and carefully watched the intrigues of an invidious and crafty foe to popular liberty throughout the world, which, driven from other nations, hopes and seeks to obtain a foothold in America.

Within the past year an envoy, clothed with special powers from Rome, and uniformed and wearing the arms of a soldier, had the audacity, in a so-called Christian church in the city of New York, to publicly invest a religious prelate with a title of "Prince," by the orders of the foreign potentate, whose followers consider the rulers of this and other nations as second in their obedience and consideration. Americans, if we are to have any price for ruler, let us see that we have one of our own selection.

It is said we have "invited the oppressed of every clime to an asylum upon our shores." If so, the invitation was limited; it certainly was not intended to convey the idea that we were blindly to accept all their views, and consent to be ruled and have the laws of our country made by and for their especial benefit; far from it.

Americans, it is time for an "American Balance of Power" in this country. One great political party of the day calculates its majorities, at the elections in many of the principal cities, upon the foreign vote entirely, and parcels out its patronage as a reward for such services, and now seeks to obtain control of the government of the country by the same means. Americans, see to it that it is not successful at the polls. Act, and at once; and at the coming election cast your vote only for those who favor the principles of this appeal. To the residents of the country of foreign birth, for services rendered in defence of the nation, we recommend the bestowal of citizenship, as a "mark of honor" to them, and in most instances they would consider it as such, and in preference to the manner in which it is obtained at present. It is not the foreign resident who is at fault, but that corrupting influence that aims to use one nationality of them, in order to carry out its designs upon this continent.

Americans, it is for you to settle this question now, and not leave it for those who follow in your footsteps to do; that would be unfair to them, and cowardly for you. It is easy for you now, and time will make it difficult for them then. You have no right to bequeath any such legacy to them. The National Committee have been given authority to confer with all American societies not represented at the conference, and also, if in their judgment it is considered necessary, to call a National Conference in the city of Philadelphia, on the 4th of July, 1876, for the purpose of acting upon nominations for President and Vice-President of the United States, upon the principles advocated by the American Alliance, and also to recommend an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, to enable the voter to cast his vote directly for President and Vice-President, instead of as provided at present. A special call has been issued for such purpose, and each State Council will send two delegates to such conference, by order of this Committee, and approved by the Grand Council of the United States. All American societies or orders who desire to take part in the movement are cordially invited to appoint two delegates to confer with the special committee of the Alliance. Correspondence is also invited from all who favor the object in view, as set forth by this committee.

The American Alliance embraces among its members eminent statesmen, and gentlemen who have oc-

cupied high positions of trust and responsibility, and soldiers who have ranked high in the service of their country, with a perfect and harmonious organization in nearly every State of the Union, perfected by the secrecy of its movements, and invites every American to join the order. "In union is strength." The American Alliance is truly a secret Order of Americans, who claim the right in their own country to organize and act as such. It is not the only secret society in this land; even secret foreign orders are in operation here, and among the many may be noted a branch of the Order of Jesus, so-called, whose headquarters are at Rome, and which is known in this country as the Roman Catholic Central Society of the United States, besides other foreign societies, too numerous and unnecessary to mention here. Americans! hold the fort! Charters of the American Alliance to form councils will be granted by the Grand Council of the United States to all American-born citizens, white or colored, throughout the country, free, upon application for the same, signed by at least five persons, which, together with all communications, should be addressed to the Secretary American Alliance, P. O. box 2,071, New York City. By order American National Committee,

LEMUEL S. TYLER,
Chief Secretary, A. A.

—N. Y. Sun, June 9.

LEST IT SHOULD go unnoticed by those of our editorial brethren who teach that all Catholics desire to control our public schools in the interest of the Church of Rome, we invite attention to the action of a Catholic member of the Boston Board of Education. When a liberal member of this Board (which elects school supervisors from its own body) proposed to elect as a supervisor some Catholic who should be a representative of his sect, a Catholic member of the Board objected. Professing unwavering adherence to his own faith, he nevertheless said "that he was not elected a member of the Board as a Catholic, nor to represent Catholics especially, but the whole people. He would sooner resign his position altogether than to hold it with any understanding, expressed or implied, that he was the representative of the Roman Catholic people solely. He believed that the sooner the bigots on both sides, whether Catholic or Protestant, took their hands off the public schools, the better it would be for them and for the schools. He hoped to see the day when no form or ceremony of religion, whether of prayers or hymns or whatever else, should find place in the sessions of the public schools, but that they should be strictly secular, as much so as the dry-goods shops or railway-cars. He would have the sessions of the schools so conducted that no pupil, whether, Jew, Catholic, or Protestant, should bear anything therein which should hurt his or her religious feelings." We hope this manly utterance will be honored with as wide quotation and comment as some bigoted and senseless expressions upon the other side have called forth of late.—*Christian Union*.

THE HOUSES OF 1776.—Of architecture, let it be remembered, there was little or none. The house was built simply and substantially for use, and not for display. The timbers were so large and so sound, that even the wear and tear of a hundred years have often left them unimpaired. Bricks were often imported from England. Windows were small, and the panes diminutive; 6x8, 7x9, and 8x10, being the common sizes of French window-glass advertised for sale. The house was generally square, the walls of exceeding thickness; the chimney rose massive and capacious in the centre; the interior walls were paneled, and the great oaken beams crossed the ceiling in plain sight. The centre of the house, and of the family life which it sheltered, was the open wood-fire, which blazed cheerfully in the huge fireplace of the living-room. Stoves were unknown; and no furnace sent its currents of overheated air to hall or chamber. Cooking was done in tin-kitchens or turn-spits placed before the fire, or in pots hung by links and hooks from the swinging crane, or in the great brick oven which the chimney work included on one side.—*Edward Abbott's "Revolutionary Times."*

A HEBREW GENTLEMAN had a legacy left to him, but it was hampered with an unfortunate condition, which he hastened to announce to a sympathizing friend. The sum was £10,000, but half the sum, according to the testator's wishes, was to be placed in his coffin and buried with him. Was there ever such a waste of good money? But the sympathizer was equal to the occasion. "Where is the money now?" he asked, and was told "In the bank." "All right," he said; "you write a check for £5,000, and put it in the old boy's coffin, drawn to order!" That young man ought to get on in the world.—*N. Y. World*.

A PIOUS New Jersey dame has stopped praying for her husband, because as she says, "I have prayed so long without effect that I think the Lord has just as poor an opinion of the man as I have."

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JUNE 17.

D. B. Scofield, \$3.15; Maggie Devoe, \$1.60; W. C. Kelley, \$3; T. L. Mann, \$2.40; G. Chatterton, \$1.75; C. T. Pratt, \$3.20; Mrs. L. B. Sayles, \$3; Mrs. Peter Phillips, \$3; J. Miel, \$6.40; W. H. Saxton, \$3.20; E. O. Parker, \$3; R. T. Starr, \$3.20; Jackson Brothers, \$1.20; John Curtis, \$4.80; Chas. E. Gager, \$1; F. Hyde, 20 cents; B. B. Griswold, \$1; —, \$3.38; J. O. Bentley, \$3.20; W. W. Scholes, 10 cents; J. E. Boynton, \$3.25; J. H. Woods, \$1.10; Geo. Martin, \$4.45; J. York, \$3.20; Eliza W. Leggett, \$3.20; H. Powers, \$3; Geo. Draper, \$3.20; Mary E. Wylie, \$1.10; William Fels, 10 cents; J. A. J. Wilcox, \$3.20; J. Reedy, \$3.20; J. G. Richardson, \$1.50.

PAINE BUST SUBSCRIPTIONS.

CASH RECEIPTS.

F. A. Angell, New York	\$1.00
Ebenezer Haskell, Philadelphia	1.00
Friends in Boston	40.00
Carl H. Horsch, Dover, N.H.	2.50
T. W. Higginson, Newport, R.I.	2.00
A. Schelling, Philadelphia	1.00
Richard Hackett, Philadelphia	1.00
W. H. Spencer, Sparta, Wis.	18.00
E. M. Harris, Baltimore	1.00
R. M. J. Vail, Port Jervis, N.Y.	1.00
Sauk City (Wis.) Liberal League	20.00
Mrs. M. P. Southworth, Cleveland, O.	5.00
Israel Betz, Oakville, Pa.	1.00
J. J. Hoopes, Philadelphia	1.00
Alex. Cochran, Franklin, Pa.	5.00
B. B. Griswold, Madison, N. J.	2.00
Warren Griswold, " "	1.00
M. Bamberger, Piedmont, W. Va.	1.00
Wm. Sisson, Port Hope, Ontario	1.00
Chas. Nash and sister, Worcester, Mass.	4.00
C. B. Peckham, Newport, R. I.	2.00
S. E. Honey, " "	2.00
J. G. Mills, Goshen, N. Y.	1.00
Geo. W. Julian, Irvington, Ind.	1.00
Alex. Risk, Winthrop, Iowa	2.50
J. O. Bentley, Philadelphia	5.00
J. S. Bonsall, Salem, Ohio	.90
O. B. Frothingham, New York	10.00
Mrs. Ellen J. Hasker, Philadelphia	5.00
Mrs. Hannah Merley, Philadelphia	1.00
George Langford, " "	1.00
Thos. Phillips, " "	1.00
Carl Doerflinger, Milwaukee	1.00
Henry D. Maxson, Amherst, Mass.	1.00
A. Friend, New Bedford, Mass.	10.00
Chas. F. Steele, Brooklyn, N. Y.	10.00
Friends in Brooklyn, N. Y.	20.00
S. R. Koehler, Boston	2.00
John Carson, Troy Mills, Iowa	1.00
H. T. Marshall, Brockton, Mass.	1.00
H. C. Gray, Painesville, O., (collection)	5.50
J. Budgebeer, " "	.50
Through <i>Banner of Light</i>	15.50
" <i>Boston Investigator</i>	18.75
" <i>New Age</i>	5.50
M. Altman, New York City	20.00
F. A. Green, Boston	6.00
Friends in Boston	2.00
J. V. Blake, Boston	5.00
A. Friend in " "	5.00
Geo. W. Park, " "	3.00
Chas. W. Wendte, Cincinnati	5.00
Robert Moore, St. Louis	10.00
James Eddy, Providence	5.00
W. Eysenbach, Lima, O.	.50
W. L. Foster, East Stoughton, Mass.	2.00
Mrs. Mary G. Thompson, Lancaster, Mass.	3.00
John Wise, Philadelphia	1.00
A. Friend in New Jersey	10.00
John Gillies, St. Louis	50.00
Robert Collyer, Chicago	50.00
"An English Brother" (£5)	27.25
J. W. Frank, Dysart, Iowa	1.00
Louis Löwenthal, Rochester, N. Y.	2.00
B. F. Underwood, Thorndike, Mass.	2.00
Mrs. Wm. Heine, Pleasant Hill, Mo.	1.00
Adam Wolfe, Port Byron, N. Y.	2.00
Thos. H. Matthews, New Bedford	5.00
S. F. Spangler, Winthrop, Iowa	5.00
D. Sandman, Harre Mills, Wis.	1.00
E. R. Brown, Elmwood, Ill.	1.00
C. M. Dennison, New York	5.00
Mrs. Orrin Gillet, Parma, Mich.	5.00
M. Jacoby, St. Louis	2.00
O. W. Hayer, St. Louis	3.00
Philip Godheart, St. Louis	2.00
Mrs. Kotany, St. Louis	1.00
Kohn & Co., St. Louis	2.00
C. H. Shepard, Brooklyn	5.00
William Green, Brooklyn	5.00
Sidney H. Morse, Boston	100.00
Gilbert Cope, West Chester, Pa.	1.00
F. M. Vaughan, Middleboro, Mass.	1.00
E. R. McKenzie, Charlestown, Mass.	1.00
W. C. Fuller, Willimantic, Ct.	3.00
D. P. Wilcox, Yankton, Dakota Territory	1.00
Dr. J. N. Lyman, Columbus, O.	5.00
Daniel G. Crandon, Chelsea, Mass.	1.00
Geo. Lewis, Providence, R. I.	1.00
Jas. Dillaway, Somerville, Mass.	1.00
Liberal League, Minneapolis, Minn.	30.00
David Ferguson, Waupun, Wis.	5.00
Matilda Goddard, Boston	5.00
<i>Banner of Light</i> , Boston	5.00
William C. Gannett, Boston	10.00
Geo. Dimmock, Cambridge, Mass.	2.00
Marcus F. Whitehead, Jersey City, N. J.	2.50
J. Farnsworth, Fort Scott, Kan.	1.00
J. L. Cutler, Quitman, Ga.	3.00
Friends in Dexter, Me.	2.00
Henry Damon, Boston	2.00
L. Kingman, Buffalo, N. Y.	2.50
Dr. L. P. Babb, Eastport, Me.	1.00
John Keppler, New Frankfurt, Mo.	1.00
Job Angell, Providence	1.00
A. Friend in Concord, Mass.	1.00
J. E. Oliver, Ithaca, N. Y.	5.00
Wm. J. Potter, New Bedford, Mass.	2.00
Lewis G. James, New York	1.00
Rabbi S. H. Sonnenschein, St. Louis	2.00
Hon. John B. Henderson, " "	5.00
Rev. J. C. Learned, " "	2.00
James E. Yeatman, " "	5.00
Rev. R. A. Holland, " "	1.00
Hon. A. W. Kelsey, " "	10.00
Jacob Hoffman, Cincinnati	5.00
Joseph Rosenthal, Granby, Mo.	1.00
William Barnsdall, Titusville, Pa.	2.50
Joseph Barnsdall, " "	2.00
S. R. Urbino, Boston	2.00
L. Prang, Boston	5.00
W. H. Studley, Boston	2.00
H. C. Watson, " "	1.00
W. Warren, " "	2.00
A. Friend, " "	1.00
Wm. Dudgeon, New Hartford, N. Y.	5.00
Chas. Coffin, New Bedford	1.00
Elizur Wright, Boston	5.00
C. Wheeler, Boston	1.00
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W. W. Stout, Vienna, Ill.	1.00
George Hes, Montreal, Can.	2.00
Dr. H. Nye, Enon Valley, Pa.	1.00
A. Hiller, " "	1.00
F. Alsdorf, " "	1.00
C. Fischer, " "	1.00
D. A. Robertson, " "	1.00
A. Folsom, Boston	5.00
C. Vonnegut, Indianapolis, Ind.	5.00
C. Vonnegut, Jr., " "	2.50
W. Steinwedell, Quincy, Ill.	1.00
H. O. Glattfeld, " "	1.00
A. H. Bates, " "	1.50

June 20.....\$719.83

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CENTENNIAL CONGRESS OF LIBERALS.

CASH RECEIPTS.

Mar. 10.	Received of	F. A. Angell, Passaic, N. J.	\$5.00
" 13.	"	M. Einstein, Titusville, Pa.	2.00
" 13.	"	W. Barnsdall, " "	2.00
" 13.	"	E. Whitcher, Boston.	5.00
" 13.	"	J. Davison, Alfred Centre, N.Y.	1.00
" 21.	"	Jas. Dillaway, Somerville, Mass.	2.00
" 21.	"	M. L. Hawley, Marathon, N.Y.	3.00
" 21.	"	R. H. Ranney, Boston.	6.00
" 21.	"	F. E. Abbot, Boston.	25.00
" 21.	"	C. A. Gurley, Pulaski, N. Y.	50.00
" 25.	"	Emily J. Leonard, Meriden, Ct.	10.00
" 25.	"	S. R. Urbino, W. Newton, Mass.	5.00
" 25.	"	Jehu Hiatt, Winchester, Ind.	5.00
" 25.	"	A Friend	1.00
" 25.	"	C. H. Horsch, Dover, N.H.	2.50
" 25.	"	Edw. Wigglesworth, Jr., Boston	15.00
April 1.	"	T. W. Higginson, Newport, R.I.	3.00
" 1.	"	Israel Betz, Oakville, Pa.	5.00
" 1.	"	Mrs. M. P. Southworth, Cleveland, O.	5.00
" 1.	"	S. Warbasse, La Fayette, N.J.	2.00
" 3.	"	A Friend in New York City	50.00
" 3.	"	Sauk City (Wis.) Liberal League	20.00
" 3.	"	R. B. Stone, Forrester, Miss.	5.00
" 8.	"	J. D. Lange, New York City	5.00
" 8.	"	Jane P. Titcomb, Boston	2.00
" 8.	"	Alex. Cochran, Franklin, Pa.	5.00
" 8.	"	B. B. Griswold, Madison, N. J.	10.00
" 8.	"	Warren Griswold, " "	5.00
" 8.	"	C. Nash and sister, Worcester, Mass.	4.00
" 8.	"	F. E. Nipher, St. Louis	2.00
" 8.	"	K. Hoegh, La Crosse, Wis.	3.00
" 10.	"	H. K. Oliver, Jr., Boston	5.00
" 13.	"	S. R. Honey, Newport, R. I.	3.00
" 13.	"	A. S. Brown, Worcester, Mass.	5.00
" 13.	"	C. B. Peckham, Newport, R. I.	3.00
" 13.	"	Geo. W. Julian, Irvington, Ind.	1.00
" 13.	"	Alex. Risk, Winthrop, Iowa	2.50
" 13.	"	Jas. Eddy, Providence, R. I.	10.00
" 13.	"	G. P. Reynolds (for "Liberals of Shelley, O.")	8.00
" 17.	"	J. O. Bentley, Philadelphia	5.00
" 17.	"	J. W. Sulist, Salem, Ohio	5.75
" 17.	"	J. S. Bonnell, " "	.90
" 17.	"	M. Schlesinger, Albany	5.00
" 17.	"	O. B. Frothingham, New York	25.00
" 25.	"	Friends in Bristol Co., Mass.	90.00
" 25.	"	Mrs. N. H. Crowell, Jefferson, O.	5.00
" 25.	"	W. H. Crowell, " "	5.00
" 25.	"	J. F. Ruggles, Bronson, Mich.	1.00
" 25.	"	Mary E. Dewey, Sheffield, Mass.	2.00
" 25.	"	C. Doerflinger, Milwaukee	2.00
" 25.	"	J. A. Heintzelman, Phila.	5.00
" 25.	"	D. G. Orandon, Chelsea, Mass.	1.00
" 25.	"	S. R. Koehler, Boston	3.00
" 25.	"	Geo. M. Murray, Jersey City	1.50
" 25.	"	H. T. Marshall, Brockton, Mass.	5.00
" 25.	"	C. A. Simpson, Saxonville, " "	5.00
" 25.	"	J. Copeland, Humboldt Basin, Oregon	5.00
" 15.	"	B. F. Underwood, Thorndike, Mass.	5.00
" 15.	"	"An English Brother" (25)	27.25
" 15.	"	John Gillies, St. Louis	1.00
" 15.	"	J. W. Frank, Dysart, Iowa	4.00
" 15.	"	L. Löwenthal, Rochester, N. Y.	5.00
" 15.	"	M. Landsberg, Rochester, N. Y.	5.00
" 15.	"	A. Walther, Brooklyn	2.00
" 15.	"	E. R. Brown, Elmwood, Ill.	2.00
" 15.	"	M. Altman, New York City	20.00
" 15.	"	B. E. Grimshaw, Minneapolis, Minn.	5.00
" 15.	"	Adam Wolfe, Fort Byron, N. Y.	3.00
" 15.	"	F. P. Hicks, " "	1.00
" 15.	"	Benj. Gerrish, Jr., Bordeaux, France	5.00
" 15.	"	W. L. Foster, East Stoughton, Mass.	5.00
" 15.	"	W. Eysenbach, Lima, O.	.50
" 15.	"	C. H. Phillips, Boston	3.00
" 15.	"	W. P. Phillips, " "	1.00
" 15.	"	H. S. Williams, " "	5.00
" 15.	"	Mrs. Orrin Gillett, Parma, Mich.	5.00
" 15.	"	D. Sandman, Barrs Mills, Wis.	2.00
" 22.	"	C. M. Dennison, New York City	5.00
" 22.	"	James McArthur, Chicago	20.00
" 22.	"	C. H. Shepard, Brooklyn	5.00
" 22.	"	Liberal League, Toledo, Iowa	10.00
" 22.	"	" " Boston	25.10
" 22.	"	Mrs. A. L. Richmond	5.00
" 30.	"	L. Scott, Waynesburgh, O.	1.00
" 30.	"	E. R. McKenzie, Charlestown, Ms.	1.00
" 30.	"	C. K. Whipple, Brookline, Mass.	1.00
" 30.	"	E. B. Moore, Charlestown, Mass.	1.50
" 30.	"	E. H. Warren, Chelmsford, Mass.	2.00
" 30.	"	D. Deming, South Bend, Ind.	1.00
" 30.	"	S. C. Mason, Moberly, Mo.	1.00
" 30.	"	H. C. Hanson, Barnesville, Ga.	.50
" 30.	"	A. M. Dent, Weston, West Va.	1.00
" 30.	"	F. M. Vaughan, Middleboro, Mass.	1.00
" 30.	"	M. P. Barber, Pleasantville, Pa.	1.00
" 30.	"	"Cash," Phoenix, N. Y.	1.00
" 30.	"	G. Cope, West Chester, Pa.	1.00
" 30.	"	Wm. Dudgeon, New Hartford, N. Y.	5.00
" 30.	"	H. Andriessen, Beaver, Pa.	2.00
" 30.	"	E. A. Spring, Perth Amboy, N. J.	.50
" 30.	"	A. Morrison, Braintree, Mass.	5.00
" 30.	"	G. Lieberknecht, Geneseo, Ill.	1.00
" 30.	"	Sophia H. Carter, Andover, Mass.	2.00
" 30.	"	"Widow's Mite," Portage City, Wis.	2.00
" 30.	"	H. C. Southworth, Stoughton, Ms.	1.00
" 30.	"	B. Hallowell, Sandy Spring, Md.	2.00
" 30.	"	E. P. Hassinger, Brodhead, Wis.	5.00
" 30.	"	D. B. Hale, Collinsville, Ct.	1.00
" 30.	"	Rev. J. S. Richards, Liberty, Me.	.10
" 30.	"	H. D. Maxson, Amherst College	1.00
" 30.	"	W. B. Studley, Rockland, Mass.	5.00
" 30.	"	J. W. Marshall, Plattsburgh, Neb.	2.00
" 30.	"	Dr. C. Wesselhoft, Boston	1.00
" 30.	"	C. A. Greenleaf, Chicopee, Mass.	.50
" 30.	"	L. Goepfer, Union Village, O.	1.00
" 30.	"	W. C. Fuller, Willimantic, Ct.	5.00
" 30.	"	Dr. G. E. Francis, Worcester, Ms.	1.00
" 30.	"	W. W. Baker, Boston	5.00
" 30.	"	James Parton, Newburyport	25.00
" 30.	"	Dr. J. D. Thorley, Steel Works, Pa.	1.00
" 30.	"	H. S. Bacon, Milford, Mass.	5.00
" 30.	"	E. C. Darling, Ipswich, " "	2.00
" 30.	"	"Friend," Chelsea	1.00
" 30.	"	Matilda Goddard, Boston	10.00
" 30.	"	"Cash," Boston	1.00
" 30.	"	Dr. W. P. Wesselhoft, Boston	2.00
" 30.	"	P. A. Chamberlin, Wauseon, O.	1.00
" 30.	"	Albertina von Arnim, Longwood, Mass.	3.00
" 30.	"	D. P. Wilcox, Yankton, Dak. Terr.	1.00
" 30.	"	C. Lohmann & Son, Edwardsville, Ill.	1.00
" 30.	"	J. Blain, St. James, Mo.	2.00
" 30.	"	H. T. Wright, Washington Hts. Ill.	2.00
" 30.	"	P. H. Macgill, Baltimore, Md.	10.00
" 30.	"	C. T. Pratt, Pawtucket, R. I.	3.00
" 30.	"	J. N. Clark, E. Somerville, Mass.	3.00
" 30.	"	T. J. Atwood, Albion, Wis.	1.00
" 30.	"	L. Prang & Co., Boston	10.00

April 30.	Received of	W. S. Cunningham, Vienna, O.	\$1.00
" 30.	"	C. F. Paige, Boston	2.00
" 30.	"	D. E. Mayo, Chelsea, Mass.	2.00
" 30.	"	Jos. Post, Old Westbury, Mass.	2.00
" 30.	"	Louise M. Thurston, Lynn, Mass.	2.00
" 30.	"	J. G. Richardson, Lake City, Minn.	5.00
" 30.	"	G. M. Wood, Washington, D.C.	1.00
" 30.	"	Liberals of Defiance, O.	17.00
" 30.	"	Liberal League, Medina, O.	25.00
" 30.	"	Liberal League, Minneapolis	20.00
" 30.	"	J. W. Cabot, Boston	10.00
" 30.	"	D. Ferguson, Waupun, Wis.	10.00
" 30.	"	Mrs. H. Grinnell, New Milford, Pa.	1.00
" 30.	"	Arethusa Hall, Northampton, Ms.	2.00
" 30.	"	J. Scott, Dighton, Mass.	2.00
" 30.	"	G. M. Wood, Washington, D. C.	1.00
" 30.	"	Thos. Curtis, St. Louis	1.00
" 30.	"	F. Fradley, Brooklyn	2.00
" 30.	"	S. R. Smith, West Winfield, Ct.	5.00
" 30.	"	Mr. and Mrs. J. C. Godfrey, Brooklyn	10.00
June 6.	"	Noah Green, New York	1.00
" 6.	"	P. Sidebotham, Fall River, Mass.	2.00
" 6.	"	Mary H. L. Cabot, Boston	1.00
" 6.	"	L. Klingman, Buffalo	2.50
" 6.	"	M. A. Blanchard, Portland	1.80
" 6.	"	C. M. Dennison, Brooklyn	1.00
" 6.	"	J. Damon, Ipswich, Mass.	3.00
" 6.	"	Cash, Haverhill, Mass.	.50
" 6.	"	Dr. L. P. Babb, Eastport, Me.	2.00
" 6.	"	Isaiah West, New Bedford, Ms.	1.00
" 6.	"	Thos. Nye, Ridgeville, O.	1.00
" 6.	"	J. W. Braley, New Bedford	5.00
" 6.	"	J. Keppeler, New Frankfurt, Mo.	2.00
" 6.	"	Beth Hunt, Northampton, Mass.	2.00
" 6.	"	Dr. E. B. Foote, New York	5.00
" 6.	"	C. M. Waddell, Argillite, Ky.	2.00
" 6.	"	W. R. Morgan, New York	10.00
" 6.	"	C. M. Cuyler, Albany	2.00
" 6.	"	Elizur Wright, Boston	10.00
" 6.	"	B. H. Griswold, Madison, N. J.	2.00
" 6.	"	C. Graeter, Vincennes, Ind.	2.00
" 6.	"	W. Coleman, Leavenworth, Kan.	1.00
" 6.	"	J. L. Cutler, Quilman, Ga.	5.00
" 6.	"	J. Farnsworth, Fort Scott, Kan.	2.00
" 6.	"	M. F. Whitehead, Jersey City, N. J.	2.50
" 6.	"	G. Dimmock, Cambridge, Mass.	3.00
" 6.	"	H. Lieber, Indianapolis	5.00
" 6.	"	D. B. Morton, Groton, N. Y.	5.00
" 6.	"	F. Pilmonth, Florence, Mass.	2.00
" 6.	"	A. R. Hinchey, Burr Oak, Mich.	2.00
" 6.	"	Z. S. Wallingford, Dover, N. H.	2.00
" 6.	"	Dr. G. F. Matthes, New Bedford	2.00
" 6.	"	A. Schüller, Keokuk, Iowa	5.00
" 6.	"	M. Peckham, Utica, N. Y.	2.00
" 6.	"	F. Loesser, Brooklyn	5.00
" 6.	"	J. W. Frank, Dysart, Iowa	5.00
" 6.	"	J. Chappellsmith, New Harmony, Ind.	1.00
" 6.	"	Mrs. M. Chappellsmith, New Harmony, Ind.	1.00
" 6.	"	Susanna E. Hinkly, New Harmony, Ind.	1.00
" 6.	"	Margaret Burns, New Harmony, Ind.	1.00
" 6.	"	C. H. White, New Harmony, Ind.	1.00
" 6.	"	J. C. Wheatcroft, New Harmony, Ind.	1.00
" 6.	"	Wm. Green, Brooklyn	5.00
" 6.	"	M. Fleischmann, New York	10.00
" 6.	"	E. Eising, New York	5.00
" 6.	"	O. O. Friedlander, New York	1.00
" 6.	"	F. Dessauer, New York	2.00
" 6.	"	C. Dessaur, New York	1.00
" 6.	"	G. Riker, New Philadelphia, O.	3.00
" 6.	"	Rabbi M. Samfield, Memphis	2.00
" 6.	"	M. S. Devereux, Irvington, N. Y.	2.00
" 6.	"	E. R. Wolcott, Milwaukee	2.00
" 6.	"	R. M. Whipple, Chicago	2.00
" 6.	"	S. D. Bardwell, Shelburne Falls, Mass.	1.00
" 6.	"	Mrs. L. C. Bardwell, Shelburne Falls, Ms.	1.00
" 6.	"	W. D. Pitt, Groton, N. Y.	2.00
" 6.	"	H. L. Green, Syracuse, N. Y.	1.00
" 6.	"	E. D. Cowperthwaite, Washington	1.00
" 6.	"	J. Wright, Rock Falls, Ill.	1.00
" 6.	"	B. Breed, Lynn, Mass.	1.00
" 6.	"	W. E. Lukens, Rock Falls, Ill.	1.00
" 6.	"	A. Skinner, Ceresco, Mich.	1.00
" 6.	"	F. H. Gutwitz, Avoca, N. Y.	1.00
" 6.	"	J. T. White, New York	1.00
" 6.	"	J. Maddock, New York	1.00
" 6.	"	B. Lindsey, Boston	1.00
" 6.	"	G. Hillings, Chicopee, Mass.	1.00
" 6.	"	O. K. Crosby, Syracuse, N. Y.	.50
" 6.	"	J. Marsh, Northampton, Mass.	1.00
" 6.	"	M. Shore, Litchfield, Ill.	1.00
" 6.	"	Dr. S. Wolfenstein, St. Louis	1.00
" 6.	"	Cash, Indianapolis	1.00
" 6.	"	I. P. Greenleaf, Boston	1.00
" 6.	"	J. Ahrens, Monticello, Ark.	.50
" 6.	"	H. Ahrens, Longview, Ark.	.50
" 6.	"	L. G. Jones, New York	1.00
" 6.	"	J. Consalus, Troy, N. Y.	1.00
" 6.	"	A. Keen, Duplain, Mich.	1.00
" 6.	"	J. E. Sutton, Olathe, Kan.	1.00
" 6.	"	R. H. Miller, Utica, N. Y.	.50
" 6.	"	H. H. Chase, Union City, Mich.	.50
" 6.	"	T. Lamory, Concordia, Mo.	.50
" 6.	"	T. Tibbets, Augusta, Me.	1.00
" 6.	"	F. Goodyear, Cortlandville, N.Y.	1.00
" 6.	"	John Orth, Boston	2.00
" 6.	"	Henry Damon, Boston	2.00
" 6.	"	Jos. Warbasse, Newton, N. J.	5.00
" 6.	"	E. E. Chapin, Rockford, Ill.	.25
" 6.	"	T. Martin, W. Boylston, Ms.	1.00
" 6.	"	H. R. Fletcher, W. Boylston, Ms.	.50
" 6.	"	Nath. Little, Newbury, Ms.	1.00
" 6.	"	E. R. Sanborn, Leavenworth, Kan.	1.00
" 6.	"	W. H. Farrell, Leavenworth, Kan.	1.00
" 6.	"	J. Reedy, Toledo, Iowa	3.00
" 6.	"	B. F. Horton, Dexter, Me.	1.00
" 6.	"	W. F. Johnson, Cleveland, O.	6.80
" 6.	"	T. J. Crouse, Clinton, N. Y.	1.00
" 6.	"	R. S. Perrin, New York	2.00
" 6.	"	L. Lamott, Groton, N. Y.	2.00
" 6.	"	F. G. Johnson, Towanda, Pa.	1.00
" 6.	"	Rabbi A. Rosensplitz, Nashville	1.00
" 6.	"	E. D. Stark, Cleveland, O.	1.00
" 6.	"	J. S. Thomson, Bloomington, Ill.	1.00
" 6.	"	Mrs. J. N. Lyman, Columbus, O.	2.00
" 6.	"	John Alexander, Shelby, O.	1.00
" 6.	"	R. Pritchett, Fort Madison, Iowa	2.00
" 6.	"	Peter H. Clark, Cincinnati	1.00
" 6.	"	Geo. Lewis, Providence	1.00
" 6.	"	B. S. Hopkins, Providence	2.00
" 6.	"	J. S. Bonnell, Salem, O.	1.00
" 6.	"	W. T. P. Menefee, Crittenden, Ky.	1.00
" 6.	"	H. W. Gilbert, Philadelphia	1.00
" 6.	"	A Friend in Concord, Mass.	1.00
" 6.	"	J. E. Oliver, Ithaca, N. Y.	5.00
" 6.	"	Wm. J. Potter, New Bedford	3.00
" 6.	"	R. Wilkin, San Buenaventura, Cal.	2.00
" 6.	"	W. S. Shepherd, San Buenaventura, Cal.	2.00
" 6.	"	Jacob Hoffer, Cincinnati	5.00
" 6.	"	A. Braasch and friends, Mishicott, Wis.	5.00
" 6.	"	W. F. Allen, Madison, Wis.	5.00

June 13.	Received of	L. J. Burch, Modoc, Col.	\$.25
" 13.	"	G. A. Hill and friends, San Francisco	5.00
" 13.	"	E. Bentley, Morgan City, La.	1.00
" 13.	"	L. A. Harbaugh, Toledo, Iowa	3.00
" 13.	"	Cash, Cambridge, Mass.	.50
" 13.	"	E. Z. Penfield, New York	5.00
" 13.	"	R. O. Old, Georgetown, Col.	1.00
" 13.	"	L. Liebmann, Brooklyn	2.00
" 13.	"	W. Barnsdall, Titusville, Pa.	2.50
" 13.	"	Miss H. S. Ware, Boston	5.00
" 13.	"	Eben Turk, Chelsea, Mass.	2.00
" 13.	"	W. H. Saxton, Oberlin, O.	1.80
" 13.	"	J. Miel, Decatur, Ill.	.80
" 13.	"	D. H. Schofield, Baker City, Or.	1.85
" 13.	"	J. C. Rued, San Francisco	.50
" 13.	"	Jos. Harnsdall, Titusville, Pa.	3.00
" 13.	"	Cash, Delphos, O.	1.00
" 13.	"	H. Frederic, Utica, N. Y.	1.00
" 13.	"	H. Brown, Mondovi, Wis.	.25
" 13.	"	L. Markham, Madison, Ga.	1.00
" 13.	"	G. Frauenstein, New York	5.00
" 13.	"	A. Loos, Germantown, Pa.	1.00
" 20.	"	Dr. H. Nye, Enon, Pa.	1.00
" 20.	"	A. Hiller, " "	1.00
" 20.	"	F. Alsdorf, " "	1.00
" 20.	"	S. Riddle, " "	1.00
" 20.	"	C. Fischer, " "	1.00
" 20.	"	D. A. Robertson, Enon, Pa.	1.00
" 20.	"	Mr. and Mrs. A. Rate, Milwaukee.	5.00
" 20.	"	Jos. Singer, Chicago.	1.00
" 20.	"	C. H. Vinton, Cambridge, Ms.	1.00
" 20.	"	D. L. McKeinzie, Rock Falls, Ill.	1.00
" 20.	"	T. Culver, Rock Falls, Ill.	1.00
" 20.	"	W. Drury, Verdure, Ill.	1.00
" 20.	"	J. Gardner, Rochester, N. Y.	1.00
" 20.	"	A. Friend, Elyria, O.	5.00
" 20.	"	N. Houghton, Lake Providence, La.	2.00
" 20.	"	C. P. Somerby, New York	1.00
" 20.	"	E. G. Fell, Clarence, Iowa	1.00
" 20.	"	A. A. Raymond, Fond du Lac, Wis.	.25
" 20.	"	R. K. Price, Dexter, Iowa	.50
" 20.	"	Rev. Robt. Collyer, Chicago.	2.00
" 20.	"	J. E. Boynton, Elyria, O.	2.00
" 20.	"	Rev. H. Powers, Manchester, N. H.	2.00
" 20.	"	H. Bethig, Buffalo, N. Y.	2.00
" 20.	"	Dr. J. M. Hawks, Hyde Park, Ms.	3.00
" 20.	"	R. T. Starr, Rochester, N. Y.	3.00
" 20.	"	John Curtis, Boston	5.00
" 20.	"	D. Ballantine, Bloomington, Wis.	1.00
" 20.	"	Mrs. P. Phillips, Rondout, N. Y.	1.00
" 20.	"	M. L. Lewis, Providence	1.00
" 20.	"	Dr. W. S. Leach, St. Joseph, Mo.	1.00
" 20.	"	J. W. Sulist, Salem, O.	1.00
" 20.	"	Laura Barnaby, Salem, O.	1.00
" 20.	"	Dr. W. A. Crandall, Napoleon, O.	.50
" 20.	"	O. B. Vose, Forkston, Pa.	.50
" 20.	"	G. McMurray, Jersey City, N. J.	1.00
" 20.	"	S. Ritchie, Racine, Wis.	1.00
" 30.	"	John Turner, Philadelphia	10.00
" 20.	"	Henry Jones, Three Tons, Pa.	1.00
" 20.	"	Mary Y. Jones, " "	1.00
" 20.	"	Joseph Ambler, " "	1.00
" 20.	"	Hannah Ambler, " "	1.00
" 20.	"	G. A. Atwood, Fort Harker, Kan.	1.00
" 20.	"	Hon. Henry Booth, Chicago	5.00
" 20.	"	R. P. Titus, Madison, N. J.	1.00
" 20.	"	Ivan Panin, Boston	1.00
" 20.	"	Dr. J. T. Dickens, Newburyport.	2.00
" 20.	"	F. A. Flagg, Providence	1.00
" 20.	"	Carl Edelmheim, New York	5.00
" 20.	"	H. G. White, Buffalo, N. Y.	10.00

The Index.

BOSTON, JUNE 22, 1876.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 1, TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON. TOLDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREV, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
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DAVID H. CLARK, Editorial Contributors.

CENTENNIAL CONGRESS OF LIBERALS.

The Centennial Congress of Liberals will be convened at Concert Hall, on Chestnut Street, between Twelfth and Thirteenth Streets, Philadelphia, on Saturday, July 1, at 2 o'clock, P.M. Concert Hall will seat about two thousand people, giving each a cushioned chair. It has a large stage and two large ante-rooms, and is excellently adapted to secure the comfort and convenience of a large convention.

Railroad officials refuse to make any other reduction in fares than the excursion rates agreed to by all the principal companies, of which all delegates and members can avail themselves. A local committee is at work to secure a list of cheap boarding-places for the accommodation of members. The necessary price will not exceed \$1.50 per day, nor be less than \$1.00. All who wish to avail themselves of these accommodations should write without delay to D. Y. Kilgore, Secretary, 606 Walnut Street, Philadelphia.

In order to enjoy the rights and privileges of membership, it will be necessary for delegates from Liberal Leagues, or other Liberal Societies desiring to join in the Liberal League movement, to be provided with proper credentials signed by their own local officers. Individuals not delegates can receive a certificate of membership on writing for, filling up, and returning a blank form of application which can be obtained by addressing F. E. Abbot, Chairman, 1 Tremont Place, Boston. It can also be obtained at Concert Hall, July 1, at 1 P.M.; and all who may not previously have received their certificates should not fail to present themselves promptly at that time. This is the only way to prevent confusion and vexatious delays to all concerned. Over five hundred certificates have been already issued to applicants for membership; there is every indication of a great increase of this number; and immediate application will save trouble and time in organizing the Congress when it meets.

The following order of business has been adopted by the Committee, subject to ratification by the Congress itself:—

Saturday, July 1: Afternoon Session, 2 P. M.

1. Temporary Organization.
2. Appointment of Committee on Membership, and reception of credentials.
3. Address of Welcome, by the President of the Philadelphia Liberal League.
4. Reply, by the Chairman of the General Centennial Committee.
5. Report of the Committee on Membership.
6. Report of the General Centennial Committee.
7. Appointment of Committees on Permanent Organization, on Finance, on Resolutions, and on Address to the People.
8. Consideration of the General Centennial Committee's Report.
9. Consideration of the Constitution of the National Liberal League.

Evening Session, 7 1-2 P. M.

1. Consideration of the Constitution of the National Liberal League, continued.
2. Report of the Committee on Permanent Organization: election of officers of the National Liberal League.
3. Short speeches.

Sunday, July 2: Morning Session, 10 1-2 A. M.

1. Reading of extracts from letters by distinguished citizens.
2. Address by F. E. Abbot: "The Liberal League Movement; its Principles, Objects, and Scope."
3. Address by Mrs. C. B. Kilgore: "Democracy."
4. Short speeches.

Evening Session, 7 1-2 P. M.

1. Address by James Parton: "Cathedrals and Beer."
2. Address by B. F. Underwood: "The Practical Necessity of Separating Church and State."
3. Short speeches.

Monday, July 3: Morning Session, 10 1-2 A. M.

1. Address by Charles F. Paige: "Is Christianity a part of the Common Law?"
2. Report of the Committee on Resolutions: free discussion of the proposed methods and measures of the National Liberal League; action of the League on the Resolutions taken singly.

Afternoon Session, 2 P. M.

1. Address by Damon Y. Kilgore: "Ecclesiasticism in American Politics and Institutions."
2. Continuation of the discussion and action on the Resolutions.

Evening Session, 7 1-2 P. M.

1. Address—[probably by Charles D. B. Mills].
2. Reports by Delegates from various Liberal Leagues throughout the country.
3. Short speeches.

Tuesday, July 4: 9 A. M.

1. Report of the Committee on Finance.
2. Report of the Committee on Address: "Patriotic Address of the National Liberal League to the People of the United States."
3. Action on the Report.
4. Adjournment.

WHAT THE PEOPLE THINK.

That the Centennial Congress of Liberals is the veritable expression of a deep and wide-spread enthusiasm, the genuine manifestation of sentiment and conviction among the liberals of the United States and not an artificial or manufactured movement, would be very obvious to any one who should have had the reading of our daily mails for the past few months. As the time of assembly draws near, it seems fitting that the people should speak to the people—that the thoughts and aspirations now glowing in many isolated minds should be brought to a focus, for the encouragement and strengthening of those who now take up the great task of rousing the republic to a nobler conception of its own destiny. Instead, therefore, of writing words of our own this week, we stand aside that the people may know what the people are thinking, and gladly transcribe at random a few of the utterances which have so powerfully impressed our own mind with the vast vitality of this Liberal League movement. The names of the writers are withheld, the letters here quoted not being at all designed for publication.

TITUSVILLE, Pa.—"My whole heart is with you in the great and good cause in which you are engaged. I am so sick that I can hardly write—have been confined to my room for three weeks; but I pray that I may be able to be with you in Philadelphia."

CINCINNATI, O.—"I thank you very much for the documents you have sent me, and feel honored by the privilege they confer. Your deep desire not to let the rare opportunity now offering pass unimproved speaks well for the cause and its enterprising movers. A movement so great it is fit to inaugurate at the 'Congress of Nations'; you will speak to an assembled world, and it is well—for your cause is great humanity, its emancipation and elevation. Everything in it and about it is noble, and it grows in my esteem as it moves forward. I rejoice to see it so full of the love of truth for its own dear sake, of the spirit of liberty and patriotism and enterprise; and my whole heart is with you. Such sentiments are big with events worthy of the dignity of history, and will prove so, or I have misinterpreted the signs of the times. It will be a pleasing reflection while I live to have my name enrolled among its earliest supporters."

BUFFALO, W. Va.—"I am well pleased to see that the liberals are going into this matter with an earnestness that means business. I cannot attend the Congress, but my sympathies and hopes are centred in your efforts to remove ecclesiastical pressure from the minds of the people."

LONG LAKE, Minn.—"The methods and objects of the proposed Congress of Liberals have my warmest approval, and I wish I could afford to add something more substantial by way of donation."

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—"I shall always be as ready as my purse may be to aid the splendid cause to which you are devoting your life. Success to you and your co-laborers, my friend, and always remember that what you are doing with your large influence, there are thousands trying to do in their more circumscribed sphere in all the cities and villages all over the land. Yours for life in the cause," etc.

OAKVILLE, Pa.—"Unless prevented, I have determined to be present at this most auspicious gathering of the patriots of 1876. I am fully convinced that a mighty conflict is before us. The National Liberal League means agitation—work. You have not exaggerated the signs of the times. How Mr. Stevens and others can say, 'there is no danger,' passes my comprehension. Let them come to Pennsylvania, and they will see that orthodoxy is as defiant and aggressive as ever. To be otherwise is death to their supremacy."

CLARKSVILLE, Iowa.—"I regret our inability to send any money. If real, hearty appreciation of your principles and manner of advocating them is any comfort to you, you can count on two here, my husband and myself."

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—"I also fully coincide in my husband's sentiments, and heartily indorse the movement, and should be greatly pleased to receive a certificate of membership myself."

NEWVILLE, Pa.—"I am really sorry I cannot enclose a donation to the Congress with my signature of approval. My best wishes are with the movement, and I earnestly hope to aid the liberal cause by and by. If at all possible (and I will try hard), I will visit Philadelphia on the first of July. Orthodoxy is weakening, but its death-struggles will doubtless be fearful."

EAST HADDAM, Conn.—"I most heartily approve of the Congress, and shall be in attendance, if possible."

SAUGUS, Mass.—"Approve of the Congress! With all my heart, and the largest portion of my liver, if that organ added will emphasize the approval. Without exception, THE INDEX is the boss paper of the United States—full, frank, and free."

PROVIDENCE, R. I.—"I enclose one dollar for the Congress, and only wish I could make it one hundred, but must console myself with the widow's mite."

CRITTENDEN, Ky.—"I am poor, else I would send more. I heartily sympathize with the aims and purposes of the Congress—also with every word you have said in THE INDEX for three years."

COLUMBUS, O.—"I have a strong desire to be present at the meeting in Philadelphia, and, if it is possible for me to get away, shall do so. I heartily approve of the objects of the meeting, and have faith to believe they may be reached within the next hundred years, and perhaps at an early day. I greatly hope that such pressure will be brought to bear upon the managers of the Exhibition that they will be compelled to open it on that one of the Lord's days above all others on which it would be appropriate to have it open."

CLEVELAND, O.—"I much fear the depressed condition of my finances implied in this small contribution will not permit my attendance, but I am with you heart and soul."

DUPLAIN, Mich.—"I am a poor man, but complaints are useless: what I can spare, the liberal cause will always command. I send you one dollar, wishing it may increase like the loaves and fishes."

ROCK FALLS, Ill.—"I can spare another dollar out of my toll for this Congress, and if the addition of the name of one obscure man can do any good, I would be glad to have my name enrolled as a friend to this important movement."

NEW YORK (with \$16 enclosed from several persons).—"Wish I could raise \$1,000 for you, but everybody is poor now, and this is about all I could do."

GROTON, N. Y.—"I rejoice that there is to be a Congress held, sincerely believing that some movement of the kind is greatly needed. Living in a village of one thousand inhabitants which supports four Orthodox churches, I have heard a clergyman say from his pulpit to his audience that the churches ought to control the education and the amusements of the place; and to a very large extent they accomplish their purpose. With their Sunday-school picnics and excursions, their mite societies and sociables, they chiefly furnish the entertainments; and a liberal who has children must deny them the pleasures that other children have, or allow them to march under the church-banner. The churches make every intelligent woman realize that it would be for her advantage socially to unite with the Church; and it requires more than an average amount of clear-headed principle on the part of a woman to resist the temptation. In short, the Church magnifies and exalts every one who yields to it, and belittles every one who refuses to submit and manfully stands by his convictions. Whoever has not discovered the aggressive tyranny of the churches has either been favored with a very fortunate position, or else has not done the cause of religious freedom much service."

EDWARDSVILLE, Ill.—"We congratulate you on

the final success of having a Congress of Liberals convene at Philadelphia from July 1 to July 4, 1876, the most important period of the Centennial, for the purpose of forming a National Liberal League. Let the grand work go on! Our heart and soul are with you and the cause of religious liberty."

St. Louis, Mo.—"I am gratified at the success which the matter is having. It is high time that something is done. It is in educational institutions that I have seen the meekness and gentleness of the Protestant priesthood displayed. I have been flung from one State University, and refused admission to another, solely on account of religious doctrines that I was not capable of understanding, but which it was not expected that I should teach. A friend of mind has just had a similar experience, he having made a brilliant geological discovery which some of the wise men thought 'interfered with Moses.' I have been properly taught in Sunday-schools and church, and have beforetime taken a prominent part in this work; but I am thoroughly resolved to rebel wholly against the tyranny of the Church. I would do it, even if I could believe all its dogma, for I am resolved to be lorded over by no man, if I can avoid it. With great respect," etc.

Such are a few of the multitudinous letters we have received. May the spirit of the Centennial Congress of Liberals correspond!

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY R. C.

There is one thing to be profoundly thankful for in considering the probable results of the Cincinnati Convention, and that is, in the language of the *Boston Transcript*, that we have "escaped a campaign in which the young men of the country would have been continually told that they must not be too squeamish about 'purity' in public life; that all politicians are corrupt; that all legislation is corruption, and that a congressman interested 'on the ground floor' in railroads existing by congressional aid is 'all right enough' provided he pitches into Jeff Davis, and Wirz, and Libby Frison. We cannot, in fact, be too grateful that the Great Unknown has saved some of our most respected political leaders and several esteemed and influential clergymen from thus demoralizing themselves and those who have put faith in them." Townsend and Mallen among the clergy, and Hawley among politicians, have already shown us the kind of rhetorical stuff which would have been freely used to cover up the weak spots in Blaine, or any other man of similar character, if he had succeeded in obtaining the nomination. That both Hayes and Wheeler are men of unblemished character is, therefore, a fact which calls for hearty thanksgiving from all who believe in moral purity as a necessary qualification for public officers.

But purity of moral character may be possessed alike by President and chimney-sweep, and by no means therefore does it imply the possession of any qualification by which the President should be distinguished from other men. "I am all ready to hurrah," said a politician upon receiving news of the nomination; "but who is Hayes?" Whether this question was seriously put or not, every one will admit that Mr. Hayes was comparatively an unknown man. His name has never been associated with any important speech, or legislative measure, or official action, nor are his opinions known upon any of the momentous questions which the next President must surely grapple with. The battle in the Convention was undoubtedly between those who desire the retention of existing political methods and those who desire to reform these methods, and each party yielded somewhat to the other. Both parties gave up their pet candidates, and the result is a triumph for reform only in this; namely, that the tainted men—Blaine, Morton, Conkling—had to be dropped, and a clean man chosen instead. But the pronounced reformer was also dropped, and whether the new man is a reformer or not, no one knows. The triumph therefore was a negative rather than a positive one.

Whatever opinions may be expressed with reference to the candidates chosen at Cincinnati, there can be, among intelligent persons, but one opinion with regard to the platform,—it is thoroughly weak, and wholly inadequate to the requirements of the times. The preamble we have read over several times, and confess our inability to understand what it means, or even what it was intended to mean. Of the seventeen resolutions adopted, no less than ten are either meaningless or unnecessary, and the whole platform would be very much better and stronger without them. Several of the remaining ones are upon comparatively unimportant subjects. Those which refer to the most important subjects are the fourth, fifth, and eighth, which refer respectively to specie payment, the civil service, and the tariff. That with regard to specie payment favors "a continuous and steady progress" toward resumption, which is to take place "at the earliest practicable period." But "the earliest practicable period" has already been fixed by Act of Congress; the faith of the nation is pledged already to resume at that date, January 1st, 1879; and the fact that dishonest Democrats and Republicans are seriously striving to alter this date called for a more explicit declaration than that

above made. And yet, when the attention of the Convention was called to this fact, and an amendment to the above declaration was proposed, the amendment was voted down. With regard to civil service reform, the resolution (the fifth) hints at what is needed but does not expressly state it and require it. The resolution with regard to the tariff is evidently worded for the purpose of being interpreted in favor of either free trade or protective tariff; but, in fact, it favors a protective tariff only. The resolution most enthusiastically received in the Convention was the seventh, which calls for an amendment to the Constitution forbidding appropriations of money to sectarian schools. On the whole we do not imagine that the Democrats at St. Louis will manage to adopt a much worse platform unless they positively oppose or say nothing about civil service reform, and demand soft money or a repeal of the Resumption Act.

The chances for the success of the Republican ticket depend to a certain extent, of course, upon the platform to be adopted and the men to be nominated at St. Louis; but, in our estimation, they depend still more upon the character of Mr. Hayes' forthcoming letter of acceptance. If in this letter he should put his own interpretation upon the platform, stating plainly not what the platform may try to say but what he himself really believes, and should exhibit a thorough comprehension of a country's needs, and should manifest a determination to undertake the reforms so loudly called for—he would surely do the very best thing possible to insure Republican success. He would offend none of the regular party followers; he would win immediately the support of a large and increasing body of Independents; and he would receive the hearty cooperation of those who would gladly have the Republican party punished for its shortcomings and its corrupt practices, but who dread a return of the Democrats to power.

With many members of Congress absent at Cincinnati, the two Houses did little more than adjourn from day to day, and no measure of importance was passed during the week. There is a serious deadlock in prospect with regard to the Appropriation Bills. The House has made many reductions which the Senate declares to be in opposition to existing laws, and refuses, therefore, to approve. The House stubbornly declines to accept the Senate alterations, and although a Conference Committee has been appointed it is not probable that its members will be able to agree. The President has sent a special message to Congress calling attention to the fact that the fiscal year expires on the 30th of June, and that all the operations of government will be brought to a stand-still if the appropriations are not made at that time. The action of the House in many particulars appears to us to be altogether indefensible. So long as laws calling for certain appropriations continue upon the statute books, their terms should be complied with, and no attempt should be made to alter them by a line in an appropriation bill. To permit this would open a wide door for the introduction of manifold abuses.

The House has adopted unanimously, by a rising vote and with other marks of respect, the report of the Committee exonerating Mr. Kerr from the charge of bribery brought against him by Harney. This pleasing result of the work of an investigating committee should remind some of those who talk about "detraction in public life" and the "assassination of private character" that no committee has ever succeeded in "assassinating" any man who deserved to continue in political life, and that whenever any attempts have been made (and they have been very few in number) to pull down a man of good character, they have resulted only in making his integrity more strikingly manifest.

The retirement of Mr. Bristow from the Cabinet will be deeply regretted by all who believe in the union of ability, energy, and integrity in public service. His resignation is all the more to be regretted because of the uncertainty with regard to the kind of man by whom he will be succeeded. Grant's previous selections show that he has no understanding whatever of the qualifications demanded in a Secretary of the Treasury, and whether we are now to be afflicted by a Boutwell or a Richardson, or are to enjoy the services of a competent officer, is a matter to be determined by accident, by personal feeling, or by political expediency, and not by any adequate knowledge of the requirements of the position.

The House Committee on Foreign Affairs has discovered that Mr. Godlove S. Orth, late United States Minister to Austria, and now Republican candidate for Governor of Indiana, while acting as Chairman of the same Committee during the Forty-third Congress acted also as attorney and agent of Venezuela with reference to certain claims brought before his own Committee. The facts are to be reported to the House, and, if true, should ensure the retirement of Mr. Orth to private life.

The release of Winslow will furnish occasion for regret to all honest men, and will doubtless encourage all forgers and defaulters who are hoping to scrape together money enough to pay the expenses of a trip to England. It is a great pity that England did not send back Winslow at once, and then call the attention of our government to any defects which it might believe to exist in the extradition treaty. If this course has been pursued, a mean rogue would not have escaped legal punishment, and a new and better treaty might by this time have been accepted by both countries. It seems quite probable now that we shall be obliged to await the coming into

power of a new party in England before another treaty can be negotiated.

Mr. Lord, of New York, has introduced into the House a resolution calling for an amendment to the Constitution which shall provide for the election of all United States officers,—postmasters, marshals, collectors, etc. The resolution is another indication of the growing dissatisfaction with our present civil service, but the proposed remedy would, we believe, only aggravate the worst features of our existing difficulties. We have already far too many elective offices, so many in fact that the ordinary man of business cannot possibly keep the run of them, or spend time in investigating the qualifications of those who desire to fill them. Consequently, office-seeking in this country has become a regular trade, and certain needed reforms in our political administration will be impossible until the number of elective offices is greatly diminished. If the executive duties of one of our large cities, for instance, should be placed in the hands of a mayor with power to appoint all subordinate officers, the people would know whom to hold responsible and would be more likely to exercise care in the selection of a mayor; but when people are obliged to elect a large number of inferior officers, the wire-puller at once sets to work and the political "machine" is organized. Mr. Lord's measure, if adopted, would relieve congressmen of a great deal of disagreeable work, and would enable them consequently to attend more closely to their legislative duties; but this same relief would be afforded in a much better way by a President with backbone enough to insist upon his right to make his own executive appointments, and who should decline therefore to receive recommendations from congressmen with regard to appointments.

M. Buffet has been elected Senator for Life by the upper branch of the French Assembly,—a fact which is significant as indicating that the Senate is not so strongly Republican as was at first supposed, M. Buffet being opposed to a Republican form of government. The news from Turkey is unimportant politically, though doubtless the assassination of the Minister of War and of the Minister of Foreign Affairs caused great excitement at Constantinople. The murder seems to have been committed however from motives of private revenge rather than from political reasons.

ENGLISH SKETCHES.

BY MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

LONDON, May 26, 1876.

Do earnest Christians in America give you, or send you by post, horrible little tracts, with appalling headings, and ugly words in double-sized type, jumping at you out of the pages? It is a favorite kind of pious amusement here, and I have just received an evil little four-page thing, entitled "Do not Trifle with your Soul." It begins as follows:—

"If we had seen one of our neighbors struck dead by a flash of lightning, just after he had been committing one of our own often indulged sins, it is to be supposed it would make a serious impression upon our minds. If we afterwards beheld two or three more of our acquaintances blotted out of life in the same way, and for the same reason, we should probably bring the case a little more home to ourselves. If there should afterwards fall another, and another, and another, and we were in the habit of seeing God's wrath executed every day the moment it was provoked, it is surprising what a change we should presently observe among all the careless and bold-faced sinners of society."

Then we get drunkards, liars, misers, etc., rapidly reformed, and we learn that they don't reform under present circumstances because hell is such a long way off. But it's coming all the same; for the "soul that sinneth it shall die," etc., etc., etc. "One would think we might take God's word for more than this," and yet men go on in sin. Here we are to "observe two things": first, God's goodness in "not blotting you out from the face of the earth," which goodness seems to me problematical, since God, it is to be supposed, put me on the face of the earth, knowing perfectly well what I should do there; and secondly: "You see that every time you neglected and refused, you were 'treasuring up wrath against the day of wrath.' There is a treasury of vengeance in eternity; and day by day, and hour by hour, you have been casting in your mite."

Is this part of God's goodness also? There is something touchingly beautiful in God keeping this "treasury of vengeance" open, and allowing us to cast in our mites. Let us resume:—

"When will your cup be full? Perhaps at this moment it may be overflowing; perhaps the plain, simple warning you are now reading may be the last which the Lord God will ever vouchsafe to your soul. This at least is certain: that the next time you return to your sin, it will be in deliberate defiance of the wrath of the Almighty. Who shall say whether you will be allowed to make the trial a second time? God may prolong your life only that men may see a sinner gasping without hope upon his death-bed."

How great is the goodness of the Lord! how merciful to prolong life that "men may see a sinner gasping without hope on his death-bed." I really think that the Christian Deity is the most repulsive of all the idols men have made: he is so remorselessly cruel, so pitilessly vindictive, literally taking pleasure in inflicting useless pain. What human heart could see, un pitying, a dying human creature "gasping without hope"? Instantaneous relief would follow the sight, if relief were possible; yet with "God all things are possible," and he is imaged as looking on with pleasure, and even as keeping a man alive

in order that this sight may present itself. Truly, his ways are not as our ways, nor his thoughts as our thoughts.

The *Rock* newspaper has an article on the American Centennial year, and says that:—

"Amongst other things, a great effort is to be made to arouse the public mind to a sense of the imperfection of the American Constitution, and the necessity for engraving upon it a clear recognition of the authority of God and of his Word. Whilst many here are seeking to unchristianize the British Constitution, and whilst ungodly men are seeking to blot out all ideas of God on the other side of the Atlantic, and to erect a monument to THOMAS PAINE, Christian men there of various denominations as here are banding together to raise the standard of national duty and responsibility to God."

I sadly fear me, Mr. Editor of THE INDEX, that you are one of these "ungodly men." I have been reading of your efforts to "erect a monument to Thomas Paine," and to "blot out all ideas of God" in the Constitution. By the way, it looks as though the *Rock* thought that you worshipped Thomas Paine, as it prints him in small capitals, identical with God. The *Rock* then gives some extracts from the *Christian Statesman* of Philadelphia, which I will not send back to you, and then rejoices over an "important Christian triumph" in a resolution that "the great Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia shall not be opened on the Lord's Day." How little can Christians believe in the attracting power of the gospel when they are so terribly afraid of any rival building being open on Sunday; they manifestly think that if people could go anywhere else they would not go to church. But the *Rock* is not only moved by the spirit against your wickedness in America; it prints, also, furious attacks on its fellow-Christians when they verge on Ritualism. "Romanism and Rationalism" are its bugbears. Can Ritualism stop Rationalism? asks Canon Bell indignantly:—

"What can the carnal weapons which it employs—processions, and banners, and incense, and music, and vestments—effect in the translation of sinners from darkness to light? Was it by such weapons as these that the world was won from Paganism to Christianity? Is it by such weapons that we can vanquish the sin that meets us on all sides, raise the fallen, rescue the tempted, save the perishing, or pluck the guilty as 'brands from the burning'? Are not all such questions immeasurably trifling, unspeakably trivial, when we think of the infidelity, and secularism, and vice, and worldliness that meet us on every side, and against which we are called to do battle in the name of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ? And may not the mocking devil of lust and hate and drunkenness and scepticism and crime say in uttermost scorn to all such attempts to exorcise him, 'Paul I know, and Jesus I know, but who are ye?'"

Observe that infidelity, secularism and, scepticism are put on a level with lust and hate and drunkenness; they are alike "mocking devils." This is the kind of opinion Christian people have of us, and yet they wonder we sometimes "speak so bitterly"! The *Rock*, however, has a high opinion of the merits of its own friends to make up for its uncharity towards the rest of the world. I wrote to you, I think, about the "May meetings," and the *Rock* thus speaks of them:—

"In sober truth the work of which the May meetings are the outcome and expression is not a work of the many but of the few,—not of the nation nor yet of the Church, but of a little company described in Holy Writ as 'the called, and chosen, and faithful, who follow the Lamb' whithersoever He leads them in the paths of duty or beneficence. The Times, indeed, speaks of 'earls, bishops, clergymen, preachers, and tradesmen,' all working together in the same cause,—and a blessed privilege it is, and quite peculiar to God's people to find men of every class standing shoulder to shoulder for an unselfish end. But, alas! how few comparatively of either or any class are ready to come to the help of the Lord against the mighty hosts of the Prince of Darkness! You may count the peers on the fingers of one hand, and the M. P.'s on the other; while the number of clergy who come to the front on these occasions, though actually large is relatively small when compared with the twenty thousand names which appear in the pages of the *Clergy List*. But this little army is the salt of the earth, and preserves the body politic from corruption and decay."

God must have a good many people among the "mocking devils of infidelity and secularism" if it be true that only among his people we can "find men of every class standing shoulder to shoulder for an unselfish end." And then the poor "Lord against the mighty hosts of the Prince of Darkness"! Only one Almighty Being, helped by a few peers and M. P.'s; no wonder the devil wins.

Dean Close says that the denial of the existence of the devil is the devil's greatest triumph. "Men were now denying that there was any enemy. That was the very climax of his power, and his throne was so to work upon men as to make them deny the very existence of a devil." The very existence of a dean is imperilled when the existence of a devil is in danger. Half the use of the officials of the church will be over when Satan has departed this life; no devil, no dean. But, at present, the Dean is here with his Bible Society, and there is yet hope for the world. Christ foresaw how much evil would "be stirred up in this generation," so he "put his holy spirit into the hearts of his people to found these great societies to withstand it." The Dean verges on blasphemy in his delight: "The wonders of Pentecost were a trifle to the standing miracle of the Bible Society, which spoke in two hundred and twenty tongues." The Holy Ghost must hide his

diminished head before Dean Close and his two-hundred-and-twenty-tongued society. Pentecost? oh, a mere trifle; look at ME and my society.

I wanted to say something about the *Jewish World*, an admirable paper, which grows more and more rationalistic; but the Dean is too much for my feelings added to the mail-time having come, so I must leave the Hebrew journal until next week.

Communications.

MASONRY.

The principles of this time-honored institution are similar, with regard to religion and politics, to those of Free Religion; but just as all human beings have imperfections, so have human societies; and it is true that Masonry is not yet as broad as humanity. We hope, however, that we shall develop to a broader platform. Operative Masonry requires a strong, healthy man, and the founders had to exclude sick or old men and women. Improvements are made, and, if all male citizens shall learn to grant women the same rights which they themselves have, I think speculative Masonry will have to learn the same lesson. We are already instituting degrees for our good ladies. No man is excluded on account of race. Most all races have Masonic lodges; a majority of narrow-minded step-brothers do make such exclusions in their lodges. Christians try to exclude Jews, and perhaps vice versa; but it is no more Masonic than it is liberal to exclude women from voting. In my article on Masonry, I did not mean Masonic charity, but most earnestly "human charity," and I differ not at all from Mr. M. G. Griffin, when he says that there is too much spent for "foolish finery." Yes, when we see those gaudy regalias, uniforms, bands, and military, it confirms most conclusively Darwin's theory of the link between the ape and men. I thank Mr. Griffin because he has pointed out many imperfections, and we hope he has given our brethren some good hints. When I speak of the imperfections of societies, I am very sorry to say that even the majority of radicals and the Free Religious Association are not sufficiently "imbued with the principles of charity, justice, and equality"; but we hope sincerely that it will be better soon, and it makes us all happy to see the good leaven working. The next Centennial year will be celebrated by men better developed to manhood. "It must be so!"

CARL H. HORSCH.

DOVER, N. H., June 1, 1876.

A WORD FOR MR. BLAINE.

WASHINGTON, June 10, 1876.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

It is not often that my wrath is stirred by a newspaper paragraph, as it was on taking up the last INDEX, and reading the comments of R. C. on the Blaine and Mulligan episode. The charge of "dishonorable conduct" is there made against Mr. Blaine for getting some business letters from a man who never had any business relations with Mr. Blaine, and who had no jot or tittle of right to the possession of the letters, any more than the sneak-thief has to the "swag" which he carries to a pawnbroker's shop, or puts wherever he thinks it will do the most good. If there is one thing settled in English law, or one principle that is fortified by the decision of American courts and juries, it is the absolute inviolability of a man's private correspondence. I do not care to inquire whether Mulligan got those letters by Fisher's consent, as he says he did, or whether he pilfered them from Fisher's safe, as alleged by Mr. Blaine's friends; he had them without a shadow of right or title to them, and he meant to put them to a dishonorable use,—that of injuring Mr. Blaine, and destroying his chances for a nomination. Mr. Blaine, with that energy and foresight which is a part of his character, seized the correspondence, and defied the committee to test his right of ownership—or his joint ownership with Fisher—of the letters. The gauntlet was thrown down, and the committee did not dare to take it up. And then ensued a "scene," as we commonly say, which it is impossible to give any idea of. The Samson of the House not only went for the rebel "lion," which met the fate of its prototype, but with the jaw-bone of an ass (Mulligan's would-be testimony—the letters in question) he slew of the Philistines that day, if not a thousand, yet enough, and left them lying "heaps upon heaps." He turned the valley of humiliation into a magnificent ovation or triumph. He did more. From standing on the defensive he assumed the aggressive; he "carried the war into Africa," and with such vigor and results, that no one was probably more astonished than Proctor Knott, chairman of the investigating committee. After an hour's equivocation and paltering in "a double sense," Mr. Blaine screwed out of him the damaging fact, that Mr. Knott did receive a telegram from Josiah Caldwell and carried it in his pocket for five days. The pretended doubt of the genuineness of the telegram was the very small knot-hole which Mr. Knott crawled out of to escape the wrath of his tormentor, Blaine.

Mr. Tarbox fared even worse in his late "personal explanation." This gentleman was the hero of the well-known exploit of having surreptitiously possessed himself of a copy of Mr. Blaine's speech on the finances in the early part of the session, and of answering it with a prepared speech the moment Mr. Blaine sat down. Accordingly when Mr. Tarbox with an air of virtuous innocence rebuked Mr. Blaine for referring to words used in the committee-room, as a breach of privilege, he was put down by Mr. Blaine's ready use of the above telling fact to Mr. Tarbox's disadvantage. In the elegant language of

the lobby, Mr. Blaine put his foot upon Tarbox, and "squelched" him. But all his enemies combined have not yet "squelched" Mr. Blaine. Whether they have hurt him or not, the Cincinnati convention will soon tell the whole story. J. S.

MR. JAMES' ARTICLES.

DEAR EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I read your paper, and have read it from its beginning, attentively and with great satisfaction and profit,—not with hearty acquiescence in all its diversity of utterances. But I like it all the better for the positiveness of the editor and the freedom it gives to diversity. It is really *multum in parvo*, and contains more than a half-dozen of the great papers that are published. I have read with some degree of attention and thoughtfulness the several articles of Henry James and your criticisms upon them.

I am surprised that Mr. James should think to say anything in detail of such life as he attempts to describe that shall be intelligible to any scientific or logical mind. He is quite right in saying that what he attempts to say is as easily apprehended by "any old woman plying her spinning-wheel in the heart of the Green Mountains" as by the most scientific and logical mind, like Huxley or Spencer. Only he does not state it strongly enough. It is more easily apprehended by the old woman, because scientific and logical minds have much to do to put utterly away science and logic before they can be in condition to accept his saying.

Possibly there is such a life as Mr. James would maintain, but I am quite sure it is impossible for him, or anyone else, to state it or talk about it in detail without falling into error. By no possible amount of words, or arrangement of words, can he make out that there is no real individual personality,—but merely an illusion that thinks and lives. Notwithstanding the solidarity of the race, there is the individual, who lives of the whole and for the whole by living in association with the parts, for itself and the parts, and so for the whole. Every time Mr. James says as an individual he is an illusion, he inevitably asserts to the contrary. Say what he may in denial, he says, and that is the end of it.

He must continue in the mystical world, and not attempt logic or much explanation, or he can only make confusion of what he says.

But I have already probably fallen into error in what I have said, and should do so more, if I made more words. J. S. S.

BOSTON, May 20, 1876.

A SUGGESTION.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—At the risk of making double a suggestion which you may have already fully considered, I venture to express the belief that a monthly or quarterly edition of THE INDEX could be profitably published, to be of octavo size, and to embrace the editorials and leading papers.

For preservation, in binding or otherwise, and for reference, the pamphlet-form presents obvious advantages which, I must think, would be sufficiently recognized by the present subscribers of THE INDEX. For the purpose of catching the busy public eye and mind, I suppose the coming great ideas cannot be put out in too many different forms within the pecuniary limits with which your present field of labor is hedged. Very respectfully,

R. B. STONE.

FOREST, Miss.

[The suggestion above made is a good one in itself, though the great expense of such a republication renders it impracticable. It is encouraging, however, to receive so flattering an evidence of the high estimation put upon THE INDEX by its friends.—ED.]

A MATCH HAS been broken off in Chicago between the male and female scions of two prominent families, who, it had been thought, would have made an excellent marriage, since she was young and handsome, and he was old and rich. It appears, however, that they had an irreconcilable quarrel on a very vital subject. He was a very precise man, who used to say that time was money, and unpunctuality was the thief of time, and so on; and, when they were discussing their married life, she said: "Next Easter, you'll give me the loveliest hat and dress in Chicago, won't you, pet?" He said he would. "And," she continued, "you'll take a pew in the very front of the most fashionable church?" "I will," he said. "And," she said, "we'll always go to church nice and late, won't we?" "Nice and early, my love," he said, correcting her. "No, I mean nice and late, of course," she answered. "But, my dear," he remonstrated, "time is money, as Solomon says. If I were to be seen going to church late, people would think I was slothful in business serving the bank. Why do you wish to cultivate the unlovely habit of unpunctuality?" "O, because," she replied, "when you go to church late every one turns round to look at you and see what you have on. Do you think I'm a heathen, and don't want to go to church properly?" Alas! to be wroth with one we love doth work like madness in the brain, and the match is off.—Advertiser.

FUSELI SAID to me once that people generally went to church in proportion to their profligacy. I had it on the tip of my tongue to tell him that I wondered he did not go every day.—Haydon.

CONVERSATION when it is best, is a series of intoxications.—Emerson.

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Almost every number contains a discourse or leading article, which alone is worth the price of one year's subscription.

Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America—that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country,—is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large." And later still: "I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest."

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WHAT IS PROPERTY?

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By P. J. PROUDHON.

Prefaced by a sketch of Proudhon's Life and Works, by J. A. Langlois, and containing as a Frontispiece a fine Steel Engraving of the Author. Translated from the French by BENJ. R. TUCKER.

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As indicated in the "Demands of Liberalism."

605 WALNUT ST., PHILADELPHIA, }
March 1, 1876. }

To the Liberal Leagues and the Liberal Pub-
lic of the United States:—

The General Centennial Committee, ap-
pointed at a convention held in this city last
September for the purpose of making all
necessary arrangements for a General Cen-
tennial Congress of Liberals next sum-
mer, have decided to call said Congress to
convene at Philadelphia, Saturday,
July 1, 1876,—further particulars to be
hereafter announced.

Each organized Liberal League will be en-
titled to send five delegates as special
representatives—three in addition to its
President and Secretary. But all individ-
ual Liberals who sympathize with the
general objects and aims of the Liberal
Leagues will be equally entitled and wel-
comed to seats and votes in the Congress.

REPORT PROMPTLY!

In order to lessen as much as possible the
expenses of the delegates, each League is
requested to elect them as soon as possible,
and to report their names to the undersigned
through its Secretary. All Liberals, dele-
gates, or individuals who desire and in-
tend to participate in the Convention are
requested also to forward personally and
immediately their names and full post-office
addresses to the undersigned, that he may be
enabled to make the most favorable terms
possible for their accommodation. If notifi-
ed early, he hopes to secure for them a
considerable reduction in railroad
fares, and to provide boarding-places at
perhaps half the usual rates of the season.

Donations Solicited!

The Centennial Committee on Finance
having through their Chairman transferred
their duties to the General Centennial Com-
mittee, the undersigned has been appointed
to attend to the financial department, and
herby appeals to the Liberals of the
country for voluntary contributions to the
amount of One Thousand Dollars.
This amount will be needed to make the
Congress a complete success, though the
utmost possible will be done with whatever
is contributed. The officers of the union of
Liberal German societies propose to
raise the same amount for their convention,
and have already raised \$500.
The Young Men's Christian Association
have already spent this year nearly
\$100,000 in preparation for the Centennial,
in the interest of Orthodox superstition;
it would be a pity if all the friends of "Liberty
and Light" could not do a hundredth
part as much for the cause of national
development and free humanity! The
money will all be wanted (and much more
could be advantageously expended) in pro-
viding suitable halls and headquarters, ad-
vertising the Congress liberally in advance
in the chief dailies of the country, defray-
ing the necessary expenses of desired and
invited speakers, paying verbatim reporters,
publishing a complete pamphlet report of
the proceedings, etc., etc. What is done
must be done speedily, since the ar-
rangements should be completed, as far as
practicable, by the first of May.

All sums donated will be duly acknowl-
edged in THE INDEX, and a full report of
all expenditures will be sent for publication
in the same paper. Remittances should be
sent to the undersigned, 605 Walnut St.,
Philadelphia, Pa. Will not all friends
of the movement respond heartily and at
once?

DAMON Y. KILGORE,

Acting Treasurer.

I believe that Mr. Kilgore is a gentleman
of unimpeachable personal integrity, and
that all money remitted to him as above will
be faithfully and economically devoted to
the legitimate uses of the Congress.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT,

Chairman of the General Centennial Committee.

At the preliminary Convention held at
Philadelphia on Sept. 17, 18, and 19, 1875,
for the purpose of making arrangements for the
Centennial Congress of Liberals, the follow-
ing were appointed a

General Centennial Committee:

FRANCIS E. ABBOT,

DAMON Y. KILGORE,

ALEXANDER LOOS,

ISAAC RHEN,

BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD,

H. S. WILLIAMS,

with power to increase their number to fif-
teen. The completion and success of the
arrangements must depend on the liberality
of the friends of the movement, who are re-
spectfully and earnestly solicited to contrib-
ute the necessary funds.

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VOLUME 7.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, JUNE 29, 1876.

WHOLE No. 340.

ORGANIZE!

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

A FORM OF LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Whereas, It is our profound conviction that the safety of republican institutions is imperilled, the advance of civilization impeded, and the most sacred rights of man infringed, by the least interference of the State in matters of religion; and

Whereas, Certain grave inconsistencies with the general spirit of the United States Constitution still mark the practical administration of our political system, threatening the perpetuity of religious liberty, the existence of free public schools, and the peace and prosperity of the entire land;

Therefore, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together under the following

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

ART. 1.—The name of this Association shall be THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF —.

ART. 2.—The object of the Liberal League shall be to secure practical compliance with the "Demands of Liberalism" throughout the country, and especially in —, and thereby to effect the total separation of Church and State in fact as well as in theory.

Also to send delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League, when organized, and to cooperate heartily with all the liberals of the country in furtherance of the above-named object.

ART. 3.—The means employed in working for these objects shall be regular local meetings, free discussions, lectures, addresses, conventions, the platform and the press in general, and all such other means as are peaceable, orderly, and right.

ART. 4.—Such measures shall be adopted for raising funds for the League as shall be prescribed in the By-Laws by a two-thirds vote of the members.

ART. 5.—Any person may become a member of the League by subscribing his or her name to these Articles of Agreement.

ART. 6.—The Officers of the League shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three members; and their duties shall be those commonly pertaining to these offices. The President and Secretary shall be ex-officio delegates to the conventions of the National Liberal League.

ART. 7.—These Articles of Agreement may be amended by a three-fourths vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided due notice of the proposed amendments shall have been sent to every member at least two weeks previous to such meeting.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever in any State be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion.

ion. No person shall ever in any State be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious practices shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

THE STUDENTS of the University at Rome have begun a movement to erect a monument to Giordano Bruno, the noble martyr to freethought who was burned as a heretic at Rome on Feb. 17, 1600, by the Roman Catholic Church.

LAST MONTH, a farmer in Viola, Minnesota, was fined five dollars for doing some dragging on Sunday; and in Owatonna, in the same State, the City Council passed a new ordinance prohibiting barbers from keeping their shops open on Sundays. Says the editor of the *Waseca Leader*: "The old New England Blue Laws must be coming in fashion again."

JUDGE WHEELER, nominated by the Republicans for Vice-President of the United States, is declared, as a matter of boast, to be "an elder in the Presbyterian Church." That is nobody's business but his own, provided he understands and performs his duty as an officer in a secular government. But if he carries his Presbyterianism into his official action, or, because of it, upholds any connection of Church and State, then it is everybody's business, and we trust everybody will "mind his own business."

THOSE INTERESTING antediluvians who see a "visitation of God upon the sins of men" in every great disaster (Bishop Haven saw one in the great Chicago fire) make mistakes like that of the elderly colored man last Wednesday, in this city. He was walking along Cambridge Street, when a boy in a provision store hit him hard on the back of the head with a potato. The old man stooped to pick up his beaver hat, and then, turning around, looked up in the sky, and said: "Golly, I 'spec dat was a bolt from heaven."

BEFORE OUR next issue shall appear, the Centennial Congress of Liberals and the Centennial Fourth of July will have passed by. On account of our absence, however, it will be impossible to publish any account of the proceedings until THE INDEX of July 13. Doubtless the daily papers will make more or less mention of the Congress; but we advise our readers not to accept their statements as necessarily accurate. Experience suggests a reasonable degree of caution in this respect. The omens of the Congress are most propitious: may the result be still more so!

IT SEEMS that the Mayor of Newport, Rhode Island, invited the city council to meet the Emperor of Brazil at his house on Sunday evening, June 18. The *Newport Daily News* was greatly scandalized at this outrage on the "Sabbath," and clamorously rebuked the Mayor. An excellent letter rebuking the *News*, and justly claiming equal Sunday rights for all under the Constitution, was published by the editor with this reply: "We publish the above at the request of one of our citizens and do not propose to reply to it. We differ entirely from the premises taken, and claim that an official act of this kind is one for which the whole country is morally responsible, and that, while this is a Christian country, Newport is also a Christian city." And this claim is pressed every day with increasing urgency. Take your choice, freemen: you must submit or resist.

THE *Congressional Record* of June 8 thus reports the remarks of Senator Cameron, of Pennsylvania, in presenting the Christian Amendment petitions on the preceding day: "I have got before me a large mass of papers which I want to put in a safe place.

They are petitions for the acknowledgment of God and Christianity in the Constitution of the United States. They are signed by 2,964 persons from New York, 9,703 from Pennsylvania, 1,688 from Vermont, and 106 from Massachusetts. I ask permission at this time to present all these petitions, and I do not know to what committee to refer them, but it ought to be the best committee in the House. I will move their reference to the Committee on the Judiciary." The motion was agreed to. Here, it seems, are 14,441 persons willing to petition Congress for the Christian Amendment at this very moment. That fact is a end for radical ruminants.

EARLY IN June, the Committee of the Judiciary, to whom Mr. Blaine's Constitutional Amendment on the school question had been referred by the House of Representatives, decided by a strict party vote not to report the measure to the House for its action at this session. This decision, says the *Graphic*, "seems to indicate that the Democrats do not desire the school question to come into the present canvass, and will avoid placing themselves on record, at least until after the Presidential election." Could anything more plainly betray Catholic influence in that party? As to the Amendment of Mr. Blaine, we trust that action on it may be delayed as long as possible. It is not such a measure as any true liberal will desire to see pass, for it is non-committal on the most important point,—that of secularizing the public schools. Better wait till the country is ripe for a thorough application of the only truly American principle.

WHEN IT was predicted by some fanatical preachers, in 1852, that God would send his judgments on England, if she threw open her Crystal Palace at Sydenham on Sunday, Frederick W. Robertson, one of the noblest men that ever stood in a Christian pulpit, uttered these characteristic words: "If judgments are in store for our country, they will fall, not because the Sunday trains are not arrested, nor because a public permission is given to the working-classes for a few hours' recreation on the day of rest, but because we are selfish men, and because we prefer pleasure to duty, and traffic to honor, and because we love our Church more than our Christianity, and our Christianity more than truth, and ourselves more than all. These are the things that defile a nation; but the labor and recreation of its poor, these are not the things that defile a nation." What a rebuke to the miserable pharisaism which shuts our own great Exhibition to the poor on Sunday!

THERE ARE MANY stirring and ringing poems in the *Secular Song and Hymn Book*, issued by authority of the National Secular Society of Great Britain, and edited by Mrs. Besant. It would be difficult to find elsewhere in so small a compass a collection of equal merit. The genius of Whittier (one of whose exquisite lyrics begins the little volume), Elliott, Shelley, Longfellow, Lowell, Shakespeare, Milton, Beaumont, Swinburne, W. J. Fox, Thomas Hood, Emerson, and so forth, is laid under contribution to form a treasury of noble thoughts and stimulating sentiments for daily use. "It is throughout," says the preface, "Republican and Atheistic, thus bearing the twofold stamp of our movement." This self-imposed necessity, we are constrained to say, interferes somewhat with the full success of the attempt. To carry out the theory, changes in some of the poems are made which produce the same effect as the changes made in Christian hymn-books to carry out an opposite theory; and to our own taste the loss is greater than the gain. But the excellence of the collection lies in its earnest, quickening, positive spirit, all for progress, liberty, truth, and universal goodwill; and we wish it could be made available on this side the water. As it is, those who wish for this capital little book must send to Charles Watts, 17 Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London. The price in England is one shilling.

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On National Education as a National Duty.*

BY PROFESSOR MAX MUELLER.

You have done me the great honor of asking me to come to Manchester, in order to distribute the prizes and certificates awarded by the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, at the last local examinations, to the candidates from this town and neighborhood.

I hesitated some time before accepting your flattering invitation, because I could not help feeling that, while those who had performed this office in former years, had by their very presence reflected honor and lustre on these meetings, and had even imparted to them a political importance, I could bring you no such help.

If I allowed myself to be persuaded at last, by the repeated requests of your committee, it was because I believe that, however much I may be excelled by my predecessors in everything else, I need not yield to them in the warm interest which I have felt all my life in the cause of education, in the widest sense of the word; and I may add, because I feel, and have felt from the very beginning, most deeply interested in that system of local examinations which has now been carried on for many years with ever-increasing success, and the results of which we see before us today.

Perhaps few here present recollect the first beginnings of these local examinations, carried on under the auspices of the two universities, Oxford and Cambridge. I recollect them well; and when I see how the tree has grown, and is growing, and spreading its branches wider and wider every year, I feel no slight satisfaction at the thought that I was present when it was planted,—nay, that I rendered some assistance, however small, in planting it.

And, gentlemen, I can assure you it was no easy matter to plant this tree. The first generous impulse came from Oxford, but from Oxford came also the first repulse. I go back in my thoughts to the year 1857, when Mr. Acland, now Sir Thomas Acland, first mentioned to me this idea, that much might be done to improve the middle-class schools all over England, if the universities would undertake to examine them, and to give some kind of academic recognition to the best candidates and to the best schools.

There were some men at Oxford who at once perceived the excellence of such a scheme; but there were others, too, who treated it with open scorn and derision. We were told by some that no one would come to be examined of his own free will; by others,

that there would be such a rush of candidates that the university could not supply a sufficient staff of examiners; while as to giving the academic title of associate in arts to candidates who might not know Greek and Latin, that was considered simply high treason.

While these discussions were going on, Mr. Acland and some of his friends resolved to try the experiment, and in June, 1857, they held the first examination of middle-class schools in Devonshire. There is nothing like trying an experiment, and Mr. Acland's experiment proved at least three things:—

1. That the middle-class schools required to be looked into most carefully.
2. That the middle-class schools were willing to be looked into most carefully.
3. That the examinations presented no insurmountable difficulties to frighten the Universities from undertaking this important task.

I was myself one of the examiners at Exeter, and I well remember the enthusiastic meeting held there, for it was the first time that I allowed myself to be persuaded to speak, or rather to stammer, in public.*

Mr. Acland's scheme was soon after accepted by the university; and when I look at the excellent results which it has produced during the last seventeen years all over England, it seems to me that Sir Thomas Acland, the worthy son of a worthy father, has deserved well of his country, and that no honor that the nation could bestow on him would be too high, in recognition of the great and lasting benefit which, by taking the initiative in these local examinations, he has conferred on the nation.

I do not speak at random, and I know I can appeal to all here present, parents, teachers, and pupils too, who have been successfully taught under this system, and are here assembled to-day to receive their prizes and certificates, to support me in saying, that these examinations have been a real blessing to the teachers as well as to the taught.

And their capacity of usefulness is by no means exhausted.

At present, schools consider it an honor, if they can pass a certain number of their pupils, and if a few gain prizes and certificates. The time will come, I hope, when schools will not be satisfied unless they can pass nearly all their pupils, and if at least one-half of them do not carry off prizes and certificates. Till schools consider themselves in duty bound to send up, at certain periods, every one of their pupils to be examined, the true scope of these examinations has not been reached; nay, I fear their object may be defeated, if they encourage school-masters to aim at high excellence in a few rather than at an average excellence in all their pupils.

And not only schools will benefit by these local examinations, but home education also, and more particularly the home education of girls. Allow me to put before you my own experience in this matter. As there was hitherto no good school for girls at Oxford (I am glad to say a high school for girls will be opened there next week), my children had to be taught at home; but I told them, and I told their governess, that I should have them examined every year at these local examinations. That put them on their mettle; it gave a definite direction to their studies; it made them fond of their work, and, in spite of all the drawbacks of home education, the results have been most satisfactory. I sent my two eldest girls to be examined last year, chiefly in order to find out their weak and their strong points; I sent them again this year as junior candidates; and if you will look at the division list which is now in your hands, you will find both their names in a very creditable position. I shall send them again next year, and year after year, till their education is finished; and I can assure all parents who are obliged to educate their daughters at home, that, however excellent their governess may be, they will find these examinations affording a most useful guidance, a most efficient incentive, and, in the end, a most gratifying reward, both to pupil and teacher.

In 1857, however, I had as yet no such selfish interest in these examinations; and you may wonder, perhaps, what could have induced me then to go from Oxford to Exeter in order to be present and to help in the first experiment of these local examinations. Well, you know that education has been for many years our national hobby in Germany,—the one great luxury in which so poor a country as Germany is, and always must be, has freely indulged. But I may confess that I was influenced, perhaps, not only by a national bias, but by what is now called family bias, or *atavis*, that mysterious power which preserves certain hereditary peculiarities in certain families, and which, if it is true that we are descended from some lower animals, may even help to explain some strange and perplexing features in human nature. My own *atavis*, or at all events, my great-grandfather, was Basedow (1723–1790), a name which perhaps none of you has heard before, but a name well-known in Germany as the reformer of our national education, as the forerunner of Pestalozzi, as the first who, during the last century, stirred up the conscience of the people of Germany and of their rulers, and taught them at least this one great lesson: that next to the duty of self-preservation there is no higher, no more sacred duty which a nation has to fulfill than—national education.

This sounds to us almost like a truism, but it was not so a hundred years ago. The idea that the nation at large, and each man and woman in particular, is responsible for the proper education of every child, is a very modern idea,—it is really not much older than railways and telegraphs. Great men like Alfred and Charlemagne had a glimmering of that idea,

*"Some Account of the Origin and Objects of the New Oxford Examinations for the Title of Associate in Arts and Certificates, for the year 1856," by T. D. Acland, Esq. London: J. Ridgway, 1858.

but the times were too dark, too stern for them. During the whole of the Middle Ages we see little more than cathedral and monastic schools, chiefly intended for the education of the clergy, but opened in certain places to the laity also. Schools for the nation at large, and supported by the nation at large, there were none. Then came the Reformation, the very life-spring of which was the reading of the Bible by the laity. The reformers at once called for schools, but it was like a cry in the wilderness. Much, no doubt, was done by the reformers, many of whom were excellent school-masters, many of whom knew but too well how even Christianity could be degraded and well-nigh destroyed in countries where the education of the people had been neglected. Every Protestant clergyman became *ipso facto* a school-master. He had to see that the children of his parish were able at least to read the Bible and to say the catechism. This is the historical explanation why, in Protestant countries, the school has so long remained a mere appendage to the Church.

After a time, however, the clergyman, having plenty of work of his own to do, secured the assistance of the sacristan, or sexton, who, in addition to his ordinary duties of bell-ringing, organ-playing, waiting at christenings and weddings, and grave-digging, had now to act as school-master also, and teach the children to read, to write, and to count. This was the beginning of our schools and school-masters; but in Germany even these small beginnings were soon swept away by the Thirty Years' War.

When, in the eighteenth century, people began to breathe again, and look about, the state of the lower and middle classes in Germany, as far as education was concerned, was deplorable. There were church schools, town schools, private schools, scattered about here and there, a few good, some indifferent, most of them bad; but as to any efficient machinery that should secure the proper education of every child in the country, it was never even thought of.

It was my *atavis*, it was old Basedow, who, about a hundred years ago, raised the first war-cry for national education in Germany. It would take too much time were I to attempt to give you an account of his life (I had lately to write it for the *Deutsche Biographie*, published by the Bavarian government). It was a chequered life, as the life of all true reformers is sure to be. Perhaps he attempted too much, and was too much in advance of his time. But whatever his strong, and whatever his weak points, this one great principle he established, and it remained firmly established in the German mind ever since: that national education is a national duty, that national education is a sacred duty, and that to leave national education to chance, Church, or charity is a national sin. That conviction has remained ingrained in the German mind, even in the days of our lowest political degradation; and it is to that conviction, and to the nation acting up to that conviction, that Germany owes what she is,—her very existence among the nations of Europe.

Another principle which followed, in fact, as a matter of course, as soon as the first principle was granted, was this: that in national schools, in schools supported by the nation at large, you can only teach that on which we all agree: hence, when children belong to different sects, you cannot teach theology. However irresistible the argument was, the opposition which it roused was terrific. Basedow thought, for a time, that he could frame a kind of diluted religion, which should give no offence to any one of the Christian sects, not even to Jews or Mohammedans. But in that attempt he naturally failed. His was a deeply religious mind, but national education had become with him so absorbing a passion, that he thought that everything else ought to give way to it.

I confess I fully share myself the same conviction. If it were possible to imagine a religion, or a sect, that should try to oppose or retard the education of the people, then I should say that such a religion cannot be a true religion, and the sooner it is swept away the better. I say the same of national education. If there were, if there could be, a system of national education that should exclude religious education, that system cannot be the true system, and the sooner it is swept away the better.

Poor Basedow soon came in conflict with the Church: he was deprived of his professorship in Denmark, though the king, more enlightened than his people, granted him his full salary as a pension for life. In Germany he was excommunicated, not by the Pope, but by the Protestant clergy at Hamburg, who excluded him and every member of his family from the communion. The mob at Hamburg was roused against him, his books were prohibited, and he found no rest till the Duke of Dessau, a man who dared to think and to act at his own peril, invited him to his capital, to help him to introduce into his small duchy a more perfect system of national education.

All these things have become matter of history, and are almost forgotten now, even in Germany. Many of Basedow's theories had to be given up, but the two fundamental principles of national education remained firmly established, and have never been shaken. They have spread all over Germany; they are adopted in Denmark, Sweden, Russia; they have lately found their way into Italy, a country which is making the greatest efforts for national education, knowing that her very existence depends on that.

Two countries only, France and England, still stand aloof. Yet when we hear a minister of instruction in France (Jules Simon) say, "Yes, there are schools, many schools; but one thing is still wanting, and it is for this that I do not die: we have not yet obtained compulsory and gratuitous instruction"; when in England we see that convictions with regard to national education become too strong for party, that Mr. Forster would rather break away from his friends than yield his deep and honest convictions,

*An address delivered in the Free-Trade Hall, Manchester, 27th October, 1875.

that Mr. Cross is more liberal, more bold than even Mr. Forster, in favor of compulsory national education; when you consider how one of the most distinguished divines of the Church of England, whose death the country is mourning this very day, insisted all his life on the separation of Church and school-teaching as the only solution of the educational problem; nay, when you remember the words spoken not long ago by your own excellent and outspoken bishop, that it was better for the Church to surrender her schools than to allow the existence of one single inefficient school,—you may be certain that the time has come when England also will recognize these two fundamental principles: education by the nation and for the nation: and complete separation of school-teaching and Church-teaching. And, believe me, as soon as these two principles are acknowledged, most of the difficulties that now beset the educational question, whether theological or financial, will vanish.

The clergy will be relieved from its present false and invidious position. They, whether Protestant, or Nonconformist, or Roman Catholic, will be able to teach during certain hours on week-days, and in Sunday-schools, that religion which it is their right and duty to teach. The time will be amply sufficient, for the less a child learns of theology, as distinct from religion, the better. There will be no conscience-clause, no conscientious scruples, to disturb the teachers of religion. We shall have real, not half-and-half, religious teaching in every school; and as to the proper remuneration, I hold that if every shilling that is now subscribed for Church-schools were given to the clergy, particularly to the poor curates, as the religious instructors of their flock, the money would be well bestowed.

Then, no doubt, the whole charge for national education, a large portion of which is now covered by private charity, will have to be paid by the nation at large, as in the case of the army, the navy, and the civil service.

Whenever I state this, the ready answer I receive is: "Yes, it is very well for a foreigner to say that, but it is an utterly un-English idea; no sensible Englishman would listen to it for one moment."

I always look on that answer as a most hopeful sign; it shows that all other argumentative ammunition has been expended, for no gentleman would fire off that blank cartridge if he still possessed one single ball-cartridge in his pouch.

I am the very last man to say that the German system of national education should be transplanted to England. I speak only of certain broad principles, which are either right or wrong in themselves, and have nothing whatever to do with national character or historical circumstances. No one could have lived half his life in England and half his life in Germany, without knowing how utterly impractical it is to try to transfer English institutions to Germany, or German institutions to England. Germany has had to pay heavy penalties for attempting to copy the English form of constitutional government, and national education in England would be a certain failure, were it to be a mere imitation of the German or the French system. You do not want a minister of public instruction who could look at the clock and then tell you that at this moment every child in France is reading, "*Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres*." But if you could have a president of the council who could look at the clock and say, "At this moment no child over six or under thirteen is loitering in the streets," would that be so very intolerable?

How much should be left to local boards and authorities in the management of schools, what subjects should be taught, what books should be used, what hours should be kept, what fees should be paid, all these are matters of detail, which would admit of great variety, if only the great principle was once recognized, that the school belongs to the State, and that the State is responsible for its efficiency, as it is responsible for the efficiency of the army, the navy, nay, even of the post office. It is a misdemeanor to convey a letter otherwise than by the post. It is criminal to sell poison. Would it be carrying the same principle too far, if Parliament insisted that no one should open a private school, unless the government was satisfied of the wholesomeness of the moral and intellectual food sold in these schools to helpless children? Paternal government, I know, has not a good sound to English ears; but if anybody has a right to a paternal government, surely it is "these little ones, who should not perish."

These are not questions of politics, they are questions which concern every man, be he English, French, or German. They are religious questions, in the true sense of the word.

I hardly wish to touch on smaller points connected with the great question of national education. However large they may appear at present, they would dwindle away, if once national education was looked upon in the light of a national duty. Take, for instance, the financial difficulty.

By making national education an annual charge on the national exchequer, what is it you do? You simply substitute a national and rational taxation for an irrational and hap-hazard taxation. It is John Bull who pays the taxes; it is John Bull who pays the charities; and the only people who have any intelligible motive for opposing an equitable distribution of the educational taxes are those who do not want to pay their proper share.

Secondly, nothing can be more wasteful than the present system, when every parish, or at all events, every clergyman, wants to have his own little school. By combining three or four schools into one, you would not only save money, but you would be able to bring the teaching power, which is now often miserable, to the highest degree of efficiency.

On this point, if you will allow me, I should like to say a few words more. In order to have a good education you must have good educators. It is true we

no longer employ the sexton, who, in addition to bell-ringing, organ-playing, and grave-digging, has to teach the children in school. But it is very bad still. The school-master is still in many places the servant of the clergyman; his work is hard, and he never rises to much more than about £150 a year. What can you expect on such conditions? A young school-master might begin with much less than that, if there were a career open to him. In the army a man begins as a lieutenant, but he may end as a general. Is teaching a lower profession than drilling? In every department of the civil service a gentleman begins with little, but he rises, and he has the prospect of a retiring pension in the end. Is the place of a school-master too low for a gentleman? Let me read you what Niebuhr said about this,—and remember he said it after he had been Prussian ambassador at Rome: "The office of a school-master, in particular, is one of the most honorable, and, despite of all the evils which now and then disturb its ideal beauty, it is for a truly noble heart the happiest path in life. It was the path which I had once chosen for myself, and how I wish I had been allowed to follow it!" Is teaching so very repulsive,—even teaching the A B C? Do gentlemen shrink from offices which seem at first most repulsive in the medical profession? Has a school-master fewer opportunities of doing good than a clergyman? If gentlemen can be inspectors of schools, why could they not be teachers of schools? Make education a branch of the civil service; make the school-masters, what they really are in the true sense of the word, servants of the queen, and you will find the best talent and the best moral stuff in the country ready at hand for making really efficient school-masters.

However, with all the saving that could be effected by combined schools, there would still be, no doubt, a large expenditure at first; only let us call it by its right name; it is not expenditure, it is investment, and the best and most lucrative investment in the world. That is what I often preach to parents who think that the education of their children is too expensive. I do not say that education is not too expensive. It is often scandalously expensive. But I still maintain that it is far better to spend the money on the very best education that can be had than to leave to each child a thousand pounds more. The same should be preached all over the country, till the nation at large—which, after all, consists of so many parents—understands that it will receive far higher interest from capital spent on English education than from capital invested in the English, nay, in the Turkish funds. As foolish parents have to pay their children's debts, foolish nations have to spend for prisons and workhouses, nay, for lunatic asylums, what they might have spent on national education.

But it is not that only. Every nation at present is trying to improve its material by national education; and in the peaceful, but not the less fierce and determined, warfare of commercial competition, in the permanent international struggle for life, depend upon it, the worst-drilled, the worst-educated country will go to the wall. A man in these days who cannot read is like a blind man; a man who cannot write is like a deaf and dumb man. Are those the men whom England wants to rear?

Once show to the people of England what is right, and they will do it. Is England a poorer country than Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, or Italy? If all these countries tax themselves to the uttermost for compulsory and gratuitous education, is England to say, "I cannot afford it"? When slavery was to be abolished, did England count the cost? When, more lately, the army was to be relieved from the stigma of purchase, did Parliament shrink from paying the bill? Whatever the cost, sooner or later, the schools will have to be redeemed. England, in time of war, can bear an income tax of eighteenpence, and call it a flea-bite; the duties of peace, of peace granted to this country by a kind Providence, are as sacred as the duties of war; and if Englishmen have once made up their mind that national education is a national duty, they will think as little of repudiating that national duty as of repudiating the national debt.

It may take some years before all this is realized; but the higher your ideal of national education the better. A man without ideals is a poor creature; a nation without national ideals is poorer still.

I hear it often said that England should do for national education what Germany has done; what Italy is doing. No; that is not enough. We have done our best in Germany, but our best is but poor work. Our difficulties are enormous. Who is to pay for schools and school-masters, such as they ought to be? The soil of the greater part of Germany is poor, and therefore the country will never be rich. Besides, we may do what we like, we shall always live between two symplegades,—between France on one side, and Russia on the other; and we shall always have to spend our best energies in self-defence. There is the strongest feeling among the statesmen of Germany that the greatest efforts will have to be made for improving our national education; only what we want for it is, what we are not likely to get, a long peace, and a Bismarck and Moltke rolled up into one minister of public instruction. In England you have everything, and there is no reason why your national education should not be as much ahead of that of Germany, as the education of Germany is of that of China. You have money, you have peace, you have public spirit, and you have, what is best of all, practical religion; I mean you still do a thing, however much you may dislike it, because you believe it is the will of God. Well, then, invest your money, utilize your peace, rouse your public spirit, and convince the world that one-half, three-fourths, nine-tenths of real practical religion is—education, national education, compulsory, and, it may be, gratuitous education.—*Contemporary Review*.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

A GLIMPSE AT THE CLERGY.

SCENE:—A minister's study: Mandel seated writing. Enter Terrell, a Radical.

TERRELL.

Good-morning, Mandel! Is your sermon done?

MANDEL.

But just begun. What else can you expect? I tell you, Terrell, 'tis no easy task To grind out two fresh sermons every week, And serve meanwhile as dry-nurse to my flock, Chuck every parish baby 'neath the chin, And pray with toothless grannies by the score, Visit the sick and all who are bereaved, Take tea with some new family each night, Poison my stomach with that heavy cake Of which each housewife has a special kind, Run two or more dull prayer-meetings a week, And, worse than all, endure the martyrdom Of gabbling nonsense at the sociables For three long hours (and at each end a prayer!), And hearing how the mothers' meeting goes, And what's the state of Ann Eliza's cough, And "how much good" some silly sermon did! With all this constant strain of petty calls I get no time to think, much less to read, And I'm fast losing all the brains I had.

TERRELL.

Why do you do it then? Why not confine Yourself to pulpit exercise alone? Let Deacons A. and B. go through the flock And give the required grins and silly words Which make a man acceptable to most.

MANDEL.

Ah! That is quite impossible, my friend, A minister might preach as did St. Paul; But were he not what's called a "social man," Did he not with the women make small-talk, Get up some festival, or, worse than that, Some picnic for the church and Sunday-school, He would be called cold, intellectual; "Good preacher? Yes, but O! so far away! His sermons do not touch my heart, because, Because, you see, he don't come round to tea, And make himself as lively as he ought. Some evenings he just stays at home and reads!"

TERRELL.

How often can the last be said of you?

MANDEL.

Not more than twice a month, the more's the pity. To-night I have my hardest task of all.

TERRELL.

What's that?

MANDEL.

A teachers' meeting. You can judge How I must feel to calmly sit and hear Ideas advanced upon some Bible verse At which I roar in secret here alone! At present we're in Genesis, where God Descends and walks one day in Mamre's plain, Sits down and eats with good old Abraham, Who kills a calf to entertain Him with! My people take all this for very fact; Conceive of the Omnipotent as one Who has like form and feelings with themselves; Believe the world was made in just a week, Or else adopt that silly subterfuge Of saying that the "Days" were ages vast, When it is plain the writer had in mind A very day, and had no other thought. They hold, too, that the rainbow is a sign Of no more flood, hung up at times by God; And should one talk of light's refracted rays, They would snuff heresy and shake their heads. They smile a little at old Jonah's fate, But would not venture to dispute the tale, Because 'tis Holy Writ. This shows you how I must be tortured in my secret soul By seeing all these superstitious myths Believed in as reality to-day.

TERRELL.

Why not instruct them better? Why not say Precisely what you think? 'Tis better far Than to keep on repeating Eastern tales All faith in which you long ago have lost. Fling Verbal Inspiration to the winds! Proclaim the Bible to be what it is,— A history of Jewish thoughts and deeds From mythical to more historic times. Nothing is gained by acting thus a part, Pretending to believe what you do not. You might be helping onward the good time When superstition's reign shall be no more. But now you clog the wheels of liberal thought.

MANDEL.

I cannot, Terrell; I am fettered now By social claims,—a wife and family. I am not rich and cannot risk my place, By trying to infuse my own ideas Into the thoughtless, superstitious minds Of most of those who constitute my flock. The masses are not ready for the truth. Long practice of receiving all their creed From pious ancestors of Pilgrim stock, Without a question or a single doubt, Relieves them of all independent thought, And makes them follow blindly on like sheep. Why should I venture to disturb their faith, Or give them doubts of what they've learned from youth?

TERRELL.

For love of truth! It should be your delight

To help these weaker minds to firmer thought;
To rid them of those dark, distressing creeds
Whose monstrous errors trouble many souls.
Believe me, you will find a ready soil
In which to drop your seed. Men do not live
And read in this enlightened age for naught.
Come, Mandel, be a man! Throw off this cloak!
Stand boldly forth and speak your honest thought!
So shall you win respect and confidence
From all whom you will lead into the light.

(One knocks).

MANDEL.

(Enter Danforth).

Come in!

Ah, Danforth, it is you. Good-day!
You know my friend here, Terrell. We just now
Were speaking of this holy work of ours.
How goes it with you? Are your sermons done?

DANFORTH.

Yes, by God's grace, I have them finished now.
It has been hard to do much this hot week;
But Jesus gave me strength, and I have been
Supported by my all-inspiring theme.

TERRELL.

What is it, then, which has so moved your soul?

DANFORTH.

Hell, and damnation of all guilty men.

TERRELL.

What, such a fiery subject for July!
'Tis in bad taste. The season's too extreme.
Leave it till next December, when the thought
Is less exhausting to the human mind.

DANFORTH.

How can you jest, sir, on a theme so full
Of dreadful warning to the human race?
For my part I can think of nothing else.
The awful, endless doom which surely waits
For all who do not place their faith in Christ
Rings in my ears and rends my very soul.

TERRELL.

Stay, let me ask you plainly. You believe
That everlasting punishment will be
The fate of all who in this scanty life
Have sinned and not believed on Jesus Christ?

DANFORTH.

I do most firmly, for my Savior said -
Distinctly and repeatedly that this
Should be the portion of the wicked soul.
Believing thus, I let no occasion pass
To warn all persons of their threatened doom.
But oh, alas! What treatment do I meet?
Men laugh at me. The members of my church
Are leaving me, complaining that I paint
Too forcibly the terrors of the law.

TERRELL.

What think you, Mandel? Do you hold this view
Which makes of God a great Inquisitor?

MANDEL.

Not I! That dreadful doctrine has gone by.

DANFORTH.

But it is in the Bible.

TERRELL.

And your church
Has not expelled it from its printed creed.

MANDEL (hesitatingly).

Christ spoke in figures when he talked of Hell,
And Revelation is too strongly drawn.
The doctrine, it is true, stands in the creed,
But it is only a dead letter there.

TERRELL.

Then blot it out! Why cling to idle words
In which no man has longer any faith?
Dare you, dear Mandel, boldly rise and say
In public that this doctrine is absurd,
Unjust, enormous, horrible, and false?

MANDEL.

No, I confess I dare not. As I said,
Times are not ripe yet for a sudden change;
And the rejection of this would involve
A great deal of uneasiness and pain.

TERRELL.

But Danforth says his people are enraged
Because he preaches Hell in all its force;
While you confess you do not dare to state
The contrary of this. In what a plight
Must all your churches be, if this be so?
Still clinging to dead letters and ideas
As fossil and uncouth as mastodons!
And yet objecting sharply if they are
Presented fairly to their view! How long
Can such a state of things maintain its hold?

DANFORTH (in prayer).

How long, O Lord, how long?

TERRELL.

Another point:

Do you indeed believe that there exists
An evil Spirit, terrible and vast,
Whom God permits to tempt his children here
And lure them down to sin, and death, and Hell?
And do you further hold that this Arch-Fiend
Has countless emissaries at his call,
Who roam about the world and haunt the souls
Of good and pure ones, whom they tempt to sin?
In short, do you believe in Satan's imps?

DANFORTH.

Alas! I do and must. My sinful soul

Is daily torn by struggles with the Fiend;
And oftentimes evil thoughts arise within,
Which cannot but be caused by wicked imps.

TERRELL.

What say you, Mandel? Is't your doctrine too?

MANDEL.

A thousand times, No! Thank the Lord, I'm free
From such a dreadful incubus of fear
As would be caused by such a horrid creed!
Why! 'Tis that dogma which not long ago
Caused our good ancestors to burn alive
And torture with unutterable woes
Those who were but suspected to be held
Possession of by one of Satan's imps!

DANFORTH.

And yet it is distinctly taught by Christ.

TERRELL.

Aye, so it is. There, Danforth, you are right.
If anything is clearly, plainly taught
In all of the New Testament, 'tis this:
That Satan holds this world in his domain;
That here he roams about with all his train,
Like a great "roaring lion" with its cubs,
And lies in wait for every human soul.
Christ teaches this distinctly. In his words
(If they are well reported) we may find
Dozens of places where he speaks of imps
As dwelling in or striving for the soul.
You, Mandel, in rejecting such ideas
Are quite in sympathy with common-sense,
And the enlightened spirit of the age.
But Danforth holds, no doubt, the Bible view.
Therefore again I say, why not confess
That here your Bible is once more at fault?
Wipe out such nonsense from your Church's creed,
Which neither you nor half your Church believe!

MANDEL.

Ah! Terrell, 'tis an easy thing for you
To calmly sit and bid me speak the truth.
If you but knew the dreadful pangs of doubt
In which I fear to cast my people's souls!
And I might lose my place and thus expose
My wife—

TERRELL.

You think I do not understand
The anguish of a soul which is in doubt?
You should know better, Mandel, when you think
Of what my life's sad history has been.
Was I not born and nurtured in the faith?
And was I not the "child of many prayers"?
Nay, more, so cloudless was my sky of faith
That I prepared, like both of you, to preach.
But with my study came the germs of thoughts
Which, growing stronger as I studied more,
First made me question whether all these words
Which I repeated glibly might be true.
And step by step in patient, constant strife,
Fighting my doubts as firmly as I might,
I saw at last my creed begin to shake.
Point after point was yielded, as the light
Of science and historical research
Poured in upon my scrutinizing gaze.
And one by one the landmarks of my faith
Went drifting by me, and I was alone,
Moving through darkness, though I knew not where!
For years I suffered a slow agony.
My reason drove me onward, but my heart
Clung fondly to those teachings of the past,
Which I had learned beside my mother's knee;
Until I came forth fairly from that curse
Of iron dogmas wrought by brains of men,
Whose thoughts the Church has slavishly received,
Nor looked for others. It has cost me much
Of this world's gain, but I speak not of that.
The wealth of the whole world could not induce
Nor tempt me for one moment to go back
To faith in those old relics of the past.
Now I breathe freely, and I should but die,
Were I shut up again to such a creed!

DANFORTH.

Oh! may the Lord have mercy on your soul,
And upon all who doubt his Holy Writ!
To whom is hid the sight of burning Hell,
And who can speak of Satan with a jest!

TERRELL.

Danforth, I honor you at least for this,
That you are resolute in preaching that
Which you believe as true. My deep regret
Is that you hold such views of God and man
As your great-grandchildren will read with smiles.
Mandel, I pity you with all my heart,
For you persist in staying in the Church
Without endeavoring to give it light.
You ought to be the centre of a force
Which should, judiciously applied, bring round,
Without too quick a wrench of old beliefs,
The glorious liberty of sacred truth.
Will you not promise me to do it now?

(Taking his hand.)

MANDEL (turning away his face).

I cannot, Terrell. Urge me thus no more.

DANFORTH (going out).

I'll pray for both of you two times a day.

TERRELL (aside).

These two men represent the most of those
Who stand to-day within the modern Church:
Fossils and bigots, Bible-worshippers,
Or, when enlightened, featherers of their nests!

J. L. S.

BOSTON, May 25, 1876.

NOTES OF LIBERAL PROGRESS IN MILWAUKEE.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

A few weeks since a "Glimpse" told the readers of THE INDEX that "Chicago had a Sunday Lecture Society," giving briefly from a report of that society an account of the average attendance upon the lectures, with the names of several of the more prominent lecturers. While reading this notice, I wondered why some one interested in liberal progress had not forwarded to THE INDEX a report of the Sunday Lecture Society of Milwaukee. If it be not too late to do this now, I will say that the experiment of Sunday lectures proved a positive success in this city. Although they met with some opposition, and a few Orthodox ministers and church-goers used their utmost influence to suppress it, and at one time almost compelled the society to succumb to this pressure, it is a matter of congratulation, not only to the "society" but to the liberal-minded at large, that the movement was triumphant. The lectures gained steadily in popularity, were largely attended, gave poor people grand opportunities to hear the most popular and talented lecturers in the field, and moreover proved a financial success. The course closed under the most pleasant and favorable circumstances. Two of our ministers were present upon the occasion of the closing lecture, and took the opportunity of speaking their conviction that the Sunday lectures were a power for good. These were Rev. Myron Reed, of the Fourth Congregational Church, and Rev. G. E. Gordon, of the First Unitarian Church of Milwaukee. It is but just in this connection to state that one of the strongest impulses to continue the course in the day of the disheartenment of the society was given by Rev. Mr. Gordon, in a brief but manly and spirited exhortation at one of the lectures. His appeal, backed by the pecuniary aid of the enthusiastic liberals present, turned the tide, and from that day the Sunday afternoon lecture was a perfect success. The society have already held meetings for the purpose of reorganizing and arranging for a course of lectures for the coming season, and Sunday lectures promise to become an established and recognized fact in Milwaukee.

The second annual meeting of the Second Liberal League of Milwaukee was held last evening, June 13. From the time of the formation of this League nothing has been heard of it, or from it, until the past week, when the announcement for this meeting was made. The purposes of the meeting were to elect officers for the ensuing year and to appoint delegates to represent the League in the Centennial Congress of Liberals, to take place in Philadelphia. A cordial invitation was extended to all persons favorable to the complete separation of Church and State, the entire secularization of our government, and the consistent and thorough carrying out of the principles of religious liberty.

The attendance upon the meeting was not large, but there was a manifest spirit and purpose to aid in carrying out the "Demands of Liberalism" as set forth in THE INDEX. That such a meeting could be publicly called and its avowed purposes plainly stated, be attended by representatives of the best classes of society, and be marked by the same decorum pervading any public meeting called for any religious or other purpose, is an indication of the great progress of liberalism in the last twenty-five years. After preliminary reading of the "Demands of Liberalism," and a few remarks by the President of the League, Mr. R. C. Spencer, the Rev. G. E. Gordon addressed the meeting. He stated in substance that he fully indorsed all these "Demands"; that many of the views of this platform he had held for years. Mr. Gordon forcibly urged organization and action, that we might meet the enemy on their own ground. The tone of the remarks made by this gentleman was full of the progressive spirit, and happily pertinent to the theme and the occasion emphasized by "entire sympathy with the objects of the meeting."

The President read a letter from Rabbi Spitz of Temple Emanuel, Milwaukee, who was prevented by official duty from being present, but who expressed his full sympathy with the objects of the meeting.

Mr. Spencer remarked, after the reading of this letter, that he had conversed with several of the ministers of the city upon the subject of these "Demands of Liberalism," who said that they believed entirely in the justice of the "Demands," but did not think it best at present to attend the meetings of the League. (A confused, suppressed murmur followed this last remark quite noticeable. It was like an "audible smile" at these pietists' "policy.") These politic preachers are the least excusable of any. With a knowledge of things as they are, they continue to preach of things as they were. Having escaped themselves in a greater or less degree from superstitions, they keep up a seeming of faith. They even think this course quite meritorious by virtue of their regard for their hearers, whom they credit with the incapability of receiving and accepting what they can receive and accept. This consideration toward the "pew" is highly complimentary, to say the least, and the pulpit would find, were it to test the capacity of the pews with a little more heroic courage, that they were fully prepared to receive and accept the most progressive thought, provided it were put with positiveness in place of policy.

Mr. Gordon, in contradistinction to those other ministers who believe in justice, but "do not think it best at present" to declare themselves on the side of those who not only believe in it, but are willing to fight for it and bear contumely for it, deserves the heartiest recognition from all the liberals in our city. This young minister is a hard worker in his church, and, although almost a stranger in Milwaukee, identifies himself with every public-spirited movement in a straightforward, hearty fashion. His thought is for

the most part liberal and clearly outspoken, yet he adheres to many methods in his church that savor of superstition. I don't think, with a lady whom I overheard remarking after the close of the meeting last evening, "that Mr. Gordon cannot honestly stand in his pulpit and on the platform of the League at the same time," because I believe him to be as honest in the conservative convictions to which he strangely and contradictorily clings as he is in the extreme radicalism he fearlessly promulgates. And so the veriest radical of us all will try to forgive him for the communions and baptisms, prayers and service-reading, and the like, in his church, when he comes outside of it and heroically strikes hands with the leaders of the most pronounced liberal movement of the time, trusting he also will try to be forgiving for so much personal mention.

A preamble and resolution was also read by Mr. Gordon, the purport of which was to send a petition from Milwaukee to Philadelphia against the unjust and inhospitable closing of the Exposition on Sunday.

A resolution was offered by Mr. Carl Doerflinger to the effect of urging the Liberal Leagues of Milwaukee to fight against the God-in-the-Constitution Amendment. These resolutions were adopted.

After the election of officers and of delegates, a collection was taken to defray the expenses of the meeting and the surplus voted to be sent to the Congress fund. Several new names were added to the roll of the members of the League, among them the names of a number of young men,—a favorable sign.

This account of the first meeting of any importance of the Second Liberal League may seem of little moment to the larger working leagues throughout the country. Yet it may be of interest to unorganized liberals, and may give an impulse to them to make even a small beginning. No one can tell what may be the outgrowth of even trifling beginnings.

It would be an undeserved slight, if among the notices of liberal progress the name of the *Spectroscope* should be omitted, a weekly liberal paper published by Mrs. Marion V. Dudley in Milwaukee. This paper partakes of the same healthy courage that stimulated the Sunday Lecture Society and the Liberal League. Its columns are open to the discussion of every subject, and no contribution is refused on account of its opinions. With a preference for radical articles, it will not refuse those which are conservative.

These few hastily penned notes will indicate to the readers of THE INDEX the status of liberal thought and effort in a Western city. The small number in attendance upon the meeting of the League must not be taken as the limit of liberal people in Milwaukee. They can be counted by scores and hundreds who have dropped away from churches and creeds. There has, however, been no attempt heretofore to organize the freethinking, freedom-loving portion of the community. Once an organization is effected and meetings are held, either for active work, or mental stimulus, or social intercourse, there hundreds will gather together, and there may come from some small beginning something which shall mean pleasant and profitable gatherings, such as those in England which Mrs. Besant so delightfully describes. Spite of my admiration both for Mr. Stevens and his ideal individualism, I see no other way to make the radical element useful or a power than to combine interest and effort, and urge the principles of justice and religious liberty with "a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether."

I await with interest the action of the Congress of Liberals at Philadelphia. I am sanguine that the course taken by that Congress will stamp itself upon this Centenary anniversary of the birthday of a republic. The questions at issue and to be considered by this Congress are so indissolubly wedded to the ideas of independence which were the germ of our national existence, that the outcome of their agitation must mean and can only mean a grander, truer Declaration of Independence than that which nations are now meeting together to celebrate.

AMELIA W. BATE.

MILWAUKEE, June 14.

* MR. GLADSTONE AND THEISM.

We cheerfully comply with the request of the Rev. John Page Hopps to publish the subjoined in THE INDEX.—ED.

Dear Sir:—Speaking in your *Contemporary Review* article of the "Theist" (with whom you incline to identify or class the Unitarian), you truly say that he "recognizes one Almighty Governor of the world," who has "placed us under discipline in the world"; but you also say that "in respect to the world unseen, and to its Author," "he is doomed, or counselled, to begin anew," and that, in regard to these, he does not "profit by the vast capital which has accumulated by the labor and experience of his race."

You say "he inherited from no one, and no one will inherit from him." And you put that as the Theist's "theory" and his "goal." Then, contrasting Theism with Ultramontaniam, the Historical School and the Protestant Evangelical School, you say that the method of knowledge under the former is "simply renewable upon a lease to each man for his life."

Give me leave to point out that to some of the most intelligent of your readers this appears to be an absolute reversing of the facts. It is the Catholic or the Evangelical who practically learns nothing from the vast accumulations of the race; who takes his religious knowledge as a man takes a lease of an old house,—for his life; and who has nothing of his own to leave to his successors. The Theist, on the contrary, is precisely the man who does profit by the religious accumulations of the race, who does inherit these accumulations up to the latest moment of his

own career, who does leave an inheritance of fresh thought and feeling to his successors, and who, so far from simply leasing a religious house made to his hands by Catholic or Protestant builders, feels it to be his duty and delight to use up the old material in providing a home adapted to the needs of to-day. The Theist is absolutely free to do this, and he is a Theist simply because he declines the order of Catholicism and Evangelicalism,—to learn nothing and forget nothing. He holds that the rich accumulations of religious thought in nations other than the Hebrew, and in connection with religious experiments other than Christian, should be profited by; he holds that the last eighteen hundred years have added much to our grounds of knowledge, to our material, to our methods, to our light, to our capacity, and even to our possibilities of reverent and worthy conceptions of Deity; and he therefore declines to abide by some old things, and decides to hold by many things that are new. In other words, he declines to do the very things you say he does; he declines to neglect the "vast capital which has been accumulated by the labor and experience of his race"; he declines to refuse to inherit from his predecessors and to leave nothing to his successors; he declines to simply renew the lease of the old house for his life. If, however, by inheriting nothing it is meant that the Theist does not begin with a store of final and infallible statements which have been handed down from the past, and can neither be contradicted nor surpassed, then the statement is true; but, in that case, the statement only amounts to the assertion, which no Theist would wish to deny,—that the search after God is, in his judgment, an unclosed chapter in human history. In a similar sense, it may also be true that he is "doomed" to "begin anew," but that is only because he believes in progress even in relation to our knowledge of God; his starting-point, however, is determined by the goal already reached, and his own race is consecrated and sweetened by the loyalty of his own free search for truth.

I know these views as to your statement are held by very many, who, just because they have the greatest possible admiration for your genius and an equal confidence in your moral earnestness, all the more wonder that in this important matter you appear to have turned the facts upside down.

Heartily yours, JOHN PAGE HOPPS.
CROSSHILL, Glasgow, June 1, 1876.

THERE IS A CLERICAL PERSON over in Newark who, being greatly interested in the due observation of Sunday, goes from shop to shop on that day purchasing unlawful beverages and cigars. When Monday dawns he complains of the law-breaking vendors, who are duly fined. This gentleman is described as an "Agent of the Temperance Brotherhood." He is also a Methodist minister, and at a meeting last Monday of such clergymen, he was taken to task for his conduct. There seems to have been no action decisive of this matter of casuistry, as some rebuked and others applauded the self-sacrificing zeal of the brother. One point does not appear to have been raised. If the earnestness of this volunteer detective should result in a well-marked case of inebriety, would he be liable to a fine and costs? Or would he be permitted to plead his excellent motive? We do not mean to dispute this, but we fear that the general sentiment of society would be rather against the conduct of such a philanthropist. Nobody much likes professional informers. They may be useful, but they are not generally believed. There ought to be some better way of closing the gin-shops of Newark on Sunday. When men do evil that good may come of it, they are greatly in danger of doing it for its own sake, especially when their efforts take an alcoholic direction.—N. Y. Tribune.

"SOMETHING are the end,
Some work of noble note may yet be done.
'Tis not too late to seek a newer world—
Made weak by time and fate, but strong in will,
To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield."—Tennyson.

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Joseph Barnsdall, " "	2.00
S. R. Urbino, Boston	2.00
L. Prang, Boston	5.00
W. H. Studley, Boston	2.00
H. C. Watson, " "	1.00
W. Warren, " "	2.00
A Friend, " "	1.00
Wm. Dudgeon, New Hartford, N. Y.	5.00
Chas. Coffin, New Bedford	1.00
Elizur Wright, Boston	5.00
C. Wheeler, Boston	1.00
Mrs. E. B. Chace, Valley Falls, R. I.	10.00
W. W. Stout, Vienna, Ill.	1.00
George Iles, Montreal, Can.	3.00
Dr. H. Nye, Enon Valley, Pa.	1.00
A. Hiller, " "	1.00
F. Alsdorf, " "	1.00
C. Fischer, " "	1.00
D. A. Robertson, " "	1.00
A. Folsom, Boston	5.00
C. Vonnegut, Indianapolis, Ind.	5.00
C. Vonnegut, Jr., " "	2.50
W. Steinwedell, Quincy, Ill.	1.00
H. O. Glattfield, " "	1.00
A. H. Bates, " "	1.50
Frank Cheney, South Manchester, Ct.	5.00
R. Frisbie, Van Wert, O.	1.00
Liberal Association, Smith Centre, Kan.	1.00
B. M. Smith, Minneapolis, Minn.	2.00
G. Mannfeld, Indianapolis, Ind.	5.00
Ivan Panin, Boston	1.00
D. B. Humphrey, New Bedford	5.00
J. W. Scott, Morrill, Kan.	.50
J. W. Goodrich, Amesbury, Mass.	2.50
John A. Nowell, Boston	5.00
John C. Haynes, Boston	5.00
A. W. Stevens, Cambridgeport, Mass.	5.00
L. A. Saxon, New Orleans, La.	1.00
John Abbott, " "	1.00

June 27.....\$760.33
CARRIE BURNHAM KILGORE, Ch. Com. Phil. L. L.
605 Walnut St., Philadelphia.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JUNE 24.

K. Schemann, \$4.80; W. H. Dyke, \$2; Robt. Bailey, \$3; Mrs. M. E. Martin, \$4.80; G. A. Atwood, \$1; Feodor Boas, \$3.20; C. D. Van Vechten, 25 cents; Louis Belrose, \$23.25; Mrs. J. Clark, 10 cents; M. E. Sawyer, \$3.20; T. A. Hanson, \$3.20; E. Q. Ingersoll, \$2; H. Stevenson, 25 cents; Anna T. Wood, \$3.20; L. J. King, \$1; C. Edelheim, \$3.20; G. A. Mannfeld, \$3.20; G. A. Adams, \$3.20; J. Hendrie, \$1; A. H. Davis, \$3.20; T. Tasker, \$3; J. M. P. Bachelier, \$2.10; L. T. Ives, \$20; B. R. Tucker, 50 cents; G. W. Warren, 60 cents; A. Hansner, 10 cents; N. Millington, \$1; A. P. Rose, \$4; Wm. Fels, \$3.25; T. R. Davis, \$3; H. Gerson, \$2; N. W. Covell, \$3.20; M. L. Linton, \$1.50; J. M. Hawks, 20 cents; W. H. Carruth, 15 cents; Dyer D. Lum, \$3.80; J. G. Dodge, \$3.20.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are not on hand will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

CENTENNIAL CONGRESS OF LIBERALS.

CASH RECEIPTS.

Mar. 10.	Received of F. A. Angell, Passaic, N. J.	\$5.00
" 13.	" M. Einstein, Titusville, Pa.	2.00
" 13.	" W. Barnsdall, " "	2.00
" 13.	" E. Whitcher, Boston.	5.00
" 13.	" J. Davidson, Alfred Centre, N.Y.	1.00
" 21.	" Jas. Dillaway, Somerville, Mass.	2.00
" 21.	" M. L. Hawley, Marathon, N.Y.	3.00
" 21.	" R. H. Ranney, Boston.	6.00
" 21.	" F. E. Abbot, Boston.	25.00
" 21.	" C. A. Gurley, Pulaaki, N. Y.	50.00
" 25.	" Emily J. Leonard, Meriden, Ct.	10.00
" 25.	" S. R. Urbino, W. Newton, Mass.	5.00
" 25.	" Jehu Hiatt, Winchester, Ind.	5.00
" 25.	" A Friend.	1.00
" 25.	" C. H. Horach, Dover, N.H.	2.50
" 25.	" Edw. Wigglesworth, Jr., Boston.	15.00
April 1.	" T. W. Higginson, Newport, R.I.	3.00
" 1.	" Israel Betz, Oakville, Pa.	5.00
" 1.	" Mrs. M. P. Southworth, Cleveland, O.	5.00
" 3.	" S. Warbasse, La Fayette, N.J.	2.00
" 3.	" A Friend in New York City.	50.00
" 3.	" Sank City (Wis.) Liberal League.	20.00
" 3.	" R. B. Stone, Bradford, Pa.	5.00
" 3.	" J. D. Lange, New York City.	5.00
" 3.	" Jane P. Titcomb, Boston.	2.00
" 3.	" Alex. Cochran, Franklin, Pa.	5.00
" 3.	" B. B. Griswold, Madison, N. J.	10.00
" 3.	" Warren Griswold, " "	5.00
" 3.	" C. Nash and sister, Worcester, Mass.	4.00
" 3.	" F. E. Nipher, St. Louis.	2.00
" 3.	" K. Hoegh, La Crosse, Wis.	3.00
" 10.	" H. K. Oliver, Jr., Boston.	5.00
" 13.	" S. R. Honey, Newport, R. I.	3.00
" 13.	" A. S. Brown, Worcester, Mass.	5.00
" 13.	" C. B. Peckham, Newport, R. I.	3.00
" 13.	" Geo. W. Julian, Irvington, Ind.	1.00
" 13.	" Alex. Blak, Winthrop, Iowa.	2.50
" 13.	" Jas. Eddy, Providence, R. I.	10.00
" 13.	" G. P. Reynolds (for "Liberals of Shelby, O.")	8.00
" 17.	" J. O. Bentley, Philadelphia.	5.00
" 17.	" J. W. Sulist, Salem, Ohio.	5.75
" 17.	" J. S. Bonnell, " "	.80
" 17.	" M. Schlesinger, Albany.	5.00
" 17.	" O. B. Frothingham, New York.	25.00
" 25.	" Friends in Bristol Co., Mass.	90.00
" 25.	" Mrs. N. H. Crowell, Jefferson, O.	5.00
" 25.	" W. H. Crowell, " "	5.00
" 25.	" J. F. Ruggles, Bronson, Mich.	1.00
" 25.	" Mary E. Dewey, Sheffield, Mass.	2.00
" 25.	" C. Doerflinger, Milwaukee.	2.00
" 25.	" J. A. Heintzelman, Phila.	5.00
May 1.	" D. G. Crandon, Chelsea, Mass.	1.00
" 1.	" S. R. Koshler, Boston.	3.00
" 1.	" Geo. M. Murray, Jersey City.	1.80
" 1.	" H. T. Marshall, Brockton, Mass.	5.00
" 1.	" C. A. Simpson, Saxonville, " "	5.00
" 1.	" J. Copeland, Humboldt Basin, Oregon.	5.00
" 15.	" B. F. Underwood, Thorndike, Mass.	5.00
" 15.	" "An English Brother" (25).	27.25
" 15.	" John Gillies, St. Louis.	1.00
" 15.	" J. W. Frank, Dyar, Iowa.	4.00
" 15.	" L. Lowenthal, Rochester, N. Y.	5.00
" 15.	" M. Landsberg, Rochester, N. Y.	5.00
" 15.	" A. Walther, Brooklyn.	2.00
" 15.	" E. R. Brown, Elmwood, Ill.	2.00
" 15.	" M. Altman, New York City.	20.00
" 15.	" R. E. Grimshaw, Minneapolis, Minn.	5.00
" 15.	" Adam Wolfe, Fort Byron, N. Y.	3.00
" 15.	" F. P. Hicks, " "	1.00
" 15.	" Benj. Gerrish, Jr., Bordeaux, France.	5.00
" 15.	" W. L. Foster, East Stoughton, Mass.	5.00
" 15.	" W. Eysenbach, Lima, O.	.50
" 15.	" C. H. Phillips, Boston.	3.00
" 15.	" W. P. Phillips, " "	1.00
" 15.	" H. S. Williams, " "	5.00
" 15.	" Mrs. Orrin Gillett, Parma, Mich.	5.00
" 15.	" D. Sandman, Barre Mills, Wis.	2.00
" 22.	" C. M. Dennison, New York City.	5.00
" 22.	" James McArthur, Chicago.	20.00
" 22.	" C. H. Shepard, Brooklyn.	5.00
" 22.	" Liberal League, Toledo, Iowa.	10.00
" 22.	" "Boston.	26.10
" 22.	" Mrs. A. L. Richmond.	5.00
" 30.	" L. Scott, Waynesburgh, O.	1.00
" 30.	" E. R. McKenzie, Charlestown, Ms.	1.00
" 30.	" C. K. Whipple, Brookline, Mass.	1.00
" 30.	" E. B. Moore, Charlestown, Mass.	1.50
" 30.	" E. H. Warren, Chelmsford, Mass.	2.00
" 30.	" D. Deming, South Bend, Ind.	1.00
" 30.	" S. C. Mason, Moberly, Mo.	1.00
" 30.	" H. C. Hanson, Barnesville, Ga.	.50
" 30.	" A. M. Dent, Weston, West Va.	1.00
" 30.	" F. M. Vaughan, Middleboro, Mass.	1.00
" 30.	" M. P. Barber, Pleasantville, Pa.	1.00
" 30.	" "Cash," Phoenix, N. Y.	1.00
" 30.	" G. Cope, West Chester, Pa.	1.00
" 30.	" Wm. Dudgeon, New Hartford, N. Y.	5.00
" 30.	" H. Andriessen, Beaver, Pa.	2.00
" 30.	" E. A. Spring, Perth Amboy, N. J.	.50
" 30.	" A. Morrison, Braintree, Mass.	5.00
" 30.	" G. Lieberknecht, Geneseo, Ill.	1.00
" 30.	" Sophia B. Carter, Andover, Mass.	2.00
" 30.	" "Widow's Mite," Portage City, Wis.	2.00
" 30.	" H. C. Southworth, Stoughton, Ms.	1.00
" 30.	" B. Halliwell, Sandy Spring, Md.	2.00
" 30.	" E. P. Hassinger, Brodhead, Wis.	5.00
" 30.	" D. B. Hale, Collinsville, Ct.	1.00
" 30.	" Rev. J. S. Richards, Liberty, Me.	.10
" 30.	" H. D. Maxson, Amherst College.	1.00
" 30.	" W. B. Studley, Rockland, Mass.	5.00
" 30.	" J. W. Marshall, Plattsburgh, Neb.	2.00
" 30.	" Dr. C. Wesselhoft, Boston.	1.00
" 30.	" C. A. Greenleaf, Chicopee, Mass.	.50
" 30.	" L. Goepfer, Union Village, O.	1.00
" 30.	" W. C. Fuller, Willimantic, Ct.	5.00
" 30.	" Dr. G. E. Francis, Worcester, Ms.	1.00
" 30.	" W. W. Baker, Boston.	5.00
" 30.	" James Parton, Newburyport.	25.00
" 30.	" Dr. J. D. Thorley, Steel Works, Pa.	1.00
" 30.	" H. S. Bacon, Milford, Mass.	5.00
" 30.	" E. C. Darling, Ipswich, " "	2.00
" 30.	" "Friend," Chelsea, " "	1.00
" 30.	" Matilda Goddard, Boston.	10.00
" 30.	" "Cash," Boston.	1.00
" 30.	" Dr. W. P. Wesselhoft, Boston.	2.00
" 30.	" P. A. Chamberlin, Wauseon, O.	1.00
" 30.	" Albertina von Arnim, Longwood, Mass.	3.00
" 30.	" D. P. Wilcox, Yankton, Dak. Terr.	1.00
" 30.	" C. Lohmann & Son, Edwardsville, Ill.	1.00
" 30.	" J. Blain, St. James, Mo.	2.00
" 30.	" H. T. Wright, Washington Hts. Ill.	2.00
" 30.	" P. H. Macgill, Baltimore, Md.	10.00
" 30.	" C. T. Pratt, Pawtucket, R. I.	3.00
" 30.	" J. N. Clark, E. Somerville, Mass.	3.00
" 30.	" T. J. Atwood, Albion, Wis.	1.00
" 30.	" L. Frang & Co., Boston.	10.00

May 30.	Received of W. S. Cunningham, Vienna, O.	\$1.00
" 30.	" C. F. Paige, Boston.	2.00
" 30.	" D. E. Mayo, Chelsea, Mass.	2.00
" 30.	" Jos. Post, Old Westbury, Mass.	2.00
" 30.	" Louise M. Thurston, Lynn, Mass.	2.00
" 30.	" J. G. Richardson, Lake City, Minn.	5.00
" 30.	" G. M. Wood, Washington, D.C.	1.00
" 30.	" Liberals of Defiance, O.	17.00
" 30.	" Liberal League, Medina, O.	25.00
" 30.	" Liberal League, Minneapolis.	20.00
" 30.	" J. W. Cabot, Boston.	10.00
" 30.	" D. Ferguson, Waupun, Wis.	10.00
" 30.	" Mrs. H. Grinnell, New Milford, Pa.	1.00
" 30.	" Arethusa Hall, Northampton, Ms.	2.00
" 30.	" J. Scott, Dighton, Mass.	2.00
" 30.	" G. M. Wood, Washington, D. C.	1.00
" 30.	" Thos. Curtis, St. Louis.	1.00
" 30.	" F. Fradley, Brooklyn.	2.00
" 30.	" S. R. Smith, West Winfield, Ct.	5.00
" 30.	" Mr. and Mrs. J. C. Godfrey, Brooklyn.	10.00
June 6.	" Noah Green, New York.	1.00
" 6.	" P. Sidebotham, Fall River, Mass.	2.00
" 6.	" Mary H. L. Cabot, Boston.	1.00
" 6.	" L. Klingman, Buffalo.	2.50
" 6.	" M. A. Blanchard, Portland.	1.80
" 6.	" C. M. Dennison, Brooklyn.	1.00
" 6.	" J. Damon, Ipswich, Mass.	3.00
" 6.	" Cash, Haverhill, Mass.	.50
" 6.	" Dr. L. P. Babb, Eastport, Me.	2.00
" 6.	" Isaiah West, New Bedford, Ma.	1.00
" 6.	" Thos. Nye, Ridgeville, O.	1.00
" 6.	" J. W. Braley, New Bedford.	5.00
" 6.	" J. Keppler, New Frankfort, Mo.	2.00
" 6.	" Beth Hunt, Northampton, Mass.	2.00
" 6.	" Dr. E. B. Foote, New York.	5.00
" 6.	" C. M. Waddell, Argillite, Ky.	2.00
" 6.	" W. R. Morgan, New York.	10.00
" 6.	" C. M. Cuyler, Albany.	2.00
" 6.	" Elbur Wright, Boston.	10.00
" 6.	" B. B. Griswold, Madison, N. J.	2.00
" 6.	" C. Graeter, Vincennes, Ind.	2.00
" 6.	" W. E. Coleman, Leavenworth, Ka.	1.00
" 6.	" J. L. Cutler, Quilman, Ga.	5.00
" 6.	" J. Farnsworth, Fort Scott, Kan.	2.50
" 6.	" M. F. Whitehead, Jersey City, N. J.	2.50
" 6.	" G. Dimmock, Cambridge, Mass.	3.00
" 6.	" H. Lieber, Indianapolis.	5.00
" 6.	" D. B. Morton, Groton, N. Y.	5.00
" 6.	" F. Plimpton, Florence, Mass.	2.00
" 6.	" A. B. Hinchey, Burr Oak, Mich.	2.00
" 6.	" Z. S. Wallingford, Dover, N. H.	2.00
" 6.	" Dr. G. F. Matthes, New Bedford.	2.00
" 6.	" A. Schiller, Keokuk, Iowa.	5.00
" 6.	" M. Peckham, Utica, N. Y.	2.00
" 6.	" F. Looser, Brooklyn.	5.00
" 6.	" J. W. Frank, Dyar, Iowa.	5.00
" 6.	" J. Chappellsmith, New Harmony, Ind.	1.00
" 6.	" Mrs. M. Chappellsmith, New Harmony, Ind.	1.00
" 6.	" Susanna E. Hinkly, New Harmony, Ind.	1.00
" 6.	" Margaret Burns, New Harmony, Ind.	1.00
" 6.	" C. H. White, New Harmony, Ind.	1.00
" 6.	" J. C. Wheatcroft, New Harmony, Ind.	1.00
" 6.	" Wm. Green, Brooklyn.	5.00
" 6.	" M. Fleischmann, New York.	10.00
" 6.	" E. Eising, New York.	5.00
" 6.	" O. O. Friedlander, New York.	1.00
" 6.	" F. Dessaur, New York.	2.00
" 6.	" C. Dessaur, New York.	1.00
" 6.	" G. Riker, New Philadelphia, O.	3.00
" 6.	" Rabbi M. Samfield, Memphis.	2.00
" 6.	" M. S. Devereux, Irvington, N. Y.	2.00
" 6.	" E. B. Wolcott, Milwaukee.	2.00
" 6.	" R. M. Whipple, Chicago.	2.00
" 6.	" S. D. Bardwell, Shelburne Falls, Mass.	1.00
" 6.	" Mrs. L. C. Bardwell, Shelburne Falls, Mass.	1.00
" 6.	" W. D. Pitt, Groton, N. Y.	2.00
" 6.	" H. L. Green, Syracuse, N. Y.	1.00
" 6.	" E. D. Cowperthwaite, Washington	1.00
" 6.	" J. Wright, Rock Falls, Ill.	1.00
" 6.	" B. Breed, Lynn, Mass.	1.00
" 6.	" W. E. Lukens, Rock Falls, Ill.	1.00
" 6.	" A. Skinner, Ceresco, Mich.	1.00
" 6.	" F. H. Guitwits, Avoca, N. Y.	1.00
" 6.	" J. T. White, New York.	1.00
" 6.	" J. Maddock, New York.	1.00
" 6.	" B. Lindsey, Boston.	1.00
" 6.	" G. Billings, Chicopee, Mass.	1.00
" 6.	" O. K. Crosby, Syracuse, N. Y.	.50
" 6.	" J. Marsh, Northampton, Mass.	1.00
" 6.	" M. Shore, Litchfield, Ill.	.50
" 6.	" Dr. S. Wolfenstein, St. Louis.	1.00
" 6.	" Cash, Indianapolis.	1.00
" 6.	" I. P. Greenleaf, Boston.	1.00
" 6.	" J. Ahrens, Monticello, Ark.	.50
" 6.	" H. Ahrens, Longview, Ark.	.50
" 6.	" L. G. James, New York.	.50
" 6.	" J. Consalus, Troy, N. Y.	1.00
" 6.	" A. Keen, Duplain, Mich.	1.00
" 6.	" J. E. Sutton, Olathe, Kan.	1.00
" 6.	" R. B. Miller, Utica, N. Y.	1.00
" 6.	" H. H. Chase, Union City, Mich.	.50
" 6.	" T. Lamory, Concordia, Mo.	.50
" 6.	" T. Tibbets, Augusta, Me.	.50
" 13.	" F. Goodyear, Cortlandville, N.Y.	1.00
" 13.	" John Orth, Boston.	1.00
" 13.	" Henry Damon, Boston.	2.00
" 13.	" Jos. Warbasse, Newton, N. J.	5.00
" 13.	" E. E. Chapin, Rockford, Ill.	.25
" 13.	" T. Martin, W. Boylston, Ms.	1.00
" 13.	" H. B. Fletcher, W. Boylston, Ms.	.50
" 13.	" Nath. Little, Newbury, Ms.	1.00
" 13.	" E. R. Sanborn, Leavenworth, Kan.	1.00
" 13.	" W. H. Farrell, Leavenworth, Kan.	1.00
" 13.	" J. Reedy, Toledo, Iowa.	3.00
" 13.	" B. F. Horton, Dexter, Me.	1.00
" 13.	" W. F. Johnson, Cleveland, O.	6.80
" 13.	" T. J. Crouse, Clinton, N. Y.	1.00
" 13.	" R. S. Perrin, New York.	2.00
" 13.	" L. Lamott, Groton, N. Y.	2.00
" 13.	" F. G. Johnson, Towanda, Pa.	1.00
" 13.	" Rabbi A. Rosenspitz, Nashville.	1.00
" 13.	" E. D. Stark, Cleveland, O.	1.00
" 13.	" J. S. Thomson, Bloomington, Ill.	1.00
" 13.	" Mrs. J. N. Lyman, Columbus, O.	2.00
" 13.	" John Alexander, Shelby, O.	1.00
" 13.	" R. Pritchett, Fort Madison, Iowa.	2.00
" 13.	" Peter H. Clark, Cincinnati.	1.00
" 13.	" Geo. Lewis, Providence.	1.00
" 13.	" B. S. Hopkins, Providence.	2.00
" 13.	" J. S. Bonnell, Salem, O.	1.00
" 13.	" W. T. Menefee, Crittenden, Ky.	1.00
" 13.	" H. W. Gilbert, Philadelphia.	1.00
" 13.	" A Friend in Concord, Mass.	1.00
" 13.	" J. E. Oliver, Ithaca, N. Y.	5.00
" 13.	" Wm. J. Potter, New Bedford.	3.00
" 13.	" R. Wilkin, San Buenaventura, Cal.	2.00
" 13.	" W. S. Shepherd, San Buenaventura, Cal.	2.00
" 13.	" Jacob Hoffer, Cincinnati.	5.00
" 13.	" A. Braasch and friends, Mishicott, Wis.	5.00
" 13.	" W. F. Allen, Madison, Wis.	5.00

June 13.	Received of	L. J. Burch, Modoc, Col.	\$.25
" 13.	"	G. A. Hill and friends, San Francisco	5.00
" 13.	"	E. Bentley, Morgan City, La.	1.00
" 13.	"	L. A. Harbaugh, Toledo, Iowa.	3.00
" 13.	"	Cash, Cambridge, Mass.	.50
" 13.	"	E. Z. Penfield, New York.	5.00
" 13.	"	B. O. Old, Georgetown, Col.	1.00
" 13.	"	L. Liebmann, Brooklyn.	2.00
" 13.	"	W. Barnsdall, Titusville, Pa.	2.50
" 13.	"	Miss H. S. Ware, Boston.	5.00
" 13.	"	Eben Turk, Chelsea, Mass.	2.00
" 13.	"	W. H. Saxton, Oberlin, O.	1.80
" 13.	"	J. Miel, Decatur, Ill.	.60
" 13.	"	D. B. Schofield, Baker City, Or.	1.85
" 13.	"	J. C. Rued, San Francisco.	.50
" 13.	"	Jos. Barnsdall, Titusville, Pa.	3.00
" 13.	"	Cash, Delphos, O.	1.00
" 13.	"	H. Frederic, Utica, N. Y.	1.00
" 13.	"	H. Brown, Mondovi, Wis.	.25
" 13.	"	L. Markham, Madison, Ga.	1.00
" 13.	"	G. Fraustenstein, New York.	5.00
" 13.	"	A. Loos, Germantown, Pa.	1.00
" 20.	"	Dr. H. Nye, Enon, Pa.	1.00
" 20.	"	A. Hiller, "	1.00
" 20.	"	F. Alsdorf, "	1.00
" 20.	"	S. Riddle, "	1.00
" 20.	"	C. Fischer, "	1.00
" 20.	"	D. A. Robertson, Enon, Pa.	1.00
" 20.	"	Mr. and Mrs. A. Bates, Milwaukee.	5.00
" 20.	"	Jos. Singer, Chicago.	1.00
" 20.	"	C. H. Vinton, Cambridge, Ms.	1.00
" 20.	"	D. L. McKelzie, Rock Falls, Ill.	1.00
" 20.	"	T. Culver, Rock Falls, Ill.	1.00
" 20.	"	W. Drury, Verdunett, Ill.	1.00
" 20.	"	J. Gardner, Rochester, N. Y.	1.00
" 20.	"	A. Friend, Elyria, O.	5.00
" 20.	"	N. Houghton, Lake Providence, La.	2.00
" 20.	"	C. P. Somerby, New York.	1.00
" 20.	"	R. G. Fell, Clarence, Iowa.	1.00
" 20.	"	A. A. Raymond, Fond du Lac, Wis.	.25
" 20.	"	R. K. Price, Dexter, Iowa.	.50
" 20.	"	Rev. Robt. Collyer, Chicago.	2.00
" 20.	"	J. E. Boynton, Elyria, O.	2.00
" 20.	"	Rev. H. Powers, Manchester, N.H.	2.00
" 20.	"	H. Bathig, Buffalo, N. Y.	2.00
" 20.	"	Dr. J. M. Hawks, Hyde Park, Ms.	3.00
" 20.	"	R. T. Starr, Rochester, N. Y.	3.00
" 20.	"	John Curtis, Boston.	5.00
" 20.	"	D. Ballantine, Bloomington, Wis.	1.00
" 20.	"	Mrs. P. Phillips, Rondout, N. Y.	1.00
" 20.	"	M. L. Lewis, Providence.	1.00
" 20.	"	Dr. W. S. Leach, St. Joseph, Mo.	1.00
" 20.	"	J. W. Sulist, Salem, O.	1.00
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" 20.	"	O. B. Vose, Forkston, Pa.	.50
" 20.	"	G. McMurray, Jersey City, N.J.	1.00
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" 20.	"	John Turner, Philadelphia.	10.00
" 20.	"	Henry Jones, Three Tons, Pa.	1.00
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" 20.	"	Joseph Ambler, "	1.00
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" 27.	"	Mrs. E. D. Lucas, Boston.	2.00
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The Index.

BOSTON, JUNE 29, 1876.

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FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
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CENTENNIAL CONGRESS OF LIBERALS.

The Centennial Congress of Liberals will be convened at Concert Hall, on Chestnut Street, between Twelfth and Thirteenth Streets, Philadelphia, on Saturday, July 1, at 2 o'clock, P.M. Concert Hall will seat about two thousand people, giving each a cushioned chair. It has a large stage and two large ante-rooms, and is excellently adapted to secure the comfort and convenience of a large convention.

Railroad officials refuse to make any other reduction in fares than the excursion rates agreed to by all the principal companies, of which all delegates and members can avail themselves. A local committee is at work to secure a list of cheap boarding-places for the accommodation of members. The necessary price will not exceed \$1.50 per day, nor be less than \$1.00. All who wish to avail themselves of these accommodations should write without delay to D. Y. Kilgore, Secretary, 805 Walnut Street, Philadelphia.

In order to enjoy the rights and privileges of membership, it will be necessary for delegates from Liberal Leagues, or other Liberal Societies desiring to join in the Liberal League movement, to be provided with proper credentials signed by their own local officers. Individuals not delegates can receive a certificate of membership on writing for, filling up, and returning a blank form of application which can be obtained by addressing F. E. Abbot, Chairman, 1 Tremont Place, Boston. It can also be obtained at Concert Hall, July 1, at 1 P. M.; and all who may not previously have received their certificates should not fail to present themselves promptly at that time. This is the only way to prevent confusion and vexatious delays to all concerned. Over five hundred certificates have been already issued to applicants for membership; there is every indication of a great increase of this number; and immediate application will save trouble and time in organizing the Congress when it meets.

The following order of business has been adopted by the Committee, subject to ratification by the Congress itself:—

Saturday, July 1: Afternoon Session, 2 P. M.

1. Temporary Organization.
2. Appointment of Committee on Membership, and reception of credentials.
3. Address of Welcome, by the President of the Philadelphia Liberal League.
4. Reply, by the Chairman of the General Centennial Committee.
5. Report of the Committee on Membership.
6. Report of the General Centennial Committee.
7. Appointment of Committees on Permanent Organization, on Finance, on Resolutions, and on Address to the People.
8. Consideration of the General Centennial Committee's Report.
9. Consideration of the Constitution of the National Liberal League.

Evening Session, 7 1-2 P. M.

1. Consideration of the Constitution of the National Liberal League, continued.
2. Report of the Committee on Permanent Organization: election of officers of the National Liberal League.
3. Short speeches.

Sunday, July 2: Morning Session, 10 1-2 A. M.

1. Reading of extracts from letters by distinguished citizens.
2. Address by F. E. Abbot: "The Liberal League Movement; its Principles, Objects, and Scope."
3. Address by Mrs. C. B. Kilgore: "Democracy."
4. Short speeches.

Evening Session, 7 1-2 P. M.

1. Address by James Parton: "Cathedrals and Beer."
2. Address by B. F. Underwood: "The Practical Necessity of Separating Church and State."
3. Short speeches.

Monday, July 3: Morning Session, 10 1-2 A. M.

1. Address by Charles F. Paige: "Is Christianity a part of the Common Law?"
2. Report of the Committee on Resolutions: free discussion of the proposed methods and measures of the National Liberal League; action of the League on the Resolutions taken singly.

Afternoon Session, 2 P. M.

1. Address by Damon Y. Kilgore: "Ecclesiasticism in American Politics and Institutions."
2. Continuation of the discussion and action on the Resolutions.

Evening Session, 7 1-2 P. M.

1. Address—[probably by Charles D. B. Mills].
2. Reports by Delegates from various Liberal Leagues throughout the country.
3. Short speeches.

Tuesday, July 4: 9 A. M.

1. Report of the Committee on Finance.
2. Report of the Committee on Address: "Patriotic Address of the National Liberal League to the People of the United States."
3. Action on the Report.
4. Adjournment.

PICKWICKIAN CATHOLICISM.

The German Roman Catholic Central Society, at their Twenty-first Annual Convention just concluded at Philadelphia, unanimously passed resolutions which they forthwith published as an advertisement, in the following condensed form, in the local papers of that city:—

First. Congratulatory to the Centennial of the Declaration of the American Independence, recalling the part Catholic men took in it, whose names are among the signers, and the assistance Catholic countries gave to establish a republican form of government.

Second. Declares the American Constitution the palladium of civil and religious liberty for all nationalities, and demands the strict adherence to this fundamental principle.

Third. Upon the basis of the Constitution as it is they declare for separation of Church and State.

Fourth. Protests against the calumny and slanders heaped upon Catholics as priest-ridden, and Catholicism being inimical to republican government; declaring that prompt payment of taxes, respect for law and good order, the sacred regard for an oath, are the three principal qualifications constituting a good citizen; that the Catholic Church by its teaching inculcates these qualities; declaring that every good Catholic is a good citizen.

Fifth. That the Church teaches good morals. Freedom is impossible without a proper regard for this principle.

Sixth. Protests against the attempt to transplant to this continent a conflict between Church and State; such insinuating threats coming from whence they may, even from men high in authority in this nation; and declares all such attempts as dangerous attacks on the Constitution of the land.

Seventh. That Catholics as a body are not allied to any one political party, and that the pulpits of Catholic churches are not desecrated by political tirades or by speeches of political demagogues.

Eighth. Refers to the public schools, and declares that parents have an inalienable right to educate their children according to the dictates of their conscience. Claiming freedom in education, declaring the attempt of the State to monopolize education as tyrannical and wrong, they advocate a thorough education and support of schools by voluntary means, and religious instruction necessary.

How little these resolutions really mean, and how adroitly they are worded to delude the careless reader into believing that the Catholic Church in this country proposes frankly to abide by the American principle of the separation of Church and State, can easily be seen by the statements of Rev. F. X. Weninger, D. D., a missionary of the Society of Jesus, who was introduced at the same convention by the President, and who made the leading address of the occasion. The *Press* of June 8, reporting this discourse, says:—

"In conclusion the speaker stated that, united and joined to the one true Church, the United States would be, in the strictest sense of the term, 'united,' without the present internal division between the various sects. The United States, still so strong, notwithstanding its many different religions, would soon raise itself to an eminence, a power to which there would be nothing equal upon earth. This union with the only true Church, because free from the pressure of despotism, would secure the perpetuity of the United States until the end of time."

In all the profuse protestations made by Catholic orators and journals that they believe in the separation of Church and State in this country, and that it is unjust to hold them responsible for the contrary course of the Church in the Old World or in South America, an acute observer may always detect the cunningly-worded qualifications which enable them to make such protestations without absolute falsehood. It is perfectly easy to reconcile Father

Weninger's open prophecy that the United States will yet be "united" with the Catholic Church, and the third resolution quoted above. The convention declared for separation of Church and State "upon the basis of the Constitution as it is." But the Catholics are bound by the *Syllabus* not to be satisfied with the Constitution as it is. The moment they have the power (if they ever get it), they will conform the Constitution to the *Syllabus*, which declares it a damnable heresy to hold that "Church and State ought to be separated." They will pass, not an "unsectarian Christian" Amendment, but a Roman Catholic Christian Amendment; and it would be simply idiotic to rely on the smooth and seemingly frank professions of the above resolutions, as proving that Catholics in the United States are ready to accept the secular theory of government. *Not in the least.* They are ready to capture all who will swallow the bait, but they neither will nor can accept the principle of secular government in good faith. They will endure it as long as they can, and use it meanwhile for their own purposes; but they are pledged by their whole religion, solemnly and publicly expounded by their infallible Pope, to the union of Church and State. And such resolutions as the above, apparently so patriotic and liberal, are nothing but pitfalls for the unwary and traps for unsuspecting dupes.

ECCLESIASTICAL LIBEL.

The following case seems to be of interest, as showing how the principle of individual liberty is contending with authority within the Roman Church in this country. Whether Father Glew's words can be brought within the technical definition of slander, or not, the suit is a manly protest against the tyrannic abuse of private interests by the priesthood.

E. D. C.

No. 2084. *Robert C. Fanning vs. James McGlew.* This is a suit against a Roman Catholic priest settled over a parish in Chelsea, to recover damages in the sum of \$2000, for slander. The plaintiff Fanning was one of the parishioners of the defendant, and was an attendant and worshipper at the church in Chelsea. It seems that Fanning was married by a justice of the peace to Catherine Murphy of Chelsea; that such a marriage being contrary to the rules of the Roman Catholic Church, the defendant, as a priest, publicly denounced the plaintiff. This action was accordingly brought against the priest for slander. The plaintiff complains that on the 8th of November, 1873, the defendant, in the church, on the Sabbath day, in the presence of a large congregation, publicly, falsely, and maliciously accused him of the crime of fornication, using words as follows:—

"There have been parties that have gone and got married out of the Church, and those parties are living in mortal sin. I will call their names to you: Robert C. Fanning, Jr., and Catherine Murphy"; and after calling sundry other names the defendant said:—

"These parties [meaning the plaintiff among others] must come before the altar and give public satisfaction." Also that the defendant accused him of fornication on the 23d of November, in the church by the use of the following words:—

"John Fanning, or Robert, whatever his name is has gone to live with that woman [meaning the wife of the plaintiff], is living in sin, and I will call their names every Sunday until they come before the altar and give public satisfaction. These parties will be coming to me by and by with their bastards for me to christen."

That the defendant also, on the 30th of August, 1874, accused the plaintiff of the crime of fornication as follows:—

"I have heard that a couple have gone and got married out of the parish, and if they do not come and see me before next Sunday I will call their names from the altar. I thought the scandal of a year ago was enough to learn them a lesson; they will run to neighboring priests with a lie in their mouths, or like Gariand's son and Fanning [meaning the plaintiff], who went to a sweep of the town down at the square, who are unlawfully married and living in sin, and they cannot approach the rails of this altar until they have given public satisfaction."

The answer of the priest is, that if any such words were used by him he was justified in using them, in that he was acting at the time in the capacity of priest in the Roman Catholic Church, and had full spiritual and ecclesiastical authority over the plaintiff and his wife, to approve, condemn, and censure them, privately and publicly, for any violations of the teachings, doctrines, and laws of the Church; that the words were spoken from a belief that the plaintiff and his wife were living in violation of the laws of the Church by being married outside of the Church, not by a regularly ordained priest of the Church, to the great scandal and injury of all the members of the parish, and to the injury of the plaintiff and his wife, as the priest was bound by the obligations of his office to teach, and that the words were not spoken maliciously, or with a design to slander the plaintiff, but solely in the discharge of his duty as a priest and pastor.

The case is now on trial for a second time. On trial. A. Russ for the plaintiff, W. Gaston and O. F. Donnelly for the defendant.

Mark's Church might be in *spiritual* fellowship with the general Episcopal body, and yet not at all fit for the social recognition and fellowship which membership in the Convention involved. One could not help wondering how this Episcopal body, with such views, could be inspired with much zeal for missionary work. (The Convention had devoted one session particularly to the *foreign* missionary question.) Evidently the members holding such views of the color of the skin as a non-conductor of the spirit of complete religious fellowship, could not expect, or wish even with much ardor, that missionary efforts should result in making full and entire Christians of any colored heathen, involving all the privileges of religious fellowship, unless they believe, as perhaps they do, that missionary effort will eventually convert the color of the skin to a Christian shade of whiteness. At present, it would seem, they mean by "spiritual fellowship" the use of the same Prayer-book and Liturgy on Sunday. For this the colored members of St. Mark's Church are deemed fit. But they are not admissible candidates for that fellowship which extends to the feelings and actions of daily life.

Yet these arguments for excluding the church prevailed in the Convention. When the vote was called—the bishop's name, in fact, had already been called and he had voted for admission,—General Preston arose (he who made last year such a bitterly sectional address at the University of Virginia), and suggested that on the decision of such a solemn question the Divine blessing should be invoked. So the Convention fell upon its knees, while the bishop read a prayer; and then the members stood upon their feet as their names were called and voted not to admit St. Mark's Church to membership, because it was not composed of *white* Christians.

These facts have seemed to me worth reporting as one of the latest illustrations of ecclesiastical brotherhood. It should be added that a majority of the ministers voted for admission, but a majority of lay delegates, representing the churches, against it. The question, however, cannot be considered as permanently settled, with the bishop and so many clergymen earnestly advocating the broader fellowship.

W. J. P.

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY R. C.

In the nomination of Mr. Tilden the Democrats have undoubtedly selected their most available candidate, and the only one, in our opinion, who can content the election of Mr. Hayes with the least possibility of success. Mr. Tilden is not only a man of integrity but also of great energy and persistence of character, and few men of any party have practically accomplished more positive reform work. He is not only identified with the overthrow of Tweed and the Tammany Ring, and the notorious Canal Ring, but as Governor of New York he has greatly lessened the expenses of administration and decreased the rate of State taxation. No one can doubt that if elected President he would thoroughly reform many abuses which have crept into our national administration, and would surround himself by a Cabinet of accomplished gentlemen who would carry on the various executive departments of the government in an irreproachable manner. The only objection to Mr. Tilden personally, so far as we know, is the reported fact that he is a wonderful manipulator of the political wires, and has pulled them with astonishing adroitness and vigor in order to secure his own nomination.

But in the choice of Mr. Hendricks for the Vice-Presidency the Democrats seem to have taken pains to destroy Mr. Tilden's chances of attracting votes from among those reform Republicans and Independents who have become tired of Republican corruption, and who would be glad to behold the Presidential chair occupied by a man of acknowledged ability and of determined reform purposes. Mr. Hendricks is a man of very little national reputation, and what little he has is not at all enviable, being that of a political trimmer and of an avowed advocate of the soft-money heresy. Already, in answer to a serenade given him at Indianapolis last Friday, Mr. Hendricks has declared that the repeal of the resumption clause of the Act of 1875—a repeal demanded by the St. Louis platform—"carries with it every feature of the law which is bringing about the contraction so hurtful to the interests of the country." Mr. Hendricks, therefore, will favor soft-money as vigorously as Mr. Tilden will favor hard-money, and every genuine reformer will be obliged to face the unwelcome fact that he cannot vote for Mr. Tilden without voting at the same time for the man who represents some of the worst elements of the Democratic party, and who, moreover, in the event of any accident to Mr. Tilden, would become our President. The sop which the Democrats have thus thrown to the soft-money Cerberus in the endeavor to keep together the two wings of their party may bring about a defeat which might have been a victory, if they had had the good sense to associate with Mr. Tilden a man of equally decided hard-money principles. However ardently we may desire

administrative reform, we dare not, in the effort to obtain it, risk a sacrifice of national honor by any repudiation of our money obligations, or even jeopardize that honor by further inflation or by the cessation of contraction.

The St. Louis platform, moreover, on the whole, is no better than that adopted at Cincinnati. From a literary point of view (which is not however an essential one in matters of this kind) it is superior to its rival almost beyond comparison. Some of its sentences, especially those referring to Republican corruption, are admirably well put, and must cause considerable wincing on the part of such friends of the present administration as retain any sensitiveness of moral cuticle. The single line with regard to Mr. Blaine, for instance, who is referred to as "late Speaker of the House of Representatives marketing his rulings as a presiding officer," tells the whole story of Mr. Blaine's downfall in the keenest and most crushing manner possible. The essential qualities of the platform are a mixture of good and bad. The preamble is plenty good enough, especially when compared with the meaningless jumble adopted at Cincinnati. The financial plank is strongly in favor of hard-money, but demands a repeal of the Resumption Act, which is as consistent as would be the declaration of a man that he is in favor of paying his debts, but maintains that his promise to pay in ninety days is not to be considered binding. The revenue plank is excellent, and many will regard the public-school plank as preferable to that passed at Cincinnati, as the blow at the Chinese is certainly heavier than the one struck by the Republicans. The civil service reform plank is good, as far as it goes, but must be interpreted in the light of Democratic action in the House of Representatives and elsewhere. With Tilden it would mean one thing; with Hendricks it would mean something entirely different.

The great body of voters of the country had probably determined to vote with the Democratic party on the one hand, or the Republican party on the other, before the nominations were made or the platforms adopted; but the election will be determined in all probability by those who have awaited the results of the Conventions before coming to a decision. Mr. Tilden's rallying cry of Reform! will probably attract many voters, and that it will do so the Republicans have only their own misdeeds to blame. Others who are equally zealous for reform will vote against Mr. Tilden because he is associated with Hendricks, or on account of the Democratic demand for the repeal of the Resumption Act, or because there is good reason to believe that Mr. Hayes may make as excellent a reformer as Mr. Tilden. Others will be determined by the free-trade position of the Democrats as opposed to the ambiguous position of the Republicans. Others will be warned away from the Democrats by their decided soft-money tendencies, as shown, for instance, in the passage of Randall's amendments to the Silver Bill at about the same time that the St. Louis Convention was adopting a hard-money platform. Others believe that, apart from any of the above considerations, the time has not yet come for the restoration of the Democrats to power. Others perhaps are yet in doubt, and will remain in doubt until after the publication of the letters of acceptance of the various candidates; and these letters, we may add, which are usually a matter of form only, certainly promise to exert an unusual influence upon the coming struggle. The October elections also promise to have considerable effect upon those who always like to be upon the winning side.

There was serious danger, and, indeed, the danger still exists, of a stoppage of the wheels of government last Friday night in consequence of the failure of Congress to pass the necessary Appropriation Bills before the expiration of the fiscal year; but at the last moment the two Houses agreed upon a measure providing for the use of unexpended balances, and making small appropriations until the 10th inst. The two Houses have agreed upon and passed the Naval Appropriation Bill, and, as we write, the Conference Committee has come to an agreement with regard to the Post-Office Bill, and the report of the Committee will probably be adopted. Without doubt the Government of late years has not been economically administered, and a great reduction could be made in the regular appropriations without impairing in any way the efficiency of the administration. The House deserves credit therefore for resisting all attempts to keep up extravagance in expenditure. On the other hand, however, the Senate deserves equal if not greater credit for resisting the attempt of the House to alter general laws during the passage of an appropriation bill. The President's salary, for instance, is fixed by law; and all recent attempts to change the amount of salary have failed. The Senate now maintains that the House cannot change the law which fixes the salary by refusing, in the Legislative Appropriation Bill, to appropriate the sum which the law now calls for. The principle maintained by the Senate is a very important one, and will not be relinquished, we trust, because of the present clamor for economy.

The question of the issue of silver coin is disturbing Congress, and if that body be not extremely careful is likely to produce serious disturbance throughout the country. The Senate bill providing for the issue of \$10,000,000 of silver coin in exchange for legal tenders came up in the House, and was at first rejected, but was afterwards accepted with amendments proposed by Mr. Randall authorizing the issue of \$20,000,000 additional of silver coin in the ordinary disbursements of the Treasury, and

providing for the coinage of a silver dollar of the same weight and fineness as that in use in 1861, and that this silver dollar be a legal tender. The Senate bill would help to relieve those who are inconvenienced by the present scarcity of small change, and would neither add to nor take from the present volume of the currency; but the House amendments would turn the bill into an inflation measure, adding to our present currency \$20,000,000 of depreciated coin. In the Senate Mr. Jones made a very silly speech in advocacy of silver as a legal tender in the proportion, as compared with gold, of 16 to 1. Inasmuch as silver is now selling in the proportion of 18 to 1, and may soon reach 19 to 1, or turn in the other direction and sell for seventeen to one, a very great amount of thinking need hardly be required in order to understand the futility of Mr. Jones' proposed law. We are sorry to state that a motion was made in the Senate, proposing, in substance, to make the silver dollar a legal tender for any amount, and received a vote of 18 to 14, being lost only on account of the absence of a quorum.

Congressional morality must be in a sad state if it be truly represented by Mr. Frye, of Maine, who made last week, during a debate upon the Geneva Award Bill, one of those speeches so painful to every man who believes that national honor cannot be trifled with without injury. Mr. Frye advocated the distribution of the remainder of the Geneva fund among the ship-owners who suffered from rebel privateers, in direct defiance of the fact that the claims of these ship-owners were ruled out by the arbitrators at Geneva, and that the money received from England and now in our possession is held in trust by us for a clearly specified purpose. Mr. Frye ridiculed those who presumed to ask, What would be thought of us by England? and declared that the newspapers opposing his proposition are subsidized by the insurance companies. The logic of the conduct advocated by Mr. Frye would justify the trustee of a will who is administering an estate for the benefit of children in diverting the children's income to the support of any number of needy favorites who might desire a portion of the money. We hope for a good time to come when one such speech as that of Mr. Frye, would ensure the immediate retirement of any Congressman to private life. In this connection, attention should be called to the excellent speech of Mr. H. L. Pierce, of Massachusetts, on the same subject.

A glance at the topics treated by the members of the graduating classes of several of our colleges during the past week shows that the increasing interest in boating and base-ball has not diverted attention from a consideration of the questions most important to our national welfare. We may regret the fact that politics should intrude into places supposed to be sacred to literature and philosophy, but it is some consolation to know that many of our young men appear to be preparing to take the places of our older politicians, and that they promise to carry with them a little more knowledge and, certainly, no less honesty.

Prince Milan, of Serbia, has left his capital for the frontier to take command in person of the troops in the field, and popular demand throughout Serbia is certainly in favor of a war with Turkey. Montenegro and Bosnia will assist Serbia, and indirect aid is expected from other Turkish provinces as well as from other countries, although it appears to be the present intention of all the great European powers to take no part in the struggle, but to allow Turkey and her rebellious provinces to fight out their battles alone. How long this intention can be adhered to, however, is a very important question, which for a short time at least must remain unanswered.

Communications.

RELIGIOUS HYPOCRISY.

BY E. VON HARTMANN.

TRANSLATED FROM KARL HEINRICH'S "PIONIER," BY PROF. ALEXANDER LOOS.

[In an article on the falsity pervading modern life, written by the author of *The Philosophy of the Unconscious* and of *The Self-Disintegration of Christianity*, we find the following passages on religious hypocrisy, the striking truth of which recommends them to the earnest considerations of all to whom religion is more than a blind adherence to traditional creeds from habit or reasons of expediency.—A. L.]

As regards the Church, we live in a period of a much more violent and radical fermentation than that which characterized the age of the Reformation. The traditional forms of ecclesiasticism clash with the opposite tendencies of modern political and social development in an embittered contest, and the dogmatic vessels which hitherto have held the substance of religious consciousness prove inadequate to the scientific consciousness of our time; but the new casks into which the new wine could be filled are not yet provided. The sphere of activity for the Church is constantly being more and more limited by State and society, and the dogmas held thus far are becoming less and less tenable in face of scientific progress. Thus a double antagonism enters every cottage and every palace; tradition tries with a thousand visible and invisible arms to attach man to its sphere, but through thousand times thousand channels the disintegrating ferment of progress enters all the crevices of the structure. Even the most faithful believers are no longer intact from the dawn of enlightenment, and the Roman Catholic peasant would be quite astonished if he could be made to see for

how many questions his common-sense has already accepted quite different a solution from that taught by his Church, whose faithful disciple and follower he still believes himself to be. In the case of the city-inhabitant, the difference between his actual belief and the dogma of the denomination to which he nominally belongs is generally quite considerable; but with the well-educated there is so striking an antagonism between their views of the world and the Church doctrine, that for them nothing is left but to close their eyes against the contradiction which pervades their lives. This closing of their eyes against the acknowledgment, that all church-membership has in fact become a palpable lie, is itself possible only on account of a frightful lack of sense of truth; for such a sense of truth, if pervading them with some degree of force, would not allow them thus to humbug themselves. But a more keenly developed intellect also involves the distinct consciousness, that in the most important and decisive points actual belief and church doctrine are in an irreconcilable antagonism; yet from reasons of expediency belief in the latter is hypocritically pretended. What induces so many to adhere to the forms of denominational piety is sometimes a regard for the parents or for the mother-in-law, or for an aunt from whom an inheritance may be expected; sometimes the love of domestic peace; now the restraint of official position and its extraordinary claims; then the fear of obstructing the children's future success in life by their exclusion from the Church; sometimes the intention of giving to the vulgar crowd, for whom the ecclesiastical humbug is said to be indispensable, a good example; sometimes finally, especially with women, it is the apprehension of losing with the ecclesiastical character of education one of the most efficient means for upholding parental authority over the children.

But all these regards cannot justify the falsity of such conduct, so much the less, as here religious consciousness is involved, in which the highest and most sacred things are to be cherished, and the noblest and loftiest desire for truth is to be fostered and developed in the purest manner. All momentary and external advantages which might be attained through such a frivolous play with the most sacred impulses of the human heart, disappear when compared with the injury done to the soul by such damaging disregard of the sense of truth in its noblest form, and all conveniences to be gained for the education of nations and children are as nothing in comparison with the frightful consequences to be looked for when nations or children at some future time shall discover that their leaders and educators have deceived them in the most frivolous and worthless manner, like an unscrupulous nurse who drugs her nursing with opium in order to secure herself some momentary rest. When they see all the awe and reverence with which they regard the sanctuary of the profoundest truths basely abused by those whom they regarded with pious confidence, and for the sake of their own more convenient control directed towards dogmas which their leaders themselves no longer believe in; then it is indeed not to be wondered at, if they in their turn throw all love and faith in truth in general overboard, and likewise with frivolous cynicism give themselves up to worldly falsity. But the best and noblest natures, when discovering the vast deception to which they have been subjected, will burn in just and holy wrath at the false guardians and educators who have stuffed the receptacle of their youthful minds with tales from which they cannot deliver themselves without a struggle that absorbs the best energies of their minds.

Let those rulers and parents well consider this, who, though themselves estranged to faith, and perhaps personally already out of all relation to the Church, yet indulge in the opinion that it is necessary, or at least useful, for the people they rule or the children they have to educate, to be educated in Christian doctrine and Christian piety.

Those, however, who have hitherto followed the beaten track merely from want of courage, may wake up to the terrible consciousness of the fearful responsibility assumed by them, when thus adopting towards their children a course of systematic falsity in the realm of the most sacred and sublime truth.

Let any unbiased observer look around and see how many and serious sins are daily committed among us against these moral principles from indolence, timidity, cowardice, stupidity, and deficient sense of truthfulness, and how religious and ecclesiastical hypocrisy in its active and passive form, as falsehood and as connivance with falsehood, as simulation and as toleration of false syllogisms drawn from silent conduct, pervades all society. It is not saying too much, when I assert that two-thirds of our well-educated men and a small fraction of the well-educated women trespass against the duty of truthfulness in religion in one or the other manner above specified. But nowhere does that word of Fichte prove more strikingly true than here, according to which cowardice is the mother of falsehood, since we cannot but consider most of the lies displayed or admitted in the realm of religions as traceable to cowardice as the principal motive,—to that cowardice which is afraid of giving offence to the weighty bugbear of conventionality. But while our disquisitions showed us the repulsive falsity of our social relations to be mainly traceable to the vanity of woman, in the realms of religion men are the principal exponents of untruthfulness, because in them the great conflict between the old and the new is more strikingly developed than in the women, the majority of whom—even among the better educated classes—are wont thoughtlessly to adhere to the old, while at the same time lacking the ability of attaining to a clear appreciation of the conflicting contradictions, or even to a sure and certain subjective decision of the conflict.

"THE HOLY SABBATH."

The air of pious assurance with which the above choice phrase is bandied about by Sabbatarians would "almost deceive the very elect" into believing that some kind of sanctity attaches to the particular day of the week which they choose to designate by that title. The recent action of the churches, endorsing the decision of the Centennial Commission (in reference to closing the Exhibition on Sunday) because said decision was "in harmony with the gospel of Christ and the law of the land," is a case in point.

The cool impudence of the above assumption challenges our admiration, and might provoke a smile were it not for the serious consequences which result from its practical application.

That the term Holy Sabbath is not applied to the Jewish Sabbath (Saturday), but is applied to Sunday, the first day of the week, and its observance as sought to be enforced by legal enactments, will not be denied. I propose to examine the validity of this claim.

1st. If the Jewish Sabbath was abrogated and the Christian Sabbath established in its stead, of course it must be done by some authority. By what authority: that of Christ? Let us see. Christ disregarded the Jewish Sabbath (Mark ii., 28), but he did not institute one of his own in its stead, or command others to do so. So the Sabbatarians have not Christ for authority.

2d. Was it established by the authority of the Apostles? Let St. Paul answer: "Let no man therefore judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of an holy day, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath days" (Col. ii., 16). Again: "One man esteemeth one day above another: another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be persuaded in his own mind" (Rom. xiv., 5). Paul at least cannot be made to do service; and, as for the others, they never so much as mention Sunday on any pretext. The Sabbath is mentioned about thirty times in the New Testament, but I defy all Christendom to prove that it once refers to Sunday.

3d. Perhaps "the Fathers" are responsible. Let us inquire of them. Justyn Martyr, A. D. 140, said: "You Jews think, when you have spent a day in idleness, you are very religious. Our God is not pleased with such things. There was no need of Sabbaths before Moses, so there is no need of them since Jesus Christ." Irenæus, Tertullian, and Eusebius held similar views; so it appears that the Christian Sabbath is not established by their authority.

4th. Perhaps the Reformers and Divines know something about it. Calvin says: "Christians, therefore, should have nothing to do with a superstitious observance of days." Martin Luther said: "If anywhere the day is made holy for the mere day's sake, if any set up its observance on a mere Jewish foundation, then I order you to work on it, ride on it, to dance on it, to do anything that shall reprove this encroachment on the Christian spirit of liberty." Melancthon wrote: "The observance of the Sabbath nor any other day is of necessity. There are extant monstrous disputations touching the change of the Sabbath that have sprung up from a false persuasion that there should be worship in churches like to the Levitical worship. They dispute about holy days, and prescribe how far it is lawful to work in them. What are they but snares for men's consciences?" Archbishop Paley says: "The opinion that Christ and his Apostles meant to retain the duties of the Jewish Sabbath, shifting only the day from the seventh to the first, seems to prevail without sufficient reason; nor does any evidence remain in the Scripture that the first day of the week was thus distinguished in commemoration of our Lord's death." Archbishop Whateley, in his *Notes on Paul*, says: "There is no injunction to sanctify one day in seven throughout the whole of the Old Testament. We never hear of keeping holy some one day in seven, but the seventh day,—the day on which God rested from his labor. Surely, if we allow that the tradition of the Church is competent to change the express command of God, we are falling into one of the most dangerous errors of the Romanists. But in the present case there is not even any tradition to the purpose. Such a change certainly would have been authorized by their express injunction, and by nothing short of that; since an express divine command can be changed or altered only by the same power and distinct revelation delivering it. But not only is there no apostolic injunction (than which nothing less would be sufficient), there is not even a tradition of their having made such a change. Nay, more; it is abundantly plain that no such change was ever made by them."

5th. If, then, it be demonstrated that there is not a particle of authority in the Christian Scriptures, the example or teaching of Christ, his apostles, or the Church fathers, the question may arise, How came we to have a Christian Sabbath at all, and a law enforcing its observance? I reply: Its origin is heathen, and not Christian at all. Sunday had been a heathen festival for ages; but Constantine, the first Christian emperor, found it necessary for the maintenance of his power to engraft a heathen ceremony upon the Church to which he had just become a convert. This epiphyte continued to grow with varying fortunes, till in the sixteenth century in England and Scotland (especially the latter) it attained to full efflorescence. A "slip" from this pernicious plant was conveyed across the ocean in the *May-Flower*; planted, watered, and nurtured by Puritan piety, it flourished on the virgin soil of America, and its fruit to-day is mortification and disgust. We stand before the assembled civilized world convicted of narrow-minded bigotry, while loudly professing religious liberty and universal brotherhood. The observance of the Sabbath is strictly a matter of religious opinion, and not in any sense one of pub-

lic or private morals, and is therefore one over which the law has no jurisdiction whatever.

6th. I conclude then that there is not only no divine authority for the Christian Sabbath, but no authority whatever; that the Christians possess no right, either human or divine, to bind heavy burdens upon men's consciences simply because they are in the majority (locally). Majorities often perpetrate gross outrages, and the Sunday law is one of them. It reads as follows:—

"If any person shall do or perform any worldly employment whatever on the Lord's day commonly called Sunday, . . . and be convicted thereof, . . . he shall for every such offence forfeit and pay the sum of \$5.00, to be levied by distress, or suffer six days imprisonment," etc.

This same Sunday law was conceived in ignorance, born of superstition, cradled in bigotry, clothed with prejudice, and sent forth fully armed and equipped with intolerance to do the dirty work of despotism. It is a most tyrannical infringement upon the sacred rights of conscience, a relic of the dark ages, a fraud, a blot upon our national escutcheon, a thing to be ashamed of and repealed as speedily as possible.

HARRY HOOVER.

CLEARFIELD, Pa., June 12, 1876.

DEATH'S TERRORS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

As is very well known, the Orthodox clergy take especial pleasure in picturing to an audience the terrors of the dying moments of infidels; in fact, it is rarely that our rural gospel-dispensers produce any other argument in disposing of scepticism, and it must be admitted that such treatment is abundantly sufficient to add to the faith and bigotry of the unthinking masses. Not an opportunity was lost in the revival here to portray in vivid manner the closing tragedy in the life of the infidel, the minister or speaker in each case drawing from the storehouse of examples that in very many instances have been produced by the inventive priesthood or their tools. This is their resort in their weakness, when no opponent can meet them with the same weapons, even if he so desired. How eagerly they enlarge upon every case of death-bed retraction, however ill-defined may have been the infidelity of the subject! But a case of an opposite character has come under my own observation that will never be made use of in that way; and knowledge of which is carefully confined to as few people as possible.

A young lady died a few months ago who all her life was noted for her piety, purity, and benevolence. She was a member of the United Presbyterian Church, an earnest participant in all church work, and zealously active in the late revival movement. The wicked dreaded her approach in the meetings, for her spotless life would not admit of the usual criticisms. She was gracious and kind to all people, of every class and condition of life, and was universally loved and respected. She fell a victim to consumption's dread inroads. Shortly before she died she became possessed of the illusion that she was doomed everlasting punishment. Tearfully she proclaimed to visiting friends her inability to meet them in heaven, and during her last moments her cries of "Lost! Lost!" nearly crazed her husband. Slight noises she interpreted as her death-knell, and imagined she felt the "hot flames of hell" upon her lips! Thus she died.

Her case is not an isolated one of the kind, nor will freethinkers attach much importance to it, except to note it as an establishment of our pronounced belief that the actions of the dying bear testimony only to their dispositions or the condition of their minds; and in mentioning it I wish to be understood that the young lady's fears were produced by a mind rendered delirious by disease. How unfortunate that death-bed ravings cannot be so accepted in all cases! Religious belief may have much to do with one's state of mind at the dying hour, but I should think a belief in a literal hell and the capricious God of the Bible would be most likely to cause one to dread death. Those of us who have had the seeds of orthodoxy implanted in our minds in childhood know not but that we might retract when our minds become enfeebled by age or disease, though we hope not; but now, when our minds are strong, if we are sincere in our religious convictions, and our deportment is in accordance therewith, we certainly have no reason to fear death. If the following admirable precept was adopted for observance by all people of every shade of belief, death would no longer be looked upon as the King of terrors:—

"Work as though you would live forever;
Live as though you would die to-day."

H.

NEWVILLE, Pa., May 28.

POLITICS in the pulpit is bad enough, but what should be done with preachers who talk business in the house of the Lord? A wretched circuit-rider in Arkansas is reported to have stated in a late sermon that "it isn't loud praying that counts with the Lord so much as giving four quarts for every gallon, sixteen ounces for every pound, and thirty-six inches to the yard." We trust that at the next meeting of his conference that circuit-rider will be promptly asked if he does not believe in justification by faith, and that he will be closely watched to see that he does not indulge in evasive mental reservations. He may try to dodge the question by stating that he does not see that belief in personal honesty is detrimental to an immeasurable exercise of faith; but no such miserable subterfuge should be allowed to save him.—*Christian Union*.

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THE CENTENNIAL

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And who favor the movement to carry out the principle of

STATE SECULARIZATION,

As indicated in the "Demands of Liberalism."

605 WALNUT ST., PHILADELPHIA,
March 1, 1876.

To the Liberal Leagues and the Liberal Public of the United States:—

The General Centennial Committee, appointed at a convention held in this city last September for the purpose of making all necessary arrangements for a General Centennial Congress of Liberals next summer, have decided to call said Congress to convene at Philadelphia, Saturday, July 1, 1876,—further particulars to be hereafter announced.

Each organized Liberal League will be entitled to send five delegates as special representatives—three in addition to its President and Secretary. But all individual Liberals who sympathize with the general objects and aims of the Liberal Leagues will be equally entitled and welcomed to seats and votes in the Congress.

REPORT PROMPTLY!

In order to lessen as much as possible the expenses of the delegates, each League is requested to elect them as soon as possible, and to report their names to the undersigned through its Secretary. All Liberals, delegates, or individuals who desire and intend to participate in the Convention are requested also to forward personally and immediately their names and full post-office addresses to the undersigned, that he may be enabled to make the most favorable terms possible for their accommodation. If notified early, he hopes to secure for them a considerable reduction in railroad fares, and to provide boarding-places at perhaps half the usual rates of the season.

Donations Solicited!

The Centennial Committee on Finance having through their Chairman transferred their duties to the General Centennial Committee, the undersigned has been appointed to attend to the financial department, and hereby appeals to the Liberals of the country for voluntary contributions to the amount of One Thousand Dollars. This amount will be needed to make the Congress a complete success, though the utmost possible will be done with whatever is contributed. The officers of the union of Liberal German societies propose to raise the same amount for their convention, and have already raised \$800 of it. The Young Men's Christian Association here have already spent this year nearly \$100,000 in preparation for the Centennial, in the interest of Orthodox superstition; it would be a pity if all the friends of "Liberty and Light" could not do a hundredth part as much for the cause of national development and free humanity! The money will all be wanted (and much more could be advantageously expended) in providing suitable halls and headquarters, advertising the Congress liberally in advance in the chief dailies of the country, defraying the necessary expenses of desired and invited speakers, paying *verbatim* reporters, publishing a complete pamphlet report of the proceedings, etc., etc. What is done must be done speedily, since the arrangements should be completed, as far as practicable, by the first of May.

All sums donated will be duly acknowledged in THE INDEX, and a full report of all expenditures will be sent for publication in the same paper. Remittances should be sent to the undersigned, 605 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. Will not all friends of the movement respond heartily and at once?

DAMON Y. KILGORE,

Acting Treasurer.

I believe that Mr. Kilgore is a gentleman of unimpeachable personal integrity, and that all money remitted to him as above will be faithfully and economically devoted to the legitimate uses of the Congress.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT,

Chairman of the General Centennial Committee.

General Centennial Committee:

FRANCIS E. ABBOT,

DAMON Y. KILGORE,

ALEXANDER LOOS,

ISAAC RHEN,

BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD,

H. S. WILLIAMS,

with power to increase their number to fifteen. The completion and success of the arrangements must depend on the liberality of the friends of the movement, who are respectfully and earnestly solicited to contribute the necessary funds.

The Index.

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VOLUME 7.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, JULY 13, 1876.

WHOLE NO. 342.

CONSTITUTION OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE

Adopted at Philadelphia,

JULY 1, 1876.

PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, The Constitution of the United States, from beginning to end, in spirit and in letter, is framed in accordance with the principle of the total separation of Church and State; and the Treaty with Tripoli, signed by George Washington as a part of the supreme law of the land, declares emphatically that "the government of the United States is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion"; and

WHEREAS, Notwithstanding these facts, the administration of the national government, and the administrations and constitutions of the several State governments, maintain numerous practical connections of the State with the Church, thereby violating the spirit of the United States Constitution and the glorious traditions which dedicate this country exclusively to the natural rights of man; and

WHEREAS, The welfare and peace of the republic, the equal religious rights and liberties of its citizens, and the most precious interests of civilization, alike require that all the political and educational institutions of the nation which are supported by taxation should be more faithfully conformed to the spirit of its fundamental law:—

Therefore, We, the members of the Centennial Congress of Liberals, convened at Philadelphia from July First to July Fourth, 1876, hereby associate ourselves together as a permanent organization, and adopt the following

CONSTITUTION.

Name.

ARTICLE I.—The name of this association shall be "The National Liberal League."

General Object.

ARTICLE II.—The general object of the National Liberal League shall be to accomplish the TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE: to the end that equal rights in religion, genuine morality in politics, and freedom, virtue, and brotherhood in all human life, may be established, protected, and perpetuated.

Specific Objects.

ARTICLE III.—As means to the accomplishment of this general object, the specific objects of the National Liberal League shall be—

1. To urge the adoption of such a "Religious Freedom Amendment" of the United States Constitution as shall effect the complete secularization of the government in all its departments and institutions, State and National, and shall secure to every American citizen the full enjoyment of his opinions on the subject of religion, whatever they may be, without molestation, disability, or deprivation of any civil or political right.

2. To advocate the equitable taxation of church property; the total discontinuance of religious instruction and worship in the public schools; the repeal of all laws enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath; the cessation of all appropriations of public funds for religious institutions or purposes of any kind; the abolition of State-paid chaplaincies; the substitution of simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury for the judicial oath; the non-appointment of religious fasts, festivals, and holidays by public authority; the practical establishment of simple morality and intelligence as the basis of purely secular government, and the adequate guarantee of public order, prosperity, and righteousness; and whatever other measures or principles may be necessary to the total separation of Church and State.

3. To promote the formation and multiplication of local auxiliary Liberal Leagues throughout the country in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution, in order to institute combined and vigorous agitation for the adoption of the "Religious Freedom Amendment," and, pending its adoption, to secure through State and municipal action the accomplishment of the various special reforms above enumerated.

4. To defend through the courts, by the combined efforts and means of the liberals of the country, any

American citizen whose equal religious rights are denied, or who is oppressed, on account of any opinions he may have held or expressed on the subject of religion.

5. To promote, by all peaceable and orderly means, active propagandism of the great principles of religious liberty and equal rights, devotion to truth for its own sake, and universal brotherhood on the ground of a common humanity: more particularly, to establish a Liberal Lecture Bureau for the mutual benefit of hearers and lecturers, by which the formation of local liberal societies may be facilitated and stimulated, and by which liberal lecturers of sufficient ability and unblemished moral character, without the least discrimination on account of their religious opinions, may be encouraged, furnished with employment, and helped to devote themselves to the liberal cause.

6. In all other proper and practicable ways, to promote the final emancipation of the State from the control of the Church, and to foster the development of that natural intelligence and morality which constitute the necessary and all-sufficient basis of secular government.

Membership.

ARTICLE IV.—Any person who shall pay one dollar into the treasury shall be entitled to a certificate, signed by the President and Secretary, as an annual member of the National Liberal League. Any person who shall pay twenty-five dollars or more into the treasury shall be entitled to a similar certificate as a life-member. All the persons present as members at the Centennial Congress of Liberals, at which this Constitution was adopted, are hereby declared permanent or charter-members of the National Liberal League.

Annual Congress.

ARTICLE V.—The Annual Congress of the National Liberal League shall be held at such time and place and with such sessions as the Board of Directors may announce; and public notice of the Congress shall be given at least one month previously. The first Annual Congress shall be held in the year 1877. Other conventions of the League may be held at such places and times as the Board of Directors shall appoint.

All charter-members and life-members of the National Liberal League, and all duly accredited delegates from local auxiliary Liberal Leagues organized in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution, shall be entitled to seats and votes in the Annual Congress. Annual members of the National Liberal League shall be entitled to seats, but not to votes, in the Annual Congress.

Officers.

ARTICLE VI.—The officers of the National Liberal League shall be a President, six or more Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and Assistant Secretary, a Treasurer, a Board of Directors, an Executive Committee, and a Finance Committee. All these officers shall be elected at the Annual Congress, and shall hold their offices for one year, or until others are chosen in their stead. The Board of Directors shall have power to fill any office of the League that may be left or may become vacant before the meeting of the Annual Congress succeeding their own election.

President.

ARTICLE VII.—The President's duty shall be to preside at the Annual Congress and other conventions of the League, and at the meetings of the Board of Directors; and to countersign all orders upon the treasury duly drawn by the Secretary.

Secretaries.

ARTICLE VIII.—The Secretary's duty shall be to keep the records, complete lists of members, and other papers of the League, and also of the Board of Directors; to report promptly to the Board of Directors all facts communicated to him by the Secretaries of local auxiliary Leagues, and to prepare a careful condensation of the same for the Annual Congress; and to conduct such correspondence as usually pertains to his office. It shall be the duty of the Assistant Secretary to assist in this work under the Secretary's direction.

Treasurer.

ARTICLE IX.—The Treasurer, after giving security satisfactory to the Board of Directors, shall receive and hold all funds of the League, subject to orders duly drawn by the Secretary and countersigned by the President. He shall report the state of the finances of the League at every Annual Congress, and oftener if required by the Board of Directors or Finance Committee; and upon the election of a successor he shall deliver to him all the property of the League that he may hold.

Board of Directors.

ARTICLE X.—The President, Secretary, Treasurer, Chairman of the Executive Committee, and Chairman of the Finance Committee, shall constitute the Board of Directors, which shall be intrusted with the general management and control of the affairs of the League from year to year. They shall make a full report of their doings on the first day of each Annual Congress. All appropriations from the treasury shall be by vote of the Board of Directors.

Executive Committee.

ARTICLE XI.—The Executive Committee shall be composed of one member from each State and Territory of the Union, and shall act under the instructions of the Board of Directors. It shall be the duty of each member of the Executive Committee to select and associate with himself four other good citizens of his own State or Territory, as the Executive Sub-Committee for that State or Territory, and he shall be himself the Chairman of the same and promptly report its organization to the Secretary of the National Liberal League. Each Sub-Committee shall appoint a Local Agent in as many of the cities and towns of its own State or Territory as possible. It shall be the duty of each Local Agent, with the help and coöperation of the State Sub-Committee, to organize, if possible, a local auxiliary Liberal League in his own city or town, to report its organization promptly to the Chairman of the State Sub-Committee, and to promote by its means the general objects of the National Liberal League.

The Chairman of the Executive Committee shall be elected as such by the Annual Congress, and shall be *ex officio* a member of the Board of Directors.

Finance Committee.

ARTICLE XII.—The Finance Committee shall be composed of three members, elected by the Annual Congress. It shall be their duty to devise ways and means for raising such funds as may be needed for the successful prosecution of the work of the League, and to carry them into execution with the help of the Board of Directors.

The Chairman of the Finance Committee shall be elected as such by the Annual Congress, and shall be *ex officio* a member of the Board of Directors.

Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues.

ARTICLE XIII.—The Board of Directors shall have authority, as often as they receive a written application signed by ten or more persons and accompanied by ten dollars, to issue a charter for the formation of a local auxiliary Liberal League.

ARTICLE XIV.—Charters so issued shall contain Constitutions substantially similar to this Constitution, but adapted to local wants, providing for regular and frequent meetings to promote the mental and moral culture and general social enjoyment of the members, for Children's Fraternities to promote the welfare and happiness of their children, for Relief Committees to supply the needs of sick, poor, or distressed members, and in general for whatever may conduce to the private benefit as well as the public usefulness of the local Leagues.

ARTICLE XV.—Local auxiliary Liberal Leagues organized under charters issued by the Board of Directors shall be absolutely independent in the administration of their own local affairs. The effect of their charters shall be simply to unite them in cordial fellowship and efficient coöperation of the freest kind with the National Liberal League and with other local Leagues. All votes of the Annual Congress, and all communications of the Board of Directors, shall possess no more authority or influence over them than lies in the intrinsic wisdom of the words themselves.

ARTICLE XVI.—Every local auxiliary Liberal League organized in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution shall be entitled to send its President and Secretary and three other members as delegates to the Annual Congress.

ARTICLE XVII.—It shall be a special duty of the Secretary of each local auxiliary Liberal League to furnish the Secretary of the National League with a complete list of all the members with their post-office addresses in full, and a list of the officers, and also to furnish him with prompt information of all important action, of his own local League.

Amendments.

ARTICLE XVIII.—Amendments to this Constitution may be made at any Annual Congress of the National Liberal League by a three-fourths vote of the qualified members present. But no amendment shall be made, unless the proposed amendment shall have been published together with the required public notice of the Annual Congress which is to act upon it.

OFFICERS

OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, ELECTED AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 1, 1876.

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FRANCIS E. ABBOT,.....Boston, Mass.

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HON. E. P. HURLBUT,.....Albany, N. Y.
 HON. SAMUEL E. SEWALL,.....Boston, Mass.
 HON. NATHANIEL HOLMES,.....St. Louis, Mo.
 HON. HENRY BOOTH,.....Chicago, Illinois.
 HON. GEORGE W. JULIAN,.....Irrington, Ind.
 HON. ELIZUR WRIGHT,.....Boston, Mass.
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 MR. WM. J. POTTER,.....New Bedford, Mass.
 MR. R. P. HALLOWELL,.....Boston, Mass.
 MR. JAMES PARTON,.....Newburyport, Mass.
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 MR. JAMES LICK,.....San Francisco, Cal.
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 MR. HORACE SEAYER,.....Editor of the "Investigator," Boston.
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 MR. D. M. BENNETT,.....Editor of the "Truth Seeker," New York.
 MR. MORITZ ELLINGER,.....Editor of "Jewish Times," New York.
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Assistant Secretary.

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 S. J. MATHEWS,.....Arkansas.
 J. L. HATCH,.....California.
 E. B. HAZZEN,.....Connecticut.
 S. S. WALLIHAN,.....Colorado.
 HARWOOD G. DAY,.....Iowa.
 HERMANN LIEBER,.....Indiana.
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 GEORGE WILLIAM THORN,.....North Carolina.
 GEORGE LEWIS,.....Rhode Island.
 R. PETERSON,.....Texas.
 SAMUEL WATSON,.....Tennessee.
 J. O. BARRETT,.....Wisconsin.

[The remaining States and Territories are to be represented on this Committee by future appointment, as provided in the Constitution.]

Finance Committee.

H. S. WILLIAMS, Chairman.
 MRS. SARAH B. OTIS.
 HARLAN P. HYDE.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS BY DISTINGUISHED CITIZENS.

From the Hon. E. P. HURLBUT, of Albany, N. Y.

I regret that I cannot promise you any work of the pen in aid of the cause you have so much at heart, and so ably advocate; but if I can attend at Philadelphia, I may report myself to the League, as one sympathizing in its objects. If my name—long withdrawn from the public, and unknown to the present generation—can serve your association, you are at liberty to use it in the manner suggested; though I shall regret receiving of your honors without being able to help in any of your work. Some thirty years ago, when the Constitution of New York was about to be revised, I labored for the abolition of the religious test, and secured it, in favor of witnesses in courts of justice. I am no longer young, and my hopes for our institutions are not so sanguine as they were then; still they are worth fighting for on account of the theory alone. Perhaps a generation may arise worthy to uphold them, the

present exhibiting more of ignorance and less of innocence than consist with popular rule.

From the Hon. SAMUEL E. SEWALL, of Boston, Mass.

I am so much in favor of the general objects of the National Liberal League that I cannot refuse to be nominated as one of its vice-presidents, if it is thought that my name will help the cause in any degree. I must add that at this moment the third section of the proposed amendment, as it seems to me, requires some modification. With the first, second, and fourth, I concur heartily and entirely. Every year that passes renders the adoption of new constitutional protection for religious freedom more and more urgent.

From the Hon. NATHANIEL HOLMES, of St. Louis, Mo.

I concur entirely in recommending the proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and in the general objects and purposes of the movement, so far as I am at present informed of them; and if you and other friends of the cause think the use of my name as a vice-president can be of any service, I shall not withhold my consent. It is probable I may be in Philadelphia about the time mentioned; and, if so, I shall take pleasure in attending the Congress.

From the Hon. HENRY BOOTH, of Chicago, Ill.

I am heartily in favor of the total separation of Church and State by the proposed amendment to the Constitution; and you are at liberty to use my name as one of the vice-presidents of the League to be organized for that purpose, if you think proper.

From the Hon. GEORGE W. JULIAN, of Irvington, Ind.

I have yours of the 4th, requesting the privilege of nominating me as one of the vice-presidents of the National Liberal League. Of course you are at liberty to do so. It will not win for me popular applause; but I would accept the position as one of high honor, and it affords me real pleasure to comply with your personal wishes, and to thank you for the compliment which they express. As to your proposed "religious freedom amendment," I decidedly approve of it. Some very slight verbal changes might be made; but it covers the whole ground more fully, and accomplishes the desired purpose more completely and explicitly than any proposition I have noticed. It would totally and absolutely separate Church and State, and nothing less than this should be accepted.

From the Hon. ELIZUR WRIGHT, of Boston, Mass.

The importance of the work to which the Congress of Liberals is called cannot be over-estimated, as it seems to me; and I should count it a great honor, as well as pleasure, to be allowed to participate in it. But there seems no probability that I shall be able to attend it, or have any spare means or strength to devote to the great cause in which it is enlisted. The proposed amendment to the Constitution, it seems to me, must commend itself to every fair-minded man as worthy of a place in that instrument, if it really means to be a guarantee of the rights of conscience. Only the enslavers of souls can possibly object to it. Since it is a fact that many people are laboring to turn the Constitution into a theological creed, the sooner we know that they cannot succeed the better. Nothing short of the "Religious Freedom Amendment," it seems to me, can settle this question as it should be; and all sincere religionists should be in favor of it for the sake of religion itself. . . . If it is only to "stand up and be counted," of course you may depend upon me; and I shall not back down from any place you see fit to put me in as a name.

From Mr. O. B. FROTHINGHAM, of New York City.

My name for the other purpose you entertain is wholly at your disposal. I shall be proud to be associated with the men you mention, and proud to hold such a position in such a cause.

From Mr. WILLIAM J. POTTER, of New Bedford, Mass.

Certainly, put my name on the vice-presidents' list, if I can thus serve the movement. . . . As to the desirableness of the general object of the Liberal League movement, the secularization of the State and of the State schools, and the importance of the proposed Constitutional amendment—as the specific, practical aim of the National Liberal League,—there is no difference of opinion between you and me. If there be any difference between us, it is upon the proportion which this work bears to the whole free religious movement; but I believe in the work itself, though not able to give to it that intense devotion which it has found in you.

From Mr. R. P. HALLOWELL, of Boston, Mass.

I am heartily in favor of the establishment of a Liberal League that shall be national in fact as well as in name. With the understanding that Mr. Frothingham and Mr. Potter are to be identified with the proposed national organization, I consent to serve as one of the vice-presidents.

From Mr. JAMES PARTON, of Newburyport, Mass.

I am honored by your proposing me for vice-president of the League. Publicity in all its forms and for all its reasons is painful to me, but in this cause I will do everything I can. I have lived but to promote it. Make me vice-president if you think it best.

From Mr. FRIEDRICH SCHUENEMANN-POTT, of San Francisco, Cal.

I certainly most cordially consent to your kind proposition to add my name to your list of vice-

presidents of the forthcoming Centennial Congress of Liberals. Although, to my utter regret, I shall be unavoidably prevented from being personally present in Philadelphia, my whole heart and soul will be with you on the occasion; and "quidquid in me est ingenii, quod sentio quam sit exiguum," will always be, as it has been before, devoted to our common cause.

From the Hon. ABRAHAM PAYNE, of Providence, R. I.

On my return from New York, I find yours of the 4th. You are at liberty to use my name for the purpose proposed.

From the Rev. MINOT J. SAVAGE, of Boston, Mass.

Believing as I do in the main principles that compose the platform of the Liberal League, and sympathizing with the object of the National Congress of Liberals soon to meet in Philadelphia, you have my hearty consent to use my name as one of your vice-presidents. The State will be what it ought to be only when it is made purely secular.

From Rabbi B. FELSENTHAL, of Chicago, Ill.

By your proposal to nominate me as one of the vice-presidents of the National Liberal League, I feel much flattered. That I indorse heartily all the aims and objects of the League I need hardly assure you.

From the Rev. W. H. SPENCER, of Sparta, Wis.

We Spartans have talked about forming a Liberal League and sending you names, but it seems so superfluous and formal a thing to do, as our society is of itself a big Liberal League practically, that we have not organized for that special purpose. Of course I approve of the work for which the Leagues are organized, though I confess I do not probably regard it as of so much and pressing importance as I think you do. . . . If you think my name respectable enough to sandwich between the famous preachers and judges you mention, I can have no objection, but wouldn't they?

From Mr. SAMUEL L. HILL, of Florence, Mass.

I certainly have no right to imagine it of any importance, favorable to the cause you wish to promote, to have my name published as one of the vice-presidents of the Centennial Congress of Liberals. However, I shall not object to your proposing it, if you wish to. The enclosed check for one hundred dollars I can believe may be useful.

From the Rev. J. L. HATCH, San Francisco, Cal.

Yours of May 10 would have been sooner answered, but for the fact that Mr. Lick has for several weeks been quite ill, and no one was allowed to see him. He is somewhat better now, though still quite feeble. I called upon him yesterday at his hotel, the Lick House, and gave him your letter requesting the use of his name as one of the vice-presidents of the National Liberal League. He authorized me to give you his cheerful assent.

From E. W. MEDDAUGH, Esq., of Detroit, Mich.

You are at liberty to elevate me to the vice-presidency, or to use me in any other way that in your judgment will help, in the slightest degree, the good cause. . . . I have repeatedly read your proposed amendment to the Constitution, and do not see how it can be improved.

From the Hon. ROBERT DALE OWEN, of New Harmony, Ind.

If you think my name as one of the vice-presidents can be of any service, pray use it. You know, I am sure, how entirely I agree with the spirit of the proposed amendment. Coming down to particulars, I think the words—"or in which religious practices shall be observed"—had better be omitted, seeing that the entire ground is covered without them. James' definition of "true religion and unde-filed" does not embrace any sectarian doctrine whatever; and it is almost the only definition of the word to be found in the New Testament. I regret that, having already engaged rooms on Lake George for the summer, I shall not be able to be present at your July meeting.

From Mr. KARL HEINZEN, editor of "Der Pioneer," Boston, Mass.

If you think that my acceptance of a nomination as one of the vice-presidents of your League in Philadelphia can do any good to your cause, which as far as it goes is also my own, I can have no objections to it. But I deem it my duty to tell you that I am a decided atheist and materialist, and must leave it to your consideration whether this may be obnoxious or not.

From Rabbi ISAAC M. WISE, editor of the "American Israelite," Cincinnati, Ohio.

If possible I will be present at the Congress, to work with you; if I cannot, I write you a letter. If you form a Liberal League to unite this element, I am willing to be one of them, officer or private, as it may be deemed most advantageous to the cause. Anyhow I will work with you.

From Mr. D. M. BENNETT, editor of the "Truth Seeker," New York City.

I confess I should feel honored by the distinction you named, in connection with the Liberal League, and would readily accept the position. But I fear I will be unable to be with you. . . . Any honor, however, you may see fit to confer upon me will be gratefully appreciated.

From Mr. HORACE SEAYER, editor of the "Investigator," Boston, Mass.

I see by your kind note of the other day that you

wish to make a vice-president of me! I thank you for the honor, though I am not at all ambitious in that line; but as I am friendly to every movement that is liberal, and of course to the League, if you think that my name can be of any advantage, you can use it in the manner you suggest.

From Mr. MORITZ ELLINGER, editor of the "Jewish Times," New York City.

In reply I would state that I shall cheerfully contribute all that is in my power to the success of the cause in which, I believe, we labor in common. Dispose of my name and my humble services as you deem proper.

From Mr. B. F. UNDERWOOD, Thorndike, Mass.

I appreciate and thank you for the honor, and have only to say that, if you think my name will help promote the object of the League, you are at liberty to add it to the list of Vice-Presidents to be presented to the Congress. I need not assure you of my earnest, hearty sympathy with the purposes of the Liberal League. I know of nothing now presented for the consideration of the American people more important than the secularization of the government, so that there shall not be even a remnant of that union of Church and State which has, wherever it has prevailed, been a prolific source of mischief to free institutions. It is absolutely necessary to secure to all citizens, without regard to belief, equal rights and impartial religious liberty. The proposition to secure guarantees against any connection between Church and State, as well as to remove everything inconsistent with a purely secular government that now exists, by constitutional amendments such as you have proposed, meets with my entire concurrence, and will have my hearty support. We need only persevere in the noble movement, and success will yet crown our labors.

From the Rev. ROBERT COLLYER, Chicago, Ill. [This letter was received in Boston on July 7, it being then too late to present Mr. Collyer's name to the National Liberal League for election; but undoubtedly the Directors will vote at their first meeting to add his name to the list of vice-presidents, under the circumstances.]

I am entirely willing to go on the list, with your explanation. I think we mean the same thing.

From Mr. WENDELL PHILLIPS, Boston, Mass.

I entirely agree with the proposed amendment, and shall give it my hearty support. But many years since I decided not to join any more societies. I have done my share of such work and responsibility, so excuse me from the vice-presidency.

From Mr. WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Boston, Mass. [This letter was received and publicly read at the Centennial Congress of Liberals, July 3.]

BOSTON, June 30, 1876.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

I shall not be able to attend the meetings of the National Liberal League at Philadelphia; but if its object is solely to eliminate from our Constitutions and Statute-Books whatever shows the remotest leaning toward a union of Church and State, or that is designed or calculated to give preference to any form of religious belief over another, or that subjects the religious opinions of any person to a proscriptive test, or that grants to religious bodies peculiar rights and privileges whereby their property is exempted from being equally taxed with other property, then I cordially give it my approval. And I do not see why it should not strongly commend itself to all classes, as a matter of justice and equality, whatever may be the opinions they entertain concerning religion. Nay, those opinions, being widely variant and utterly irreconcilable, furnish ample reason why they should be left to stand or fall upon their own merits, and why there should be no supremacy on the one hand or subordination on the other. They belong to the domain of conscience, and, cost what it may, conscience must be left free. What can be more reasonable than this? To reject it is to strike at the foundation of popular government, and to inaugurate the reign of priestcraft, usurpation, and tyranny.

The function of the State is purely secular. It is to see that equal rights are enjoyed, and the general welfare promoted; but it has no right to decree, for example, that any book or any day or any place is holy, or to except church-property from taxation, or to appropriate any portion of the public money for sectarian purposes, or to enforce the reading of the Bible in the public schools, or to proclaim when it behooves the people to fast for their sins or feast for their abundance, or to require any religious test for office, suffrage, naturalization, or giving testimony in the courts. Yet it has assumed this as a part of its prerogatives; thus establishing a dangerous precedent, in contravention of republican principles, and, in my judgment, in violation of the spirit of Christianity itself,—Christianity as taught by its Founder, and not as exemplified in our day and generation.

Let the League make it clear in its spirit and utterances that it has no ulterior object in view; that it does not seek a conflict with any form of religion or with any religion as such, but is in antagonism only with what seeks to fetter the conscience, to define what is heresy, to mingle sectarian with secular affairs, and to keep in countenance that union which is specially to be abhorred: namely, the union of Church and State. In that case, occupying as it does common ground, it cannot fail to advance the cause of free institutions.

Yours for the freedom of body and mind,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

PATRIOTIC ADDRESS OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE

TO THE

PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Adopted at Concert Hall, Philadelphia, on the
Fourth of July, 1876.

PHILADELPHIA, July 4, 1876.

FELLOW-CITIZENS:—

Assembled in convention in this historic city, and on this historic day, we, the members of the National Liberal League, offer you our sympathetic congratulations on the completion of the first hundred years of the existence of our common country as one of the great nations of the earth. With you, we remember in profound gratitude the toils, sacrifices, and achievements of our forefathers; with you, we pay a tribute of deep veneration to the patriotism, the self-abnegation, the valor, the statesmanship, the wisdom, the resplendent virtues and the wonderful abilities which were the true fountain-head of our national being; with you, we exultingly commemorate the speaking of that bold word which a century ago launched into human history the first great political proclamation of the natural rights of man, and electrified the world with that sublime Declaration of Independence which has made the Fourth of July one of the deathless festivals of mankind. We share in the universal outburst of joy and pride which has hailed with the shouts of forty rejoicing millions the rising of this day's sun.

In full sympathy, therefore, with the spirit of this grand occasion and the spirit of those whose noble passion for liberty made it grand, we respectfully address you on a theme closely connected with their heroic and immortal labors. The dominant purpose of their hearts and the proud achievement of their hands were the foundation of a free commonwealth on the self-evident equality of all men with respect to their natural rights. The Constitution which with consummate sagacity they framed for the execution of this purpose rests on no other basis; it was ordained and established in the name of "the people of the United States," and in no other name; it speaks by the collective authority of all the individuals who compose "the people"; it recognizes the will of "the people," carrying into effect the dictates of their natural reason and natural conscience, as the ultimate source and origin of all political power. No one man, no one class of men, can show any natural right to rule the rest, except the right which is might; and that right is tyranny, usurpation, immorality, wrong. From this absolute absence of any natural right to rule mankind, whether as lodged in one or in a few, results the self-evident equality of all men in the right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." That magnificent and inspiring principle is the soul of the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution to which it ultimately led; it was the soul of the Revolutionary War, has been the soul of all our subsequent history, and will be the soul of all our future greatness. Strike out of the fundamental law of the land this recognition of equal individual rights, and, before another hundred years shall have rolled by, the proud fabric of the republic will have crumbled into impalpable dust.

Now a free Commonwealth thus conceived and established, a national Constitution thus framed and ordained, presuppose the separation of Church and State; they can exist only by virtue of this principle; they must perish if ever this principle should be abandoned. As an abstraction, it has become a stereotyped phrase of American politics, a mere truism which nobody disputes, a mere tradition which it is the fashion to pass from mouth to mouth and not examine too closely in its bearings on existing usages or institutions. What does it mean? That the natural intelligence and moral sense of mankind, no matter what may be their views on the subject of religion, are adequate to all the proper purposes, functions, and powers of civil government; that it is never necessary to step outside of the circle of natural human faculties "in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." These are the objects, and the only ones, which the Constitution was framed and ordained to secure; and the principle of the separation of Church and State means that they can be secured by the faculties which inhere in simple humanity, as such,—nay, more, that they will be defeated by permitting the Church to interfere with the workings of a civil government based on faith in the sufficiency of these universal and natural human faculties to protect all the interests of society. Such a government as this is a purely secular one; that is, it confines itself strictly to the secular objects above enumerated, and remands the whole subject of religion to the people in their individual capacity. It can establish no national Church and have no national religion; it favors none, it persecutes none, it recognizes none; it deals only with the political interests of the people, and has nothing to do with their religious interests further than to maintain their religious liberties and protect their equal religious rights. That is what the principle of total separation of Church and State means; and that is the general theory taken for granted in every line of our national Constitution. Without it, there could

be no "government of the people, by the people, for the people"; without it the liberties of the individual, the natural rights of man, would vanish altogether. So long as the State exists by the sole will of the people, the people's liberties are self-protected and therefore safe; but so soon as it becomes in any degree, directly or indirectly, dependent on the Church, the people's liberties in that same degree must depend on the will of those who govern the Church. What fate in that case awaits the people's liberties, history with terrible plainness tells.

It is eminently fitting, therefore, on this great day of the nation's Centennial year, to recur to the fundamental principle of the Constitution, and to address to you our plea for a higher fidelity to it. The duties it imposes on the people with respect to the better protection of equal rights in religion are too little heeded or understood; and the public dangers which flow from this neglect are so grave, yet so insidious and unperceived, that no excuse is needed for this appeal. Not in the spirit of partisans, seeking some selfish advantage over their fellow-citizens, but rather in the spirit of patriots, concerned for the common welfare of their countrymen and the universal interests of mankind, do we now, weighing well our words, deliberately and solemnly affirm these propositions to be vital and momentous truths:—

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large, are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

If these propositions are true (and who can show that they are not true, or not in strict conformity with the tenor and spirit of the Constitution?) we respectfully submit to you that they merit the attention

of every enlightened and patriotic statesman, and of every just and large-minded citizen. They show that, as a nation, we are not to-day living in harmony with our own great national idea,—that a new “irrepressible conflict,” unsuspected by the vast majority, is certain to involve us once more in civil convulsion, unless its causes are removed. Either our Constitution must be changed to suit our practices, or our practices must be changed to suit our Constitution. The principle of secular “government of the people, by the people, for the people,” must be eventually abandoned, or eventually obeyed more faithfully. The issue touches the very existence of our political system, which cannot long survive in open violation of the very ideas which gave it birth. By exempting church property from taxation; by supporting chaplains out of the public treasury; by appropriating public funds for sectarian institutions; by permitting Bible-reading and other religious services in the public schools, and thus perverting the public school system, for which all alike are taxed, into an instrument of religious propagandism by only a part of the people; by appointing religious fasts and festivals in the name of the government; by using the judicial oath instead of simple affirmation; by enforcing on the entire public the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath, and by various other practices too numerous to mention,—we unite Church and State, and fail to carry out the essential principle of the Constitution. The Church is thus permitted to seize the whole power of the State, and compel large classes of citizens to contribute involuntarily to the support of religious opinions which are not their own. That is the result of all State favoritism to any particular religion; and it cannot be reconciled with the fashionable professions of regard for religious liberty.

All these real but unacknowledged connections of Church and State constitute at the same time private wrongs, public immoralities, and public dangers. They are private wrongs, felt to be such by rapidly-increasing multitudes of citizens, because they compel men to pay public homage to a faith which is not their own, and thus wound them deeply in their conscience and their self-respect. They are public immoralities, because they violate the great laws of justice, freedom, and equal rights, which are the very soul of political ethics. They are public dangers, because they sanction sectarian usurpations, inflame sectarian ambitions, and powerfully tempt to new sectarian encroachments; because they create an accumulating mass of precedents for trampling under foot the broad principle of the total separation of Church and State on which our whole government is founded; because they habituate the people to a semi-ecclesiastical administration of the State, breed fanatical plots against religious liberty and equal religious rights, and chafe thousands of our best and noblest citizens with a consciousness of religious oppression; in fine, because they sow the seeds of petty brawls in many places over politico-religious questions which ought never to arise, and because they have already brought the country face to face with an issue of terrible gravity, in our national politics, touching the future relation of the Church to the public school system. These facts are the general justification of the movement which has culminated in the formation of the National Liberal League, and for the appeal which we now make to your reason and conscience.

In his “Farewell Address,” George Washington bequeathed you these grave and pregnant words of wisdom: “Towards the preservation of your government and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the Constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown.”

The warning here uttered was not unnecessary. For years this “spirit of innovation upon the principles” of the Constitution has been at work. A party, whose public advocates include scores of men high in political and ecclesiastical position, has been regularly organized to secure the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution which shall formally recognize “Almighty God as the author of national existence and the source of all power and authority in civil government,” “Jesus Christ as the ruler of nations,” and “the Bible as the fountain of law and the supreme rule for the conduct of nations.” This party publish a weekly newspaper, and have just held a convention in this city, in furtherance of their object. We thus see the fell “spirit of innovation upon the principles” of the Constitution, against which the venerated Washington has so solemnly warned us, seeking already “to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown,” and aiming a fatal blow at the greatest of all the great principles of that instrument,—the principle of the total separation of Church and State. The effect of this amendment, if adopted, will be to make evangelical Christianity the established religion of the United States, and to that extent to make its churches the Established Church. Such a change would be more than a mere “innovation,”—it would be a revolution, the destruction of this democratic republic and the substitution of an ecclesiastical theocracy.

We therefore deem it our solemn duty to follow the wise counsels of Washington, and to “resist with care” the insidious workings of that “spirit of innovation” which now boldly assails the very foundation of our free government by attempting to “undermine what cannot be directly overthrown.” We see that the pretext of these ecclesiastical revolutionists is the alleged duty of “preserving the existing Christian features of our government”: that is, the exemption of church property from taxation,

the reading of the Bible in the public schools, the Sunday-Sabbath laws, and so forth. We see that, so long as these abuses continue, the advocates of the Christian Amendment of the Constitution occupy a strong vantage-ground in their assaults upon the great charter of our liberties; that these abuses, having no foothold in the Constitution, possess no guarantee of continuance in the supreme law of the land; and that all who are determined to perpetuate them must sooner or later rally to the standard of the Christian Amendment. We see, therefore, that the existence of these abuses is to-day a standing invitation and summons to revolutionize the government, a perpetual temptation to disloyalty of a fanatical and therefore most dangerous kind. In this attitude of affairs, true statesmanship requires the removal of evils whose consequences can only be miseries, crimes, and political strife embittered by religious hate.

With these facts and principles before us, we have voted in convention to petition Congress to recommend to the several States for adoption such a “Religious Freedom Amendment” to the Constitution as shall effectually separate Church and State in fact as well as in theory, and protect all individual citizens in their equal religious liberties and rights. We now appeal to you to give your support to this great measure by your signatures, your voices, and your votes; and we present these brief reasons for our appeal:—

1. The “Religious Freedom Amendment” is not in any sense a change of the Constitution or an innovation either with regard to its spirit or its special provisions. On the contrary, it is a measure in precisely the same spirit as now pervades the Constitution, being based on the identical principle which, as we have shown, everywhere underlies it,—a measure which will only give greater extension to this principle, and make it supreme in the governments of the several States as well as in the national government.

2. The proposed amendment, being designed solely to preserve and perfect the existing secular character of the Constitution, is a thoroughly and wisely conservative measure, in the very best sense of the word. It aims, not to undermine, but to confirm and strengthen and enlarge what already exists.

3. It is justly and impartially protective to all religions, while prohibiting special State favors to any. It is not hostile to any religion which is in favor of the equal religious liberties and rights of all American citizens. Whoever is in favor of these equal rights and liberties is estopped from accusing it of hostility to his own religion. It is hostile to nothing but the claim to tyrannize.

4. The proposed amendment is an eminently timely measure to bring forward now. The public school amendment of the Hon. James G. Blaine, already proposed in Congress and evidently destined to come up for action before long, is a compromise between the ecclesiastical and the secular theories of government; if passed, it will not have the effect of secularizing the public schools, but will leave undisturbed the chief evil to be reformed. The welfare of the country demands that no studied ambiguity should be permitted in a Constitutional amendment on this subject; and no amendment which, like Mr. Blaine’s, will keep the Bible in the schools, and thereby fail to separate Church and State in the public school system, ought to be adopted. But the great danger of the hasty adoption of this compromise amendment, with all its vagueness and ambiguity, renders it timely and expedient that a thoroughly secular amendment should be now pressed without delay upon the public attention, that the case may not go against liberty by sheer default.

5. The “Religious Freedom Amendment” is a necessary measure, judged by a high and broad and enlightened statesmanship. For a hundred years the general tendency of our national development has been in the direction of a gradually increasing liberation of the State from preëxisting ecclesiastical trammels; but quick and watchful eyes are not wanting to detect the signs of a turn in the tide. The long conflict over the slavery question absorbed the political energies of the nation, and left dormant the other great conflict now beginning to reveal itself respecting the relations of Church and State. But now that the slavery question has been finally settled by a Constitutional amendment, the Church question is the only one of a sufficiently permanent and universal character to take its place; and indications multiply that it is forcing itself into the arena of political activity. The campaign of last summer in Ohio; the President’s speech at Des Moines in September and his annual message to Congress in December; Mr. Blaine’s public school amendment proposed in Congress and the countless others elsewhere; the public school planks in the platforms adopted by numerous State and national party conventions; and the certainty of a fresh discussion of the school question in the Presidential campaign of this summer and autumn,—all these and other signs point to an impending agitation on issues involving the relations of Church and State which can only end in a new Constitutional amendment. True statesmanship suggests that the amendment be such as shall really end the agitation. But, unless the entire Constitution is to be revolutionized, no amendment can do this which does not absolutely separate Church and State. Other solutions will be partial, sectarian, transient; that solution alone can be final. We therefore hold that the “Religious Freedom Amendment” is the only measure which can permanently eliminate the Church question from party politics, because it is the only measure which can ever settle that question in harmony with the Constitution. Does not true statesmanship point to its early adoption?

Fellow-citizens, we must go backward or forward:

to stand still is as impossible for nations as for men. Two Constitutional amendments are offered to you for your choice, embodying two opposing principles between which human ingenuity will search in vain to find a mean. One fatally entangles the State with the Church, and plunges this young republic into all the bitterest embarrassments of the Old World. The other proclaims the absolute emancipation of the State from all these embarrassments, and sets her forever free, with her face to the future. The one violates the whole spirit of the Constitution, strikes a deadly blow at the very heart of Liberty, and foredooms the nation to a career from which it may well shrink back aghast. The other carries the Constitution up to a higher and nobler fulfillment of its own matchless ideal, makes Liberty and Love kiss each other, and sets the crown of a resplendent destiny on the nation’s brow. One or the other, by the irresistible logic of ideas and events, must in some form be ultimately incorporated in our fundamental law: when, and how soon, it is for you, the people of the United States, to say. But our duty is discharged. Our cause is still that of our forefathers, whose great Declaration of Independence echoes forever “through the corridors of time”; and here, on the hundredth anniversary of that mighty word, we as solemnly declare the STATE’S TOTAL INDEPENDENCE OF THE CHURCH. Will you ratify this new word of freedom?

RESOLUTIONS

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3 AND 4, 1876.

I.

Resolved, That the National Liberal League, convened at Philadelphia from July 1st to July 4th, 1876, respectfully petitions the Senate and House of Representatives, in Congress assembled, to recommend to the several States for adoption such a “Religious Freedom Amendment” of the United States Constitution as shall effect the total separation of Church and State in all branches and departments of the government, National, State, and municipal, and protect all American citizens in the enjoyment of their equal religious rights and liberties; that petitions be circulated throughout the country in support of this petition, and, if possible, a million signatures to the same be obtained; and that the Board of Directors of the National Liberal League are hereby instructed to carry this resolution into effect.

II.

Resolved, That we recommend and urge the formation of a local auxiliary Liberal League in every city, town, and village of the country where ten brave men and women can be found to take the lead in the matter, for the purpose of instituting earnest and combined agitation in favor of equal rights respecting religion, and in favor of such a Constitutional Amendment as shall guarantee them.

III.

Resolved, That all American citizens, whether orthodox or heterodox, Christian or non-Christian, possess an equal natural right to hold, to utter, and by all orderly and peaceable means to propagate their private religious opinions; that they all possess an equal right not to be taxed, directly or indirectly, for the support of religious opinions they do not hold, of religious societies of which they are not voluntary members, or of religious services they do not personally approve; that they all possess an equal right to employ their time, and the whole of it, as they judge fit, just so long as they commit no positive trespass on the equal rights of others; that they all possess an equal right to enjoy for seven days of the week all public libraries, art-galleries, museums, parks, gardens, thoroughfares, or other institutions or facilities for the support of which they are taxed, and not to be debarred from such enjoyment on Sunday because a part of the people do not choose to avail themselves of these things on that day; in fine, that they all possess an equal right to live under a government which shall respect all men’s private religion, but favor no man’s.

IV.

Resolved, That morality is the supreme interest of civil society; that its foundations lie in the natural relations of man to man; that its great laws of right and wrong shine by their own light, and are only darkened when thrust under the bushel-basket of ecclesiastical patronage; that truthfulness, honor, integrity, courage, self-respect, patriotism, are natural and not theological virtues; and that such virtues as these, fostered by the establishment of a thorough civil service reform and the abolition of machine politics, are the sole fountain of that purified public morality for which every upright citizen longs.

V.

Resolved, That, so long as the Church insists on retaining its present political privileges, in violation of justice, liberty, and equal rights, it is guilty of oppression, sets an example of public unrighteousness, renders its social influence immoral to that extent, and thus helps to demoralize the community at large.

VI.

Resolved, That the principle of State Secularization means that the free State has its own sufficient basis in the laws and needs of human nature, totally independent of the Church,—that this basis is the social necessity of maintaining equal rights in religion, genuine morality in politics, and educated intelligence in all the citizens,—and that this object is defeated by permitting the Church or any other organization to usurp its own authority in any degree.

VII.

Resolved, That we affirm the immense moral importance of the principle of State Secularization, and the moral obligation of all good citizens, irrespective

of their religious creeds, to join heartily in the movement to carry it more consistently into practice.

VIII.

Resolved, That the State Secularization question can never be got out of politics until it is settled forever by being settled right.

IX.

Resolved, That the Liberal League movement has nothing whatever to do with the Christian or any other religion as such, either to favor or to oppose it; that it is directed simply against certain glaring political usurpations of the Church, certain actual and grievous interferences by it with the State; that the purpose of this movement is eminently positive, defensive, and constructive, not negative, aggressive, or destructive, since it only seeks to carry out more faithfully the principle of divorce between Church and State on which the Constitution was founded, and thus fulfil Washington's ideal of a purely secular State; that the Christian or anti-Christian character of this movement is solely a question of private interpretation, to be answered by each member of the Liberal League according to his own definition of Christianity; that all citizens who favor the total separation of Church and State are in good faith cordially invited to work with us; and that no Christian can accuse the Liberal League of being anti-Christian without thereby confessing that Christianity as he himself understands it condemns the separation of Church and State.

X.

Resolved, That the National Liberal League has nothing to do with existing political parties as such. We will neither coquet with them nor be used by them; we propose a great political object in which all good citizens of every party should unite; we will seek to further this object by no secrecy, underhandedness, or political trickery of any kind, but frankly appeal to public opinion and public support. Other things being equal, we will vote for such candidates as favor this object, and withhold our votes from such as oppose it; but we shall do this in the independent exercise of our individual judgments, and enter as a League into alliance with no political party.

XI.

Resolved, That universal education is the only safeguard of universal liberty; that no child in the republic should be permitted to grow up without at least a good common school education; that the public school system cannot be sustained in equal justice to all except by confining it strictly to secular instruction; that all religious exercises should be prohibited in the public schools; that the permission of such exercises in them is a perversion of public funds raised for educational purposes to the purposes of religious propagandism; and that to allow in these schools the present practice of Bible-reading, prayer, and singing of religious hymns, or the use of text-books which are so written as to inculcate religious dogmas of any kind, is a great moral wrong to large classes of citizens.

XII.

Resolved, That the non-committal Constitutional Amendment, proposed in Congress by the Hon. James G. Blaine and reserved for action until next winter, which simply provides that no public lands or public funds devoted to school purposes shall "ever be under the control of any religious sect," or "be divided among religious sects or denominations," will, if adopted, still leave the Protestant sects undisturbed in their present collective mastery over the public school system, and therefore ought not to be adopted, unless so amended as to prevent any sect or number of sects from exercising control over the public schools.

XIII.

Resolved, That the Bible, being regarded as a book of sacred character and of religious authority by only a part of the people, is to all intents and purposes a sectarian book; and we protest against the permission of its use in the public schools on the pretence of its being a non-sectarian book, as a manifest evasion of the truth, and a wilful disregard of the equal religious rights of the people.

XIV.

Resolved, That in no flippant or defiant spirit, but rather with a deep desire that the national government should be just to the whole people, we protest against the recent proclamation of President Grant, inviting the people to celebrate the Fourth of July by religious observances. We deny emphatically the right of the President to issue a civil proclamation of any religious fast or festival, to assume as President a strictly ecclesiastical function, to entangle the State with the Church by interfering with the people's free control of their own religious observances, and to cast the stigma of governmental disapproval on those citizens who do not choose to comply with this unwarranted, officious, and impertinent invitation. We declare the manifestly increasing disposition of the government to meddle in matters of religion, and to yield to the instigation of ambitious sectaries who take this method of establishing their own civil supremacy, to be a tendency of vast peril to the perpetuation of religious liberty. We remind President Grant of the nobler example of his great predecessor in office, Thomas Jefferson, who, according to the historian, "refused to appoint days of fasting or thanksgiving, on the ground that to do so would be indirectly to assume an authority over religious exercises which the Constitution has expressly forbidden. A recommendation from the Chief Magistrate, he thought, would carry with it so much authority that any person or sect disregarding it would suffer some degree of odium." And we pointedly remind President Grant of his own advice to the people last September at Des Moines, substantially reiterated in December in his Annual Message to Congress, but now so glaringly disregarded by

himself—"KEEP THE CHURCH AND THE STATE FOREVER SEPARATE."

XV.

Resolved, That we would most scrupulously respect the right of church-goers to enjoy their Sunday worship unmolested and undisturbed; and we ask them to respect the equal right of those who do not choose to join them to enjoy their own Sundays in equal freedom.

XVI.

Resolved, That the closing of the International Exhibition on Sundays is a fresh usurpation of political power by the Church,—a gross infringement of the equal religious rights and liberties of the people, who have all been taxed by public appropriations for the Exhibition,—a bitter and grievous wrong to the poor and laboring classes, who are thus in great measure debarred from enjoying precious advantages which they of all classes have the best right and the most need to enjoy,—and a monstrous denial of the religious equality of all citizens who disbelieve in the alleged sacred character of Sunday.

XVII.

Resolved, That F. E. Abbott, B. F. Underwood, George W. Jullian, D. Y. Kilgore, James McArthur, W. J. Potter, R. P. Hallowell, Mrs. Dr. Pratt, and Mrs. Kilgore, are hereby appointed a committee to attend the next meeting of the United States Centennial Commission on Wednesday, July 5, to present the protest of the National Liberal League against the closing of the International Exhibition on Sundays.

XVIII.

Resolved, That the conversion of the United States government into a Missionary Society by the present administration, which has made it an avowed object to "Christianize the Indians," and carries it out by employing sectarian missionaries as paid officials of the government, is another in the long and growing list of encroachments on the principle of secular government.

XIX.

WHEREAS, The United States statutes relating to the Treasury Department, Section 3517, expressly provide that—"Upon the coins there shall be the following devices and legends: upon one side there shall be an impression emblematic of liberty, with an inscription of the word 'Liberty,' and the year of the coinage, and upon the reverse shall be the figure or representation of an eagle, with the inscription 'United States of America' and 'E Pluribus Unum,' and a designation of the value of the coin;" and

WHEREAS, The Director of the Mint, without authority of law and on his own motion alone, has seen fit to inscribe on several of the coins, particularly on the new silver quarter-dollars and half-dollars, the legend "In God we trust;" therefore

Resolved, That the Director of the Mint deserves the severe censure of the people and dismissal from his office for this great abuse of the trust reposed in him.

Resolved, That placing such an inscription on the national coinage is analogous to striking the stars from the national flag and inserting the cross in their stead, or throwing down the statue of Liberty from the dome of the national Capitol and setting up that of the Virgin Mary in its place; and that such cunning, stealthy, and dangerous encroachments of the sectarian spirit on the secular character of the government should call forth the loud and swift rebuke of an outraged people.

XX.

Resolved, That we hereby appeal to the country for funds to carry on the vitally important work for which we have organized; that we believe there is abundant wealth and abundant enthusiasm ready to aid us, just as soon as our objects are thoroughly understood and widely known; and that we rely confidently on the generosity of the patriotic public not to permit this great cause to languish for want of the all-essential means.

XXI.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns, and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

XXII.

Resolved, That the Directors are instructed to ascertain, if possible, by direct inquiry, whether the Presidential candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties are in favor of strictly secular government and of the special measures we advocate; and to communicate the result to the public.

XXIII.

Resolved, That the resolutions of sympathy with this movement presented by Professor Loos on behalf of the German "Union of Radicals" are received with pleasure and respect; and that, while the National Liberal League expresses no collective opinion on the points inquired about, we hold ourselves individually free to favor or to oppose any measures not included in the specified objects which we have organized to accomplish.

XXIV.

Resolved, That this League receives from the Michigan State Association of Spiritualists its able and earnest statement of the objects of the National Liberal League, and tenders thanks for its assurance of co-operation in the promotion of these objects.

XXV.

Resolved, That, recognizing the obvious fact that the support of the objects of the National Liberal League must depend chiefly upon the strength of public sentiment in their favor, we hereby tender our thanks to those brave journals which now, in the comparative infancy of our movement, are giving it

their encouragement and influence on account of its intrinsic excellence.

XXVI.

Resolved, That we hereby tender our thanks to the publisher and editor of the Boston *Investigator* for their brave and earnest advocacy of the secularization of the government, in past years when the Liberal League was unknown and when their efforts were but poorly appreciated.

XXVII.

Resolved, That we regard the bust of Thomas Paine now on our platform, executed in marble by Sidney H. Morse, for presentation to the city of Philadelphia, and designed for permanent preservation in Independence Hall, as a noble and fit testimonial to his heroic and patriotic public career.

XXVIII.

Resolved, That our thanks are due, and are hereby tendered, to Mr. and Mrs. Kilgore for their arduous and efficient labors in behalf of the National Liberal League.

XXIX.

WHEREAS, The Evangelical Alliance has presented to the world, as the platform of a possible cooperative unity among elements characterized by diversity, the following epitome of thought: In essentials, unity; in non-essentials, liberty; in all things, charity; therefore,

Resolved, That we adopt and promulgate as the true scientific basis of organization the following motto or epitomized statement: In things demonstrated and certain, unity; in whatsoever can be doubted, free diversity; in all things, charity.

XXX.

Resolved, That this League, while it recognizes the great importance and the absolute necessity of guarding by proper legislation against obscene and indecent publications, whatever sect, party, order, or class such publications claim to favor, it disapproves and protests against all laws which, by reason of indefiniteness or ambiguity, shall permit the prosecution and punishment of honest and conscientious men for presenting to the public what they deem essential to the public welfare, when the views thus presented do not violate in thought or language the acknowledged rules of decency; and that we demand that all laws against obscenity and indecency shall be so clear and explicit that none but actual offenders against the recognized principles of purity shall be liable to suffer therefrom.

Resolved, That we cannot but regard the appointment and authorization by the government of a single individual to inspect our mails, with power to exclude thereupon whatever he deems objectionable, as a delegation of authority dangerous to public and personal liberty, and utterly inconsistent with the genius of free institutions.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

"WHEN IN THE COURSE OF HUMAN EVENTS."

A CENTENNIAL PRAYER.

O thou, beneath whose valiant hand
The conquest spreads from land to land,
Till earth's extremest ends record
Thy victory and own thee lord;
Thou in whose image gods were fair,
To thee, O man, I raise my prayer!

A hundred years of eager toil
Have turned our wheels and tilled our soil
Since, faithful to their proud decree,
Our fathers made us one and free,
And now we bid the world behold
Our wealth increased a hundredfold.

May memory of the sterner days
When virtue took the place and praise,
Make clear the truth that wealth, apart,
But swells the purse to shrink the heart;
And leave us like our fathers, strong
To love the right and hate the wrong.

While science with her dawning light
Makes dim the guiding star of night,
And baffled by the break of day
Bewildered millions seek the way,
O keep us on the course begun,
And haste the rising of the sun!

Build us an altar, rock on rock,
Whose time-defying strength shall mock
The winds and floods of doubt, till all
Have spent their weary force and fall:
An altar where the true may bring
The true heart's wealth in offering.

Beneath a single flag unite
The scattered bands that waste their might
Against the leagued hosts of vice,
In unavailing sacrifice:
"And, cast in some" more human "mould,
Let the new cycle shame the old!"

BELLEMOSE.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JULY 8.

A. C. Douthitt, \$5; E. B. Chace, \$3.20; Mrs. W. A. Stebbins, \$3; Samuel Cole, \$3; J. H. Holley, \$3; J. F. Locke, \$1.50; A. H. Underwood, \$1.50; M. Shove, \$3.20; G. A. Denison, \$3; J. G. Jenkins, \$1.25; David Felmley, 85 cents; J. O. Barrett, \$1.50; Cash, 25 cents; J. McArthur, \$5; John Logan, \$4.04; N. P. Ames, \$3.20; F. A. Maxse, \$14.85; H. McNair, \$2.25; J. E. Oliver, \$10; T. Rush, 85 cents; W. A. Butler, \$2; Mrs. C. R. Abbot, \$3.50; S. Harrington, \$3.20; E. S. Barker, \$3.20; W. Carpenter, \$3.10; D. R. Lamson, \$2.

* John G. Whittier, "Centennial Hymn."

The Index.

BOSTON, JULY 13, 1876.

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DAVID H. CLARK, Editorial Contributors.

CENTENNIAL CONGRESS OF LIBERALS.

CASH RECEIPTS.

July 6. Already acknowledged	\$1398.75
" 11. Received of Mrs. B. Iveson, Lynn, Mass.	2.00
" 11. " Julia Iveson, " "	2.00
" 11. " Isabella Iveson, " "	2.00
" 11. " G. B. Stebbins, Detroit	1.00
" 11. " " Shelby, O.	.50
" 11. " W. Boynton, N. Ipswich, N.H.	1.00
" 11. " F. A. Day, Castana, Iowa	5.00
" 11. " W. E. Darling, Amesbury, Mass.	2.00
" 11. " J. Churchill, Champlain, N.Y.	2.00
" 11. " J. Hoskin, Rochester, N.Y.	1.00
" 11. " J. Demarest, Lafayette, N.J.	2.00
" 11. " B. Gardner, Florence, Mass.	.50
" 11. " H. B. Mason, Lockport	1.00
" 11. " W. F. Nick, Erie, Pa.	1.00
" 11. " G. Chamberlain, Long Ridge, Ct.	5.00
" 11. " J. DeGodt, Greenville, Del.	.50
" 11. " C. W. Newton, Castleton, Ill.	1.00
" 11. " W. H. Sherman, Milwaukee	2.00
" 11. " J. S. Lyon, Springfield, Mo.	.25
" 11. " (?) New York City	2.00
" 11. " Mrs. L. C. Smith, Rochester, N.Y.	.25
" 11. " T. Marshall, Economy, Ind.	2.50
" 11. " G. Ealand, Shelby, O.	.50
" 11. " G. W. Smith, Shelby, O.	.50
" 11. " G. Wadsworth, Dexter, Me.	1.00
" 11. " A. W. Cadman, Jacksonville, Ill.	1.00
" 11. " W. Bray, Lambertville, N. J.	1.00
" 11. " G. M. Murray, Jersey City, N.J.	2.00
" 11. " J. D. Atkins, Florence, Mass.	2.00
" 11. " Mary Osborn, Boston	3.00
" 11. " Thos. Knight, Ceresco, Mich.	.50
" 11. " Isaac Liebmann, Atlanta, Ga.	1.00
" 11. " R. S. Barker, Newport, R. I.	5.00
" 11. " C. Collins, Northumberland, Pa.	1.00
" 11. " Dr. S. M. Whistler, Harrisburg, Pa.	1.00
" 11. " D. C. Hauxhurst, Battle Creek, Mich.	1.00
" 11. " Julia M. Smith, " "	.50
" 11. " C. Ford, " "	.50
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" 11. " Mrs. S. M. Rockwell, " "	1.00
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" 11. " Mrs. M. C. Harper, " "	.50
" 11. " Hattie Snow, " "	.50
" 11. " Dr. M. H. Garcia, " "	.50
" 11. " E. H. Perry, " "	.50
" 11. " Grace E. Packer, " "	.50
" 11. " T. B. Skinner, " "	1.00
" 11. " M. Vesale, " "	1.00
" 11. " Henry Fiegl, New York City	2.00
" 11. " John C. Haynes, Boston	5.00
" 11. " Job Angell, Providence	1.00
" 11. " Wm. Rotch, Fall River, Mass.	5.00
" 11. " Sec'd Lib. League, Milwaukee	12.20
" 11. " Harry Hoover, Clearfield, Pa.	5.00
" 11. " T. Davis, Indianapolis	5.00
" 11. " Dr. A. Hühne, Rondout, N. Y.	3.00
" 11. " G. Thorn, Clearfield, Pa.	2.50
" 11. " O. Ditson & Co., Boston	5.00
" 11. " J. B. Walters, Clearfield, Pa.	5.00
" 11. " A. L. Monroe, Rockford, Ill.	2.00
" 11. " A. H. Brockway, Brooklyn	1.00
" 11. " Henry Gersom, Atlanta, Ga.	1.00

\$1507.95

DAMON Y. KILGORE, Acting Treasurer.
605 Walnut St., Philadelphia.

THE "THOUSAND DOLLAR FUND."

SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF \$100 EACH FOR THE CENTENNIAL CONGRESS OF LIBERALS.

April 15. A Friend in Boston (paid)	\$100.00
April 28. Miss Marian Hovey, Boston (paid)	100.00
April 17. Wm. H. Sayward, Dorchester (paid)	\$25
May 3. Free Lecture Ass'n, New Haven	\$75
May 8. Nath. O. Nash, Boston (paid)	100.00
May 13. Samuel L. Hull, Florence, Mass. (paid)	100.00

\$500.00

FRANCIS E. ABBOT, in trust.

PAINE BUST SUBSCRIPTIONS.

CASH RECEIPTS.

Acknowledged July 6.	\$760.33
Preston Day, Castana, Iowa	1.80
W. E. Darling, Amesbury, Mass.	2.00
C. N. Norris, Yonkers, N.Y.	2.00
Benjamin Breed, Lynn, Mass.	1.00
Mary Osborn, Boston	3.00
Thomas Marshall, Economy, Ind.	2.50
Mrs. E. Crosby, Portage City, Wis.	1.00
A. M. Lee, New York City	2.00
John Scott, Dighton, Mass.	2.00
Wm. N. Allen, Philadelphia	5.00
Friends at Congress of Liberals	45.50
James N. Clark, East Somerville, Mass.	3.00

\$824.33

CARRIE BURNHAM KILGORE, Ch. Com. Phil. L. L.
605 Walnut St., Philadelphia.

THE LISTS of subscriptions acknowledged this week may not be quite complete, but Mr. Kilgore writes: "Tell the donors they will get credit for all sums received either by Mrs. K. or me."

A FEW applications for membership in the Centennial Congress of Liberals have been received, dated after the adjournment of the convention. We are

sorry that we cannot in such cases return the certificate of membership, as the Congress is no longer in existence.

POOR GENERAL CUSTER and his gallant command have fallen victims to the Indians, who have bloodily revenged the nation's violation of their treaty rights. The initial wrong was ours, in allowing the invasion of the Black Hills by government troops and greedy gold-hunters.

A. GAYLORD SPALDING, of Anoka, Minnesota, sends a petition for the opening of the Centennial Exhibition on Sundays, signed by twenty-four citizens of that State. We are sorry to say that it is now of no use: the United States Centennial Commission have refused to open the doors to the people.

A DISTINGUISHED liberal of Rhode Island has just conferred upon us the degree of "that fiery Ignatius Loyola of religious radicalism, Francis E. Abbot." In grateful appreciation of this compliment to our Jesuitical proclivities, we issue in return an INDEX diploma to that moderate Erasmus of the Liberal League movement, Thomas W. Higginson.

TWO NEW Liberal Leagues are reported to us. One is at Eureka, Michigan, with J. W. Page as President and Mrs. J. E. Sevy as Secretary. The other is at Oil City, Pennsylvania,—Henry McVeagh being President, James Robertson Secretary, and Walter Stevenson, James Jack, James Moore, D. W. McLean, and Mrs. William Jack delegates to the Congress of Liberals.

THE BEST and most spirited convention of woman-suffragists we ever attended was that of the National Woman Suffrage Association at Philadelphia, on the Fourth of July, 1876. Mrs. Mott, Mrs. Stanton, Mrs. Lockwood, Mrs. Spencer, Miss Cozzens, and a New York lady whose name we did not catch, all made excellent speeches; but Miss Anthony carried off the palm by her "rebellious" speech, giving an account of her judicial battle with Judge Hunt and her audacious presentation of the "Declaration of Rights" in Independence Hall on that very morning, in defiance of the authorities of the occasion. It was the "pluckiest" address we ever listened to. Miss Anthony set an example of energy and determination worthy of all imitation by the Liberal League.

MR. MORSE addresses to us the following note: "Dear Mr. Abbot,—You suggest in THE INDEX of June 22 that the remaining subscriptions to the Paine bust be sent directly to me, with the view, I suppose, to facilitate their speedier public acknowledgment. I shall be absent from home so much during the summer months, however, that it will be much more to my convenience if subscribers will continue to send their contributions to Mrs. Kilgore at Philadelphia. Yours, S. H. MORSE." It is to be hoped that this enterprise will not be allowed to drag along all summer, as if the liberals were really indifferent to its success. The sneers of the Orthodox will be as thick as flies in August, if the Paine bust is not soon paid for. Though not quite completed, it was exhibited on the platform at Concert Hall, and elicited a resolution of hearty approval from the Congress, together with a contribution of money on the spot. Mr. Morse expects to finish it in a few days, but it cannot be presented to the city of Philadelphia till the subscription is closed up and the marble pedestal purchased. Will not some one or more liberals possessed of means contribute promptly the amount (we believe it is not over three hundred dollars) which is needed to complete the subscription?

IN THE REPORT of the Executive Committee of the American Unitarian Association, read at the recent annual meeting of that body, the following passage occurs: "Rev. Mr. Bond, at Los Pinos, and Rev. Mr. Danforth, at White River Junction, as agents among the Ute Indians, are doing a good work. Nominated by us, their salary is paid by the government. [The italics are ours.] Although this mission promises no brilliant result, what nobler work can we do than to give to the Indian a Christian civilization?" What, indeed? The next step will be to nominate ministers to Unitarian pulpits at the East, and get the government to pay their salaries too. The Methodists and Unitarians are equally pleased at getting the government to pay the salaries of their own missionaries. The other Protestant sects and the Roman Catholics will want their share before long, and we shall have the Church fairly established in the United States as a national institution. And there are self-supposed liberals who see no evil in all this, but think it preposterous to complain of a general tendency so fatal to secular government! It is fortunate for them that others are less sleepy and less disposed to submit slavishly to such encroachments on the rights of the people.

THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

The Centennial Congress of Liberals was a wonderful, a dazzling success. It will mark an epoch in the history of the nation. It accomplished more than we dared to believe was really possible; it avoided perils which we knew to be imminent and menacing. It was the beginning of a definite movement, on a scale of as yet unsuspected vastness, for an object identical with the whole future welfare of this great republic. If ever we exulted over an event pregnant with blessing to mankind, it was when the National Liberal League, on the Fourth of July, 1876, completed the noble record of its first convention. The infant Hercules is born at last.

Let us not be misunderstood. We do not measure the success of the Congress by numbers. If that were the proper test, its success must be considered moderate. We did not anticipate a large local audience, nor was it indeed as large as we hoped to see. But the heat of the Philadelphia sun was tropical in its fierce intensity; the streets were thronged with eager swarms; the city was the focus of a nation's jubilation over the crowning of its first marvellous century; processions with bands of music paraded before the doors of Concert Hall, deafening the ears of the listeners and drowning the voices of the speakers, who strove in vain to make themselves heard even a few feet from the stage; the endless rumbling of cart-wheels and of ever-passing horse-cars filled with uproar what might have been the quiet intervals; the physical discomfort of the heat and noise was almost unendurable. Yet three hundred and fifty were present on Saturday, and between four and five hundred on Sunday; and no one on the spot could wonder that, at such a time, the general attractions of the Centennial City and the mighty magnet of the International Exhibition drew away many even of the delegates of the Congress themselves. The only wonder was that so many remained to transact the business of the convention.

One hundred and sixty-seven regularly accredited members, from all parts of the country, reported themselves to the officers, and are now enrolled as charter-members of the National Liberal League. The Liberal Leagues of Clearfield County, Pa., San Francisco, Cal., New York, N. Y., Oil City, Pa., Milwaukee, Wis. (First Liberal League), St. Joseph, Mo., Philadelphia, Pa., and Boston, Mass., were represented; as were also the "Freie Gemeinden" of Philadelphia, Washington, and Milwaukee, the "Radical Democracy" of Milwaukee, the "Union of German Radicals," the "Investigator Society" of Boston, and the "First Congregation of the Religion of Humanity" of New York. These fifteen organizations were represented by thirty-seven delegates; the rest were individual members from Iowa, Indiana, Massachusetts, New York, New Hampshire, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Connecticut, Arkansas, New Jersey, Georgia, Wisconsin, Michigan, Ohio, Washington Territory, Missouri, California, Kansas, Oregon, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Louisiana, Texas, Minnesota, Canada East, and Germany. That the Congress of Liberals fairly represented the nation, and was therefore successful in this very important respect, is self-evident. Considering, moreover, that all the members were obliged to defray their own heavy expenses, notwithstanding these hard times, it is clear that one hundred and sixty-seven representatives of the (about) eight hundred persons who signed the applications for certificates of membership were a very creditable proportion of the whole number; and this fact shows how deep an interest in the Congress has been taken all over the country.

But the feature of the Congress which, we confess, fairly delighted us and more than compensated for the enormous labor, anxiety, and exhaustion of the long preliminary preparation, was far more important than this merely superficial success. We refer to the spirit evinced by these men and women in their collective action. Notwithstanding a few trivial and transient interruptions of the prevailing harmony of the occasion, we venture to say that no convention was ever held in which good sense, good feeling, good purpose, and good action were more conspicuous. The members had come together with so evident a determination to accomplish the main objects of the Congress, that it was enough simply to explain the true intent and bearing of the plans submitted in order to sweep away all captious objections. They were clear-headed, independent, wise, generous, appreciative, sympathetic, and unmistakably in earnest. Depend upon it, a new day is dawning for American liberalism. The National Liberal League, born in the national climacteric of grand memories and heroic traditions, has caught the spirit of the elder

time; it will wear the crown of its glorious birth-hour as not unworthy to inherit such a proud distinction; it will win the young, the brave, the ardent, the unselfish, to its noblest of all causes, and offer a field for every quality that marks the hero of thought and of action. No longer "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought," but putting ideas into deeds, liberalism is already beginning to make the dry bones rattle; and more and more, as the years roll by, will it give scope and career to those who burn to do some hero-work for liberty before they die. The National Liberal League calls for volunteers to take up the task of organizing the army of freedom; it calls upon those who have at once a full purse and a full soul to furnish the sinews of war; and this, not to subdue, but to free—not to conquer the Church, but to emancipate the State. A pledge of a mighty future was given in the promptness, the earnestness, the practical wisdom and intrepid spirit of the Congress of Liberals: the National Liberal League into which it resolved itself will be heard from in due time, if the liberals of the country are not hopelessly steeped in apathy and sluggishness.

We took no notes of the proceedings, being far too busy for that; nor do we design to make any formal report of the essays, the speeches, the discussions, etc., in THE INDEX. The pamphlet report of the Congress, which will be published in due time (probably not for two or three months), will supply these details. But enough is published in THE INDEX this week to show the general results of the convention. The Constitution of the National Liberal League explains very fully the character of the organization, which is designed to be a practical, efficient, working body, for the execution of definite purposes. The first and most important of these is the adoption of a "Religious Freedom Amendment" to the United States Constitution; and the grounds and reasons of this measure are set forth at length in the "Patriotic Address." Other important results of the Congress were the series of resolutions debated, amended, and adopted on Monday and Tuesday, July 3 and 4.

But the list of Vice-Presidents of the National Liberal League, together with the extracts from letters which follow, constitute together an argument of irresistible force in favor of the League; and it is an argument which will compel the public to listen respectfully to what the League has to say. When such men as these declare themselves in favor of any liberal measure in terms so emphatic and strong, none but bigots will oppose and none but the malicious will sneer. No more cogent demonstration of the wisdom and necessity of the Liberal League movement is possible than is contained in that list of names and the letters that back it up, which we commend to the close attention of friend and foe alike. Politicians will hate and fear this movement; statesmen will cordially approve it. The secular press will ignore it as long as possible, and then disagree touching its merits; the religious press and the pulpit will before long let loose upon it their bitterest denunciations. But the people, however violent may be the preliminary contention, will in the end set the seal of their approval on the "Religious Freedom Amendment," and make it a part of the national Constitution. Not until then will this question of State Secularization be settled; but when it is once settled, the whole nation, bigots alone excepted, will unite to bless the National Liberal League.

THE FIRST BATTLE-FIELD.

One of the resolutions adopted by the National Liberal League on July 3 appointed a committee of nine to present in person to the United States Centennial Commission, who were announced to hold a meeting on July 5 in their building on the Exhibition grounds at Philadelphia, the protest of the League against the continued closing of the Exhibition on Sundays. The committee met immediately after the final adjournment of the League on the Fourth of July, and appointed Messrs. Abbot and Potter to draw up a protest and present it with suitable remarks on behalf of the committee. This protest (which will be found on the next column of this issue) was submitted to the committee on the following day at the "Headquarters of the Press" building, approved, and signed by all the members of the committee then present. The committee then proceeded to call on General Hawley, President of the Commission, to inquire how and when their protest would be received. General Hawley, after some consultation, requested the committee to return at 2 P.M., on the same day, to learn the decision of the Commission respecting its reception.

Punctually appearing at the appointed time, the

committee were informed by General Hawley's secretary that they were to be received by the Commission at 2 P.M. of the following day, July 6. This postponement was extremely inconvenient, as several members of the committee desired to leave Philadelphia that night. A note was then sent to General Hawley, requesting leave for this reason to present the protest at once. The General soon appeared and announced that the Commission had adjourned for the day. Nothing was left but to submit to the delay.

Accordingly, on July 6, those of the committee who could remain reassembled at the appointed hour, and were admitted to the Commission's room. Hon. Geo. W. Biddle, of Philadelphia, was first heard on behalf of an immense petition, signed by some 60,000 workmen of Philadelphia, for the opening of the Exhibition on Sundays at noon; and strong appeals in support of it were also made by Messrs. Blankenburg and Wilbur. We were then called upon to present the petition of the National Liberal League, and Mr. Potter was also heard in support of it. Mr. Isaac C. Davidson then presented another petition signed by 1200 workmen for the same object.

Rev. T. P. Stevenson, editor of the *Christian Statesman*, followed in a speech against opening the Exhibition on Sunday. He attempted to create odium against the National Liberal League by pulling out a copy of THE INDEX, and reading the "Demands of Liberalism," as the platform of the League, although they had not been adopted by it or even submitted to it at all in that form; and he omitted parts of the "Demands," especially that portion of the eighth "Demand" which declares that "all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty." The effect of this omission was to convey the intimation that the National Liberal League is opposed to morality altogether!

The gross injustice of this garbled reading (which we are disposed to consider as not really intended, for we have a sincere respect for Mr. Stevenson's character as a man) made the committee desire that a correction should be made. So we addressed a note to General Hawley, requesting leave to make it. Leave being granted, we said that the "Demands of Liberalism" were not the platform of the National Liberal League, which had never acted on them in that form, but merely our individual platform in the paper we edited; and that Mr. Stevenson omitted parts in the reading which, if read, would have given a very different tenor to the whole. The effect of this statement was marked. But the mind of the Commission was already made up; and next day, as we learn, they voted to adhere to their previous vote to close the doors on Sundays.

Thus for the first time the National Reform Association (the Christian Amendment party) and the National Liberal League were brought directly face to face. It was a defeat for the latter; but it was a defeat which, like that at Bunker Hill, is a victory in disguise. The Church, by trampling insolently on the rights of the whole people and especially by scorning the plea of the working-men for simple justice, is arraying against itself the great bulk of the people and paving the way for its own crushing overthrow. But its power is immense to-day, and will override liberty, justice, and equal rights until the people have learned the lesson of organization thoroughly. The National Liberal League is the only means by which these supreme interests of humanity can be protected; and such defeats as this will soon teach the people that they must remain slaves of the churches, unless they organize in Liberal Leagues all over the land for the defence of their own freedom against the tyrant.

PROTEST

OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE AGAINST CLOSING THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION ON SUNDAYS, PRESENTED AT THE MEETING OF THE UNITED STATES CENTENNIAL COMMISSION, ON THE EXHIBITION GROUNDS AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 6, 1876.

PHILADELPHIA, July 4, 1876.

TO THE PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE CENTENNIAL COMMISSION:

Gentlemen,—At one of the sessions of the National Liberal League, just organized at Concert Hall in this city, a committee, consisting of F. E. Abbot, B. F. Underwood, George W. Julian, D. Y. Kilgore, James McArthur, William J. Potter, R. P. Halliwell, Mrs. Dr. Pratt, and Mrs. Kilgore, was appointed and instructed to present to your honorable body the protest of the League against the closing of the International Exhibition on Sunday, together with a list of the officers and members.

In obedience to these instructions, the undersigned

members of this Committee respectfully present the following, as the leading reasons of this protest:—

1. The Exhibition is a National affair, sustained in large measure by the impartial taxation of the whole American people, without the least regard to their religious beliefs; and the equal rights of the whole people ought to be scrupulously protected by the officers to whom its management is intrusted. But it is a denial and infraction of their equal religious rights to exclude the whole people from the Exhibition on Sundays, merely because a part of the people believe Sunday to be a holy day. Such a belief justifies those who hold it in staying away from the Exhibition on Sundays; but it does not justify them in keeping others away from it. The Church has no right, under the Constitution, thus to impose any part of its creed on the State, or to claim for those who believe it any temporal advantage over those who disbelieve it.

2. The closing of the Exhibition on Sundays is a grievous practical wrong against the working classes, who especially need and would prize the educational influences offered in this magnificent display of the products of all countries, but who are now debarred from visiting it on the day when it is most convenient for them to do so, and who must in consequence either keep away altogether, or visit it on a day when they must suffer an additional tax by the loss of their daily wages. The right of the working-man in this country to visit the Exposition on Sundays is certainly as good as that of the Emperor of Brazil and his attendants, for whose convenience, it is reported, the Sunday restriction has been removed and the alleged sacredness of the day violated.

Respectfully yours,

F. E. ABBOT.
B. F. UNDERWOOD.
GEORGE W. JULIAN.
DAMON Y. KILGORE.
JAMES MCARTHUR.
WILLIAM J. POTTER.
RICHARD P. HALLIWELL.
MARY PRATT, M. D.
CARRIE B. KILGORE.

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY R. C.

Mr. Hayes, in his letter of acceptance, speaks first of civil service reform as the question of "paramount interest," and shows that he fully and clearly apprehends the nature of the reform demanded. He pledges himself, if elected, to do all in his power to overthrow the doctrine, "to the victors belong the spoils." He would remove the appointing power from the control of members of Congress; would make tenure of office to depend upon personal character and the performance of duties; would return, therefore, to the principles and practices of the founders of the government; recognizes the necessity of making civil service reform "thorough, radical, and complete"; and, that he may have no temptation to use executive patronage to his own advantage, states, somewhat needlessly we think, his "inflexible purpose, if elected, not to be a candidate for election to a second term." With reference to the currency, he regards "all the laws of the United States relating to the payment of the public indebtedness, the legal tender notes included, as constituting a pledge and moral obligation of the government which must in good faith be kept." He gives a cordial approval to the resolution upon the public school system; declares that what the South most needs is peace, and that peace depends upon the supremacy of the law; and assures his "countrymen of the Southern States" that his administration will be one which will "regard and cherish the interests of the white and of the colored people, both and equally, and which will put forth its best efforts in behalf of a civil policy which will wipe out forever the distinction between the North and South in our common country." It would be difficult for any one, aside from those who are wedded to our present corrupt system of civil administration, to find any fault with the tone or the statements of Mr. Hayes' letter, and it will undoubtedly do a great deal toward awakening the interest of reformers in his favor, and restoring his chances of success, so much impaired by Republican folly and corruption.

On the 25th of June Gen. Custer, with five companies of his own regiment, attacked a large Indian village on the Big Horn branch of the Yellowstone River in Montana, but being surrounded by overpowering numbers, was killed, together with every officer and soldier of his immediate command, numbering over three hundred. Major Reno, who had also attacked the same Indians with the remaining companies of the regiment and been repulsed, was able, fortunately, to entrench himself upon a bluff, and after constant fighting for two days and a night, was saved from Custer's fate by the arrival of Gen. Terry. So completely was Reno surrounded that although Custer and his five companies had been killed within a few miles of him, he knew nothing of their fate until after Terry's arrival. Gen. Custer's name had become well-known throughout the country, partly because of his services during our civil war, more recently through his leadership of the Black Hills expedition, and still more recently by his appearance before an investigating committee at Washington, where his outspoken testimony concerning the corruptions existing in connection with post-traderships is said to have given serious offence to the President. His "Life on the Plains," also, and his "War Memoirs," now running in the *Galaxy*, had made his name familiar in literary circles, and gave promise

* Mr. Julian authorizes the addition of his name to this protest, though he was not present at the time to sign it.

(he was only thirty-seven years of age) of a good degree of literary success in the future. It is a singular coincidence, by the way, that his last paper in the *Galaxy* is entitled, "Battling with the Sioux on the Yellowstone."

Custer's sad fate—which for his family is made extremely sad by the death of two of his brothers, a brother-in-law and a nephew, all of whom were with him—promises to give renewed interest to the present difference between the Senate and House of Representatives concerning the transfer of the Indian Bureau to the War Department. The Indian Bureau cannot get along now without the assistance of the army, as is shown by the fact that General Terry was sent upon his expedition, at the request of the Interior Department, to punish the Indians for leaving their reservation, and to compel them to return thereto. A transfer of the Indian Bureau to the care of army officers would not mean an exterminating war waged against the Indians, as some sentimentalists seem to imagine, but stricter accountability on the part of those having the Indians in charge, and, consequently, less cheating of the Indian, less dissatisfaction on his part, and less frequent occasion to use the army to "punish" him. At present we go through the farce of making a formal treaty with an Indian chief, as though he were the accredited representative of a civilized and sovereign power, and shortly after we treat him as pauper, or a child, or an escaped malefactor, and expect the wretched savage to behave himself with all the docility of "Mary's little lamb," notwithstanding our inconsistencies. Our Indian policy—be it dignified as "peace" or "Quaker"—is a miserable sham, which has already cost unnecessary millions of money, and far too many brave men's lives.

The various celebrations of our Centennial Anniversary seem to have been conducted throughout the country with satisfactory success, and, on the whole, with much better taste than our usual Fourth of July celebrations would have led one to expect. That at Philadelphia seems to have been carried on with wonderful enthusiasm, and the illuminations and processions in New York and elsewhere were exceedingly brilliant. The orations, also, so far as we have been able to look them over, compare favorably with those delivered in previous years. It is to be regretted that the Centennial Commissioners did not add to the effect of the celebration at Philadelphia by ordering the doors of the Exhibition to be thrown open to the people on Sundays, but unfortunately they decided, by a vote of 29 to 10, taken last week, to keep the doors closed on that day.—General Hawley going to the extent of declaring that he would not dare to vote in any other way. The vote is an unfortunate one from many points of view, and is another evidence of the provincialism of the American mind, a provincialism which is due to more causes than we have space at present to specify, and which time and added knowledge will enable us to outgrow. It is to be hoped that the voyage to Europe, and to Asia also, may yet be greatly shortened and cheapened, and that many of our good and pious church-people may thus have an opportunity to discover that there are still a few things in which America may profitably take a few lessons from the Old World.

The proceedings attending the National Anniversary have naturally overshadowed somewhat the effect of the other proceedings which ordinarily would be of considerable interest. The National Woman's Suffrage Association, for instance, has held a convention in Philadelphia for the purpose, we believe, of promulgating a "declaration of independence" for women; and the American Woman's Suffrage Association has also held a convention in the same place in order to commemorate an anniversary of the voting of women in the Province of New Jersey. We regret that we have not seen any full report of either of these conventions. The Convention of Liberal Leagues is reported to our readers in full in other columns. The Germans of Philadelphia unveiled on the Fourth of July, in Fairmount Park, a monument to Humboldt; and in this connection, also, may be mentioned the fact that both Houses of Congress have voted unanimously to complete the Washington Monument, and have appropriated \$100,000 for that purpose.

The House, we are sorry to state, has adopted the majority report of the Committee on the Geneva Award. The dishonesty of this report we have previously explained, and are pained to be obliged to add to the roll of dishonor, that is, to the list of those who have actively supported the accepted bill, the names of Mr. Hale, of Maine, and, most surprising of all, Mr. Seelye, of Massachusetts. Mr. Seelye is a professor in and may yet be president of Amherst College; he is also a Doctor of Divinity, and many people have entertained great hopes with regard to his congressional career. We cannot impute to him any intentional dishonesty in this matter, nor can we attribute to him the damn-the-odds spirit of Butler or Frye. We can only regret, therefore, the distressing muddle into which he has permitted himself to get. That Professor Seelye, however good his impulses, is not a man of very clear perceptions, has been abundantly demonstrated heretofore—in his advocacy, for instance, of the God-in-the-Constitution Amendment, and in his speech on the transfer of the Indian Bureau,—but we never expected, with reference to a matter which involves only the plainest principles of morality, to find him numbered with the cheats and the scalawags.

Mr. Bristow has been before the "whiskey" Committee which has required him to give an account of the part borne by the President in the prosecution of the whiskey-rings. Mr. Bristow has declined to answer the questions of the Committee on the ground

that conversations between the President and a Cabinet officer are matters of highest privilege, and cannot be divulged on the call of an investigating committee. If the Committee carry the matter into the House, the week is likely to witness a lively debate in Washington. Apart from this question between Mr. Bristow and the Committee, there is undoubtedly a great deal which the public would like to know concerning Grant's relations to the "whiskey" prosecutions. Not only is Bristow allowed to depart from the Cabinet without any expressed regret by the President, but his departure is followed immediately by that of Treasurer New and of Solicitor Wilson, the latter of whom was Bristow's right-hand man in the famous prosecutions. And, moreover, as soon as the leading men are away, Grant orders the peremptory discharge of Yaryan, Chief of the Special Agents, the man who did the active work of ferreting out the rascals, and whose good conduct and ability are approved, in the highest terms of praise, by both Bristow and Wilson. And on top of Yaryan's discharge comes that of Colonel Dyer, the lawyer who conducted the prosecutions at St. Louis. Let it not be forgotten that the Republicans adopted a civil service reform plank in the Cincinnati platform, and approved the administration of President Grant. If the Republicans do not contrive to turn themselves out of office, it will be because of the stupidity or chicanery of the Democrats rather than because they deserve to remain where they are.

The two Houses of Congress are still at a deadlock with reference to the Appropriation Bills. The Conference Committee upon the Diplomatic and Consular Bill came very near to an agreement, but finally failed and a new committee will probably be appointed. The Senate has been occupied chiefly since the 6th inst., with the trial of Belknap, but has found time to appoint a commission of three senators to investigate the subject of Chinese immigration. Both Houses will unite probably in a resolution to extend last year's appropriations for ten days longer, pending the disagreement with regard to new appropriations. The House passed a bill requiring the Pacific Railroad companies to create a sinking fund to reimburse the United States; and Pinchback's claim for remuneration has been favorably acted upon by the Senate. Mr. Blaine has resigned his position as Representative from Maine, and accepted the appointment of United States Senator, tendered him by Governor Connor, in place of Mr. Morrill who has at last accepted the Secretaryship of the Treasury. Inasmuch as Messrs. Fisher and Mulligan, as we write, are probably before the Judiciary Committee at Washington testifying with regard to Blaine's letters and telegrams, it is to be hoped that Governor Connor may not be furnished with additional reason for regretting his appointment.

It is somewhat difficult to understand the newspaper reports of the results of the engagements which have thus far taken place between the Servians and Turks. So far as we have been able to get at the facts the present condition of affairs is about as follows: one division of the Servian army, and probably the main division, under General Tchernayeff, has moved in a south-easterly direction, crossed the frontier, repulsed a Turkish attack, and is now going toward Sophia, having in front of it, however, a large Turkish army under Osman. A second division, under General Zach, which moved in a southerly direction, has met with a severe defeat, and has either recrossed the frontier or is near Novi Bazar, in Bosnia. A third division, under General Olympia, has also met with a severe defeat upon the south-western frontier; while a fourth division has crossed the Drina and held its own against Turkish attack upon the north-western frontier. A small force of 5000 Servians has crossed the Timok on the eastern frontier and gone into Bulgaria. The results thus far, on the whole, appear to be decidedly unfavorable to the Servians. The Turkish irregular troops are reported to have committed terrible outrages in Bulgaria. The Prince of Montenegro is said to be moving to the support of Zach's army, and Zach has been superseded in command by the Servian Minister of War on account of his defeat.

ENGLISH SKETCHES.

BY MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

LONDON, June 19, 1876.

I have before told you of our "monster petition" against any further grants to the Royal family until a statement of their present income has been laid before Parliament. This petition was presented on Friday last, and caused a considerable amount of excitement in the House of Commons. The petition was made up into a huge roll, the signatures covering paper of nearly a mile in length. It was rolled on a strong mahogany pole, and encased in brown American cloth, and bound with scarlet ribbon. In all 104,330 signatures were appended, and of these 102,937 were in one roll, the odd 1,393 forming a small second volume, they having arrived too late to be attached to "the monster." It having been announced that the Duke of Connaught (formerly known as Prince Arthur) was shortly to be married to the Princess Frederica, daughter of the ex-King of Hanover, and that an additional £10,000 a year was to be asked for, besides his present income of £15,000, with an annuity of £8,000 to the princess in case she should survive him, Mr. Burt, M. P., for Morpeth, and other members interested in the question, thought that it would be wise to present the petition at once, before Mr. Disraeli, with that suddenness which distinguishes him, should ask for the further grant. Accordingly, on Friday afternoon, we

deposited our monster in a carriage, with Mr. Bradlaugh and myself on guard, and followed by two other carriages, conveying the Misses Bradlaugh, Mr. Watts, M. and Mme. De Lubez, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Ramsay, we trotted away through Hyde Park to the House of Commons. Seven of us had a statutory right to accompany the petition, and Mr. Bradlaugh and Mr. Watts walked first, carrying the large roll between them; I followed with the smaller one, and four others brought up the rear.

Westminster Hall is probably known by many of the readers of THE INDEX. It is a huge hall, forming part of the Houses of Parliament, opening into Palace Yard. Along one side are a number of smaller halls, courts of justice; along the other are ranged statues of English monarchs. At the end of the hall, opposite the door, is a great flight of steps, leading to the corridor through which is reached the outer lobby of the Commons' House. No one, without a ticket of admission, may pass along this sacred corridor. A number of people had congregated in Westminster Hall, and greeted us with loud cheers as we entered, carrying the petition along the whole length of the Hall. The noise brought out the white-wigged barristers from the courts, surprised at so sudden a disturbance of the usual stately calm, and the cheers heralding our approach penetrated to the House above, and gave notice of the anti-royalist petition. At the entrance to the corridor the way was barred by the police, who kept back the crowd, and it was only by some persistence that the mystic seven got through. The outer lobby reached, we were surrounded by an inquiring throng of gentlemen waiting admission to the galleries of the House. Passing through these, we entered the second corridor, and there waited awhile, as the bell was ringing for a division, and nothing could be done till that was over. Only members and peers of the realm were admitted to the serene atmosphere in which we now found ourselves, and many questions assailed us as to what signified the huge roll over which the tall figure of our chief stood guard, erect and motionless as a soldier on duty. The division over, Mr. Burt and Mr. Macdonald appeared and led the way into the inner lobby, thronged with members, who crowded curiously round the roll, as it was placed on the door-mat, the uttermost limit of intrusion permissible to non-members.

Mr. Burt is a man of some mark in the House, because of the force behind him. He was sent there by the sturdy miners of Northumberland, and is now supported by them, while he pleads their cause in the House. He is a quiet, modest, loyal-hearted man, speaking with the accent of his fellows, the "Northumbrian burr," but speaking also with directness and force, so that he is always listened to in the House with attention and respect. He is recognized as one of the working-class representatives, and as such he was selected to present the petition. Mr. Macdonald, M. P., for Stafford, is the President of the Miners' Association, and wields a considerable power in the country. He, too, has spoken boldly against the wasteful expenditure of public funds on the Brunswick family, and was therefore asked to share with Mr. Burt the duty of presenting our monster; the smaller roll was also committed to his care. The petition was carried within the House by these two gentlemen, and was hailed with some cheering, some laughter, and some marks of disapprobation, and there it stands to witness to the displeasure testified by upwards of 104,000 English citizens towards Royal grants, a displeasure shared by a huge additional mass whom lack of time and labor alone prevented us from reaching.

The London and provincial press report the proceedings, a notice being inserted in every paper I have seen. They characterize it as "an unusual incident," "a remarkable petition," "an extraordinary petition," or "a monster petition," and many seem doubtful as to what such a demonstration may portend. Meanwhile the crown is drifting into rougher and rougher waters. The large towns furnish enthusiastic audiences which cheer to the echo every republican utterance. I have lately chosen as the title for a political lecture the question: "Republic or Empire: which?" and the answer rings back ever in scornful laughter at the Empire, in loving welcome to the Republic. Disraeli continues to play our game by disgraceful jobbery in the government patronage. The ex-King of Hanover, a turned-out refugee from Germany, who was rejected as not good enough for a petty German kingdom, is raised here to the rank of an English general, and his son is made into a colonel. To add to the ex-king's qualifications, he is blind, and, therefore, especially well-fitted to perform his duties. Bitter is the indignation felt by honest Englishmen that our army should be thus degraded, and that a cast-off German king should be elevated to the command of English soldiers. To still further improve matters, a certain Prince Louis of Battenburg, another German adventurer, has just been raised to the rank of lieutenant in the navy over the heads of one hundred and fifty-seven of his seniors, having qualified himself for his advancement by attending the Prince of Wales in his Indian tour. He has been appointed to a ship, so that he may draw his full pay, and has then been immediately granted leave of absence! And yet people over here talk of American corruption. The fact is that you let vulgar common people profit by the corruption, and that is manifestly wrong. No one would say anything to you, if you would be discreet enough to make people into princes before you permit jobbery on their behalf.

Lord Amberley's work, published posthumously, on the religious beliefs of the world, seems likely to create some interest and excitement. It is issued to the public to-day, copies for review being distributed earlier. A short preface has been written to it by Lord Amberley's mother, the Lady Russell, who is

said to be an earnest Christian. This introduction is only a veiled apology for the work, entreating those who may feel pained by the attacks on religion contained in the book, to remember that the views expressed therein were formed after earnest and careful thought, and that the author himself suffered in resigning his creed. The book is dedicated to Lady Amberley in a few words that remind one of Mill's dedication of his work on *Liberty* to his beloved lost wife. Lord and Lady Amberley were knit together by the closest ties of love and thought, and the husband scarce recovered from his wife's death during the short time that he survived her. They were buried side by side in unconsecrated ground by their own expressed desire; but since the funeral of Lord Amberley their grave has been desecrated, and the dead bodies have been removed into "hallowed" ground. Few outrages more thoroughly cowardly have been perpetrated on freethought during late years than this insult to the helpless dead.

I am just now going off to lecture on the question: "Is the Church of England worth preserving?" The town is Birkenhead; the population churchy. Every lecture given here on this subject has been interlarded with objections in the form of vegetables, eggs, and stones, and I am a little curious to see my audience. It seems so disgraceful to have meetings broken up in this fashion, that I have deliberately chosen disestablishment for my subject, desiring to see if an orderly meeting cannot be held in favor of it, spite of the Church folks. It is consoling to know that violence of this kind is always the sign of a falling cause, and that the Church is most effectually injured by its friends acting in this fashion, since it disgusts all decent people with a party which uses such weapons. If I escape safely from these Church cats, I will duly relate my experience in my next letter.

Communications.

PROUDHON AND HIS CRITIC.

BY BENJ. R. TUCKER.

The student of Proudhon must have laid down THE INDEX of June 23d, containing Stephen Pearl Andrews' article on "Proudhon and his Translator," with a feeling of pleasure not unmixed with pain; pleasure at meeting at last with an elaborate and scholarly criticism of this author and his work, dealing in argument rather than ridicule; and pain at finding this same criticism so alloyed with error and careless misstatement as to greatly detract from its value. The wicked lies and stupid sneers with which the press has almost uniformly greeted the translation into English of *What is Property?* I have chosen not to notice, believing that a book which cannot defend itself against assaults of such a character had better die at once; but when so able and keen a critic as Mr. Andrews is known to be carelessly misrepresents—by implication rather than direct statement—the theories advocated in the work, justice to his author's memory compels the translator to fulfil the duty imposed upon him by the function which he has assumed, by entering a protest and insisting on fair play. Those who have intelligently read the book already, will discover, without further help of mine, the discrepancy between Proudhon's doctrines as stated by himself and the idea that a novice would form of them in taking them at second-hand from Mr. Andrews. That those also, whose knowledge of Proudhon is yet to be acquired, may appreciate this discrepancy, I shall endeavor, as far as possible, in this article, to "let the master speak for himself." Before proceeding, however, to a detailed examination of the matter in hand, I must first thank Mr. Andrews for his handsome recognition of Proudhon's virtues and abilities, and his clear and accurate insight into his character. Had he understood his writings as well as he understands the man, there would be no call for this expression of dissent.

The first point calling for attention is the critic's assumption that Proudhon, in saying that "property is impossible," meant that it cannot exist even temporarily or contingently. He says: "But if property is impossible, then it cannot exist; and if it cannot exist, then it does not exist; and why should Mr. Proudhon write a big book to do away with what does not and never did have any existence?" Now let us listen to Proudhon (page 40, outlining his arguments): "Considering the fact of property in itself, we shall inquire whether this fact is real, whether it exists, whether it is possible. Then we shall discover, singularly enough, that property may indeed manifest itself accidentally; but that, as an institution and principle, it is mathematically impossible. So that the axiom of the school—*ab actu ad posse valet consequutio*: from the actual to the possible the inference is good—is given the lie as far as property is concerned." True, Mr. Andrews says immediately afterwards: "Of course the literal meaning of what he says is absurd"; and proceeds to show what he really did mean; but then where is the pertinency of our critic's first argument? Why should Mr. Andrews write half a paragraph to refute what Proudhon never did mean? The only effect of such a course is the same as that which the former repeatedly charges upon the latter's writings, viz.: the confusing of the reader's mind. It is virtual misrepresentation.

In the next two paragraphs we find the same thing repeated. The critic first makes the following lucid statement of Proudhon's understanding of the word *property*, for which he deserves great credit, nearly all previous critics having failed to grasp and state this vital point: "What he means by property is that subtle fiction which makes that mine or thine of which we are out of possession, for which we have

no present use, but which by this subtle lie we may recall at our option, using it, in the meantime, to subjugate others to our service, by taking increase for its use, in the form of rent, interest, and the like." Then, after warning (very properly) his readers that unless this sense of the term *property* is constantly borne in mind, the author is certain to be misunderstood, he immediately dismisses it from his own mind, and indulges in the following remarks: "It is, however, not true that property, even so restricted in definition, is robbery, pure and simple. It is not proprietorship, but the use of proprietorship, to extort increase, which is vicious in principle." What is the meaning of this sudden twist in the critic's logic? If this "vicious use of proprietorship" is the very thing which Proudhon regards as the essence of proprietorship, how can Mr. Andrews deny that property, according to Proudhon's restricted definition, is robbery? The state of the reader's mind, when he reached this point of the criticism, must have been "confusion worse confounded." Indeed, the present writer hardly dares follow this line of thought further, for fear that, despite his intimacy with the views in question, he will begin to feel muddled himself.

The critic next falls into the error of supposing that his author favors the forcible intervention of society to control the property relations of individuals. This misapprehension, in view of the slightly misleading character of some of Proudhon's phrases, is partially excusable; but a close reading reveals the fact that the only control which he favored is that which is exercised, not through institutions based on physical force, but through the natural operation of the law of equitable exchange. "He (Proudhon) also leaves us very much in the dark as to the precise social machinery by which he would have the world organized and run. He is far more specific with regard to what he would abolish than with regard to what he would construct." Why should he treat of organization in a work devoted to analysis? This objection is thus answered by Proudhon in the closing passage of his preface: "On the following conditions, then, of subsequent evidence, depends the correctness of my preceding arguments: the discovery of a system of absolute equality in which all existing institutions, save property, not only may find a place, but may themselves serve as instruments of equality: individual liberty, the division of power, the public ministry, etc.—a system which better than property, guarantees the formation of capital and keeps up the courage of all; which, from a superior point of view, explains, corrects, and completes the theories of association hitherto proposed, from Plato and Pythagoras to Babeuf, Saint Simon, and Fourier; a system, finally, which, serving as a means of transition, is immediately applicable." Proudhon was no less keenly alive to the necessity of organization than is Mr. Andrews himself. He fulfilled the above promise in his subsequent works by developing his theory of mutualism, which was to find its first external expression in the organization of credit on a gratuitous basis by a system of banking which he devised, the results of which would be so vast and beneficent that one fears to present even the barest outline of them, for fear of so awakening the incredulity of the reader as to blind him to the truth of the principles involved.

Mr. Andrews next objects to Proudhon's use of the term anarchy to denote order, for the reason that, while the Greek *arche*, from which it is derived, meant both "personal government by arbitrium" and the government of inherent laws and principles, Proudhon confined it to the former of these ideas. It is difficult to see why he had not as good a right to confine it to the former, as had Mr. Andrews, when coining the word *Pantarchy*, to confine it to the latter.

The worst instance of misrepresentation, however, contained in the whole criticism, occurs in the following sentences: "At the 56th page the author propounds the theory that there was a primitive state of social equality; that our departure from it is a degeneracy; that we are to return to that state of nature, etc. Surely our social theories are in advance of that idea now. Man never returns to prior conditions. He advances to new conditions which reproduce the *spirit* of primal states, but in *still* newer forms, which embody also the good of what now is. We pass from an undifferentiated state to differentiation, and thence not backward but forward to integration. So the equality which Proudhon so aspired after will never come in the simple primitive form, but it will come in a higher and scientifically adjusted form." Now, it is assumed here that Proudhon said the precise opposite of what he really did say. Suppose we compare this rendering of the 56th page with the 56th page itself (and I ask any fair-minded person if it is not expressed in terms so unmistakably plain that no ordinarily careful reader could fail to understand it): "To suppose original equality in human society is to admit by implication that the present inequality is a degeneration from the nature of this society,—a thing which the defenders of property cannot explain. But I infer therefrom that, if Providence placed the first human beings in a condition of equality, it was an indication of its desires, a model that it wished them to realize in other forms; just as the religious sentiment, which it planted in their hearts, has developed and manifested itself in various ways. Man has but one nature, constant and unalterable: he pursues it through instinct, he wanders from it through reflection, he returns to it through judgment; who shall say that we are not returning now?" And yet, in the face of this, Mr. Andrews would have us believe that Proudhon wanted to go back, not only to the old spirit, but to old forms! The fact is, the idea expressed by Mr. Andrews in his formula of *unism, duism, and trinitism*, was completely developed by Proudhon in 1845 in his *Contradictions Economiques* (the only difference being that the

latter used the terms *thesis, antithesis, and synthesis*), and for him to say that "Proudhon never attained to it" is almost impudent. Proudhon borrowed it from Hegel, to whom he credited it; and Colonel William B. Greene traces it back even further than this, finding its origin in the Jewish *Kabbala*.

The criticism of Proudhon's remarks upon equality is, I confess, partially correct. He claimed too much when he said that equality was synonymous with society, and made a more accurate statement afterwards in calling it a *sine qua non* of society; but that this trivial error affords a "loophole of escape to the proprietor of every grade" from the crushing logic of the rest of the work, I utterly fail to see. I must not close without referring to the *animus* of Mr. Andrews' article, which is best exhibited in his statement that "Proudhon belongs as definitely to the past, at this day, and to the mere history of ideas, as Ptolemy after Copernicus." Has it come to this, then, that in this fast age we progress so rapidly that a single decade suffices to blot out the memory and destroy the usefulness of one of whom the *Pantarch* even is compelled to speak so highly? The hint is a very broad one; and it does not take the eye of Argus to discover that the Copernicus of our social system is named Stephen Pearl Andrews; and when Proudhon's translator is advised to waste no further time on such a useless task, but to be sure that he is doing the "best thing possible," it is evident that the best thing possible, in the critic's view, is to join the *Pantarchy*, and work therein. The whole article is an almost shocking revelation of the practice of the *Pantarch* in persisting in selfishly subordinating what he considers the comparative worthlessness of others to what he considers his own superlative worth.

"GOOD TO DIE BY."

EDITOR INDEX:—

The old saying that "infidelity will do to live by but not to die by," has been so often repeated both by the clergy and laity, that among them it is accepted as true without questioning. Until their minds can be disabused of this error, we never can get them to accept our views in regard to the inspiration of the Bible. We may be able to convince them that the Bible is not the inspired word of God, but they will still cling to the Christian religion, so long as they can be induced to believe that even an infidel cannot die without the consolation of the Church, and that he always recants and joins the church before he dies, if he be not cut off suddenly.

If we cannot consistently die, as we live, infidels, then the sooner we recant and go back to Christianity, or some other religion that we can live and die by, the better: but I am persuaded that infidelity will do to die by, just as well as to live by, and that an infidel can pass through the dark valley with as much fortitude, peace, and resignation as the Christian can. Death has no terrors to him who has been true to himself and lived up to his honest convictions of duty; no guilty conscience is there to accuse him of sin. He does not acknowledge its existence, because, if the Bible be not God's word, there is no sin, for sin is the violation of God's law as revealed in the Bible. To the infidel death is but the passage into an unknown and untold future. Now a death-bed, it has been truly said, is a "detector of the heart"; and until we have by our death-bed confessions convinced the people that this old saying about infidels not dying without calling in the aid of the Church is not true, we ought not to expect them to accept our views. Our death-bed confessions alone will be accepted by the Orthodox as honest and sincere. They do not give us credit for being honest in our opinion while we are enjoying life and good health, but say, "Just wait till he comes to his dying bed, and he will talk differently; he will then recant."

The consistent death of one infidel will do more to convince such people than all the evidence and logic we can produce that the Bible is not the inspired word of God. Is not the Christian always on the alert to secure the testimony of the dying saint as to the truthfulness and consolation of his religion? Why then should we neglect such testimony when we know that it has so much weight with our Christian friends?

My object in writing the above is to try and impress upon the minds of all those who do not believe in the inspiration of the Bible the importance of seeing to it that their death-bed confessions give out no uncertain sound, and also that their dying declaration on this most important subject receive due publicity. Let every one now, while in good health, while his mind is not weakened by disease nor distracted by thoughts of parting from friends, commit to writing his views on this subject, and also what ceremonies he would have observed at his funeral. This would enable us to dispense with the services of the clergy. Every one owes it to the living to give his dying testimony as to the honesty of his convictions.

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GLIMPSES.

ANOTHER new Liberal League is reported to us at Berlin Heights, Ohio. President, Mrs. Mary Overton; Secretary, William B. Harrison.

AT TORONTO, Canada, the International Young Men's Christian Association has just held its twenty-first annual convention. The report of the committee announced 704 organizations on this continent, with a total membership of 80,933.

A SUBSCRIBER suggests that the Christian sectaries who have shut up the Exposition on Sundays be required to hold themselves responsible for the threatened financial deficiency. If that proposition could be carried out, it might have the effect of precipitately opening the doors.

IF YOU wish to aid powerfully in the Liberal League movement, go to the editor of your local paper and persuade him to publish as much as possible of the proceedings of the Philadelphia convention, contained in last week's INDEX. All the League movement needs is to be known: its immense moral force will do the rest. But the press will let it alone as long as possible, and every live liberal has a work in this direction which can be and ought to be done at once.

THE WHEELING (West Virginia) *Intelligencer* remarks: "It has leaked out that the date of Mr. Dandorf's letter agreeing to be a candidate for reelection to Congress shows it to have been written on Sunday. If this is true, that he was actually guilty of writing a political letter on Sunday, it affords good grounds for defeating him, and sending some fellow to Washington who will date his Sunday letters on Saturday." The latter suggestion jokingly illustrates the kind of morality which is the glory of pious politicians.

THE STOCKTON (California) *Daily Independent* of July 7, in its account of the procession on the Fourth, says that it had "a car containing four beautiful plaster-busts of Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, and Tom Paine, and a full length statue of the Goddess of Liberty standing on a pedestal upon which were painted in gilt letters names of heroes of the Revolution. On either side of the Goddess were gilded columns supporting an arch thrown over her head bearing the motto: 'These are my jewels.' On the sides of the car were the names of all the signers of the Declaration of Independence. The whole car was conspicuous for its pure simplicity and beauty, and excited much admiration." The busts of Jefferson and Paine were the workmanship of Mr. Morse, who executed them on the special order of the Stockton liberals for this occasion.

THE LONDON SUNDAY LEAGUE lately assembled at the gates of the British Museum, at the National Gallery, and in Hyde Park, to pass the following resolutions: "This meeting on behalf of trade and the industrial interests of the metropolis indignantly protests against the oppressive closing of the national galleries and museums to those who desire to use them on the only day in the week when the great mass of the people can visit them; and further, this meeting respectfully but firmly warns the present government that this rational extension of public liberty has been patiently waited for and legally sought without avail for many years." That is precisely such work as awaits the Liberal League in America. Only let its appeals be made, not only in the name of "trade and industrial interests," but still more emphatically in the name of justice, equal rights, and religious liberty.

ANSON MERRILL, Deputy Sheriff at Manchester, N. H., has just died in that city. The *Daily Union* of July 14 praises his character highly, and bears this testimony to the brave and peaceful manner in which he passed away: "He was a good officer, active and energetic in his business. Mr. Merrill was equally positive in his religious views. He believed that upon the subject of God and immortality

he knew as much as any man, that is, nothing. He often expressed a wish for immortality, saying that, if there was a life beyond the grave, he was prepared to enjoy it; but if there was no life beyond, he was just as well off as any man who had ever lived. During his last sickness, which was very brief, he was in the full enjoyment of his mental faculties, and conversed freely till within a few minutes of his death. Almost the last words which he spoke to his children, who were present, were, 'Be brave; be true. . . Press onward, ever onward in the path of duty.' He died July 6, 1876, calmly, peacefully, like one going to sleep." Could he have died more nobly, or with better words upon his lips, if he had been a Christian?

THE *Christian Union*, if it deliberately sets about it, is capable of getting more muddled than any other journal (except one) that occurs to us: "President Grant's declaration that the Bible is the sheet-anchor of all our liberties is one of those popular and melancholy delusions which constitute the darkest cloud of our national future." It happens, however, to have been a light for us in our national past, and until THE INDEX substitutes some other 'sheet-anchor' which will hold as well, the nation must continue to harbor the above-mentioned melancholy delusion. The 'secular Constitution' which THE INDEX offers is not a satisfactory substitute, if it is to stand as an isolated instrument; for it would evidently be worth nothing unless men had faith in it. And the reason they have faith in it is because it confirms the citizen in the enjoyment of those rights through which alone he can find his highest development. The 'secular Constitution' guarantees that a man may become, without let or hindrance, what the Bible would have him become, and for this reason it commands our respect. There are some cables we cannot afford to slip—certainly not the one THE INDEX has let go." Why does not the *Christian Union* prepare to die in defence of the thesis that the Bible is the best Cook-Book ever published? Or the most accurate Railway Guide? Or the only divinely inspired Chess Manual? It has just as much to do with our "liberties" as it has with cookery, railroads, or chess,—and no more.

THIS is the brutal manner in which Rev. T. DeWitt Talmage, of Brooklyn, comments on the Paine bust enterprise in the *Christian at Work* of July 13, a sheet edited by him at New York:—

SEVEN HUNDRED DOLLARS FOR TOM PAINE. The work of monument-building and biography is being slightly overdone. It matters not how big a scamp a man is, after he is dead he will find a eulogist, and a minister to preach him to glory. Aaron Burr, the heap of compost, and Lord Byron, the slush of London society, after departure won books of panegyric. Now a subscription is started for raising a monument to Tom Paine, in Independence Hall, at Philadelphia. Seven hundred dollars have already been promised. This is because Tom Paine wrote a book called *Common Sense*, and other tracts of a patriotic character, at the opening of the Revolution. But shall that make us forget that he wrote the most vulgar and nefarious assault on Christians, and that he died in a filth that would make a pig-sty seem a parlor? We put Tom Paine's *Age of Reason* against Tom Paine's *Common Sense*. The former did a thousandfold more harm than the latter did good. He who wars against the Holy Scriptures is not fit to have his picture, or bust, or monument in Independence Hall with the faces of George Washington and John Quincy Adams.

Will not somebody start a subscription to have a monument in Westminster Abbey of the hero of the gunpowder plot; or in our common schools to Herod; or in our churches to Nero? Come now, get out your dollars, and have put in bronze and marble the forms of Robespierre, and Jim Fisk, and Bill Tweed, and all the other political or financial villains of the past and present.

Seriously, we hope that the most consecrated spot of American patriotism will never be disgraced by the visage of Tom Paine, who lived like a fool and died like a beast. The righteous shall be held in everlasting remembrance, but the name of the wicked shall rot.

N.B.—For further information, apply to the Secretary, as above.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.**ARTICLE I.**

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns, and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

Isolation.

CLASS-DAY ORATION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, JUNE 23, 1876.

BY R. J. YOUNG,

ORATOR OF THE DAY.

It is the misfortune of a mind not yet mature to be teeming with radical opinions. And in the advocacy of these views there is often displayed an earnestness and confidence which contrast strangely with the caution and conservatism of experienced age. Impulsiveness is natural in youth; temperate judgment comes only with increasing years. The young man glances out with an eager gaze upon the vast fields of knowledge which stretch away on every side. Inspired and excited by the scene, with only the teachings of his books to guide him, he bursts forth in ill-judged criticism and dogmatic comment; while men who have lived longer and learned more than he marvel at his enthusiasm and smile at his conceits.

The world without us is a perpetual study, where observation and experiment are the guides to wisdom. There it is that the tyro too often gives utterance to hasty conclusions, speaking with a vehemence and boldness which sadly need the tempering influence of time. But there is also a great world within us, no less wonderful and grand than that without, yet differing widely in the method of its contemplation. Here are no hidden places where age alone can enter and from which youth is forever barred. Consciousness is the key which unlocks all the chambers of the soul, and the inquiring mind need but look in upon itself to gain a revelation which youth does not invalidate and age cannot efface. Let us, then, shunning those subjects in which experience alone gives wisdom, talk for a time of things which make direct appeal to consciousness for confirmation.

My theme is Isolation. There is a double meaning in the word. When used with reference to man as a member of society, it signifies seclusion and separation. Such is the isolation of the hermit, who bids the world farewell, and fixes his residence in some secret spot where he can dwell apart from all his fellows. Such is the isolation of the cynic, who looks upon the busy work of life with a contemptuous eye, scoffing at the virtues and railing at the follies of his fellow-men. Such is the isolation of the sorrow-stricken, shunning the prying gaze of an unsympathizing world, content to sit apart and bear the burden of his grief alone. Thus is Isolation a ready refuge and a frequent remedy for weariness, misanthropy, and woe.

But when used with reference to man as an intellectual and moral being, Isolation becomes the synonym for independence. Strength of mind and dignity of character are its natural offspring, and man attains his highest, best development through its influence and inspiration.

The age of dogmatism has passed away. The era of inquiry has begun. Men no longer receive their opinions by dictation; they now form opinions for themselves; while tradition—so long regarded as the sacred oracle of truth—is now made to undergo the searching inquest of freethought. The world which once seemed a mass of nobodies, under the leadership of a few superior minds, has grown into a vast army of integers, each of which acts under the influence of an independent intelligence. There is food for reflection in these changes. They teach us that the noblest and highest condition of mental and spiritual life is an independent one. It is the most natural state, as well; for the history of each human being's life is but a record of emancipation from dependence and helplessness and the attainment of independence and of power. The life of man is but one perpetual process of Isolation.

Every soul needs some retreat into which it can withdraw itself for reflection and repose. It is the one great proof of the individuality of man that he can thus shut out the world and hold communion with himself. In consciousness is found the indisputable evidence of personality. To clothe this personality with dignity and worth is the great work of life. All other duties flow from this, on this are based all rights; and he who does not first purify and strengthen his own soul can only be a snare and hindrance to his fellow-men.

The soul finds its sweetest nourishment in solitude, so that to the thoughtful man his life should be but one continual feast. For life is bounded and hemmed in by solitude. It issues from the silent mystery of birth; it ends in the silent mystery of death; and from the very moment when first into the nostrils is breathed the living soul, to the time when the frail tenement of flesh gives up its guest, the personality of man is wrapped in a solitude through which no earthly eye can pierce.

De Quincey has described, with all the eloquence of his matchless pen, the experiences of his infancy and childhood. He shows us that even a prattling child, whose body is so helpless and dependent, can feel and realize the Isolation of its soul:—

"Solitude," he says, "though silent as light, is, like light, the mightiest of agencies; for solitude is essential to man. All men come into this world alone; all men leave it alone. Even a little child has a dread, whispering consciousness that if he should be summoned to travel into the Eternal Presence, no gentle nurse will be allowed to lead him by the hand, nor mother to carry him in her arms, nor little sister to share his trepidation. King and priest, warrior and maiden, philosopher and child, all must walk those mighty galleries alone. The solitude, therefore, which in this world appeals and fascinates a child's heart, is but the echo of a far deeper solitude through which already he has passed, and of another solitude, deeper still, through which he has to pass; reflex of one solitude, prefiguration of another.

"O, burthen of solitude, that cleavest to man through

every stage of his being; in his birth which was, in his life which is, in his death which shall be! Mighty and essential solitude, thou wast, and art, and art to be. Thou broodest over every heart which sleeps in the nurseries of Christendom. Like the vast laboratory of the air, which, seeming to be nothing, or less than the shadow of a shade, hides within itself the principle of all things, solitude, for the child, is the Agrippa's mirror of the unseen universe. Deep is the solitude in life of millions upon millions who, with hearts swelling forth love, have none to love them; deep is the solitude of those who, with secret griefs, have none to pity them; deep is the solitude of those who, fighting with doubts and darkness, have none to counsel them. But deeper than the deepest of these solitudes is that which broods over childhood, bringing before it, at intervals, the final solitude which watches for it and is waiting for it within the gates of death."

In striking contrast with this natural Isolation of the spiritual life is the original state of bodily dependence. Strange must this contrast seem to the wakening consciousness of infancy. Strange must be the voiceless thoughts that dwell within the chambers of a young child's brain. Within it dwells the dawning evidence of individuality. Without, it sees a vast display of objects which it slowly learns to distinguish from itself. And, in the continual exercise of its organs of sense, adding evidence from one source to evidence from another, it finds confirmation of the instinctive faith which dwells within its tiny breast, that it is indeed a separate existence. Youth, with its changing experiences, succeeds to childhood; and long ere manhood comes, with its grave responsibilities and cares, the individual has realized the fullness and completeness of his Isolation.

The growth and development of his body have borne witness to it; the widening of his field of knowledge has attested it; the insight he has gained into the characters of friends has furnished proof; the many occasions when he has had to act independently and freely have given testimony; and, lastly, if he has lived for a time without the pale of home restraints, he slips into manhood with a settled conviction of the weighty truth that he is by nature and by right an isolated, independent being.

A New England scholar whose brilliant talents and pure life merit far wider recognition than they now receive has drawn a most interesting parallel between the individual and the atom. The doctrine of the atomic constitution of matter had its origin five centuries before the beginning of our era. To trace its course down through the history of philosophic thought would be too long a task; but whoever casts even a passing glance at the current literature of science cannot fail to recognize the old, old doctrine, changed somewhat by modern investigation, yet not robbed of one essential feature, and only rendered more certain by the logic of the ages.

It is an accepted axiom of science that matter cannot be annihilated. Matter may be divided and divided and divided again, but there is a point beyond which division cannot go. At this ultimate point is found the atom. How these primary atoms first united to form composite substance is a question which still baffles and divides the scientific world. It is sufficient for our purpose, however, to remember that all material substance is made up of multitudes of atoms, each of which is a separate entity.

Starting with this fact, Francis Abbot has drawn his parallel. He notes the agreement of atom and individual in their etymology. The meaning of atom is "not to be cut;" the meaning of individual is "not to be divided." And as the atom preserves its identity and oneness, despite the decomposing power of subtlest alchemy, so the individual, clothed in the armor of a natural Isolation, defies all efforts to destroy the unity of the soul. Circumstances and surroundings may be in continual change; the very thoughts and opinions that fill the mind may be altered or forgotten; but there is an ever-abiding consciousness dwelling in the breast, that, shielded from these changes and unaffected by them, is personality. To this instinctive feeling the natural language of the lips gives quick response, for every independent judgment is uttered in the name, and by the authority, of the indestructible "I."

"In other words," says Mr. Abbot, "the self-conscious unit which is named I is a constant and necessary element in all thought, all knowledge, all feeling, all volition; it cannot possibly be resolved into a stream of successive impressions or states of consciousness, for it accompanies them all, is presupposed by each and every one of them, and alone gives them unity or coherence. Apart from all speculation, considered simply as a fact which must be acknowledged as a fact, this unity of personality, this atomism of the soul, must be accepted in its entirety. Whether I have existed heretofore, or shall exist hereafter, I refuse to be extinguished as an absolute unit while I do exist; and so much as this science that deserves the name will at once concede to me. I am not a mere facsimile of impressions, a mere bundle of sensations, a mere row of beads without a string; I am myself; and that self, from its beginning to its end, if end it is to have, is absolutely one."

In their natures, then, the individual and the atom are allied. What of the functions they severally fulfill? 'Tis here we see the beauty of the parallel; and if the emphasis laid upon the individuality of man has smacked of selfishness, and seemed to shut out the beneficent principles of a broad philanthropy, now will the better truth appear.

The atom fulfills its proper office when it combines with other atoms to form a material substance. The individual finds his proper sphere in uniting with other individuals to form society. The most famous atomist in ancient Greece taught that atoms first came pouring down through space in parallel straight lines, never touching or coalescing. It was not until, by some deviation in the stream, atoms were thrown together in whirls and eddies, that the revolving earth took form and rose from chaos. So must the unnumbered streams of influence that flow out from individual lives be joined in close companionship before the mighty fabric of society can be built up. Thus, by a seeming paradox, does Isolation become the foster-nurse of all philanthropy.

For through Isolation man attains the highest possibilities of his being, and in giving to society the weight and influence of a well-developed manhood he most fully does his part in improving the condition of his fellow-men.

Here we see the complete circle of an individual life. The body has its times of growth, maturity, decay. Beginning in helplessness it slowly gathers strength and firmness, loosening one by one the bands that bind it to its natural protectors. For a brief season it enjoys maturity; and then the inevitable process of dissolution comes, rounding life's circle by consigning the body to the dust from whence it rose.

The soul, too, gradually attains the full realization of its selfhood; and while developing, as did the body, by independent exertions, it discovers the proper sphere for the use of its increasing powers, in the great work of bettering the order of things to which by nature it belongs. Thus does it complete the circle of its existence, by devoting itself to the good of society, from whose most sacred institution it has sprung.

Such is the double history of the individual life. Again to quote:—

"Beginning in a tiny germ hidden from all observation, the individual is a portion of another organism, the impinging of a sacred maternal life into a form destined to become an objective, new, and independent organism in the outer world. Its history is that of ever-increasing isolation. Detached from the mother's body, clinging to the mother's hand, going out from the sheltering roof of home, mixing in alien and transient scenes, yet ever concentrating within itself more and more that is unknown to others and communicable to none—verily, it is a life of increasing loneliness that the individual leads. All this is simply the penalty and the glory of increasing individuality, 'rounding to a separate mind.' Yet all the while is this individual reëntering again into the Universal. He forms close and dear ties into which he pours his very soul; he mingles with other lives, and merges his interests, his hopes, his thoughts, his volitions, in ever-widening circles of human life; he becomes more and more a part of the great human world that surrounds him. And, if he be not a petty soul, he mingles the current of his own being more and more with the great currents of the universe, and finds peace, even in his increasing solitude, through an ever-increasing oneness with the All."

The worth and necessity of Isolation are most happily exhibited in the proper prosecution of reforms. True reform, like true charity, begins at home; and the man who sincerely wishes to do good service in humanity's great cause will first equip himself with power and purity. The character of the whole depends on the character of the parts. Society can possess no excellence which it does not get from its individual members. Then is it not most arrant egotism to preach crusades against the faults of others, while one's own character lacks the very elements that might make him helpful to his fellows?

"And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?"

"Or how wilt thou say to thy brother, let me pull out the mote out of thine eye, and behold a beam is in thine own eye?"

"Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye."

Carlyle has pitifully told us that the man who tries to reform the world is a fool—let him first reform himself! Many and many a good cause has been doomed to hopeless failure for the simple reason that it was cursed with unworthy champions. The world is quick to detect insincerity and untruth, and when men who are neither truthful nor sincere assume control of a reform, be its object never so worthy, the whole scheme staggers and groans under the weight of infamy and reproach justly cast upon its leaders. He who aspires to do his fellow-men a service should first consider his own strength. As the individual feels his powers expanding, he attains to a clearer, higher appreciation of his own work in life; and his zeal in the service of humanity may be measured by his faithfulness in fitting himself for the important task.

If sought in society demands reform, the true man will not be slow to give all needed help; but first he will equip himself with the complete habiliments of war, so that he may do battle worthily, bringing no dishonor to himself or to his cause. And when once within the lists he will fight valiantly until the end is gained.

Isolation is the true reformer's armory. Many a noble champion of a noble cause has there found the weapons with which to win a glorious victory.

To Isolation England owes the character of him who led the Barons in their struggle with King John. When the unwilling monarch met the great men of his realm at Runnymede, and recognized his subjects' rights by the grant of Magna Charta, to Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, the richest meed of victory belonged. In 1205, a contest rose between the Churchmen and King John as to who should fill the See of Canterbury. Disregarding the demands of both, Innocent III. bestowed the place on Langton; but not until the King was humbled to the condition of a vassal to the Pope of Rome was the new Archbishop allowed to land on English soil. Once there, Langton was numbered among the friends of civil liberty. He discovered and proclaimed the long-forgotten charter of King Henry I. He prevailed upon the barons to unite their forces and their fortunes, and demand their ancient rights. He refused to lead the powers of the Church to further King John's plans. He disregarded the demands of Innocent himself, when ordered to excommunicate the rebellious barons. Through all that eventful struggle, ending in the granting of the Great Charter, Langton was the very embodiment of that independence which he so much loved. He was Primate of England; but the man rose high above the office; and to his own personality there attached a nobility, and dignity, and power that no title could enhance. He was a Roman prelate, and yet a lover

of liberty. He was the pet of a Pope, and yet the firm defender of the temporal against the spiritual power. He was foisted upon England as the price of her disgrace, and yet lived to confer on her unnumbered blessings. He stood at first the living emblem of England's slavery to Rome, and yet became the apostle and high priest of her deliverance from bondage to both Pope and King.

From ancient England we turn to modern Italy, seeking a second illustration of our theme; for the influence of Isolation is bounded by no age or clime. It is the spring of 1849, and the civilized world is anxiously awaiting the issue of events at Rome. The city is girt about with fortifications and defences. The walls are guarded at every point. Streets and squares are filled with barricades, while in the capital is gathered a little army of devoted patriots, ready to do and to dare for the republic of Rome! The power of France, obedient to the exiled Pope, hastens to the attack; and now, before the battlements of the Eternal City, there is to be a struggle for Italian unity and independence.

Who heads the hosts of freedom in this contest? Among the many thousands of brave men within the walls of Rome, who stands preëminent in zeal and courage? Of all who have toiled and sacrificed, of all who have labored and endured, whose name deserves first mention?

To Garibaldi is this proud distinction due. He is the leader of the people. He, above all others, is most earnest and most brave. He it is, who has struggled longest and suffered most that Italy might become a free, united nation.

What is the secret of this hero's power? How gained he such a wonderful control over the hearts and minds of men? The story of Garibaldi's life reads like a romance. It is the history of a growing individuality, stamped with the impress of one unwavering purpose. In boyhood he dreamed of a United Italy; and when upon his father's ships he heard the sailors sing of the fair land from which they sailed, his young heart beat quick with hope that some day there would indeed be an Italy of which men might sing with pride. In his youth he learned of plans that were even then forming for the restoration and redemption of his land; and from that time he made this cause his own. In early manhood he went to South America and rendered service, never to be forgotten, to the republicans of Rio Grande. But through these years Italy was ever in his thoughts. He left family and friends, not alone to aid a struggling people on an alien shore (though he did this grandly), but also the better to fit himself for the mighty contest that was coming on at home. And when at last the contest came, how eagerly he hurried to his post! The part he bore in that strange strife, from its auspicious beginning to its unhappy end, stands as an enduring monument to Garibaldi's greatness. The man had led a life of Isolation. In the quiet of his thoughts he made his plans and preparations. In the conduct of his life he ever kept one end in view. And when the time was ripe for action, the pent-up powers that had been gathering within him burst forth in such a blaze of glory that the whole world marvelled at his deeds.

Nor are our own times lacking in examples. There was one man in public life, of whom death has but lately robbed us, who was conspicuous for his love of Isolation. Through it he attained a most marvellous development of mind and character; and, withal, he had a passionate love of the right and hatred of the wrong, that made him prince of all reformers of our day.

Charles Sumner's great opportunity came to him unthought; but it did not find him unprepared. When the legislature of Massachusetts sent him to the Senate, it changed the whole current of his life. It took him from a scholarly retirement and sent him forth as champion in a momentous strife. It called upon the man of letters to leave his books, and busy himself with the concerns of suffering humanity. Wise was the choice that Massachusetts made. Nobly did her Senator perform the work to which he was assigned. The cause of emancipation needed a leader, whose mind should be replete with learning, and in whose heart should dwell a fearless, deathless loyalty to duty. Every want was satisfied in Sumner. The manner of his life had made him what he was. He courted solitude. Books were his delight. Study was his almost constant occupation. In society, both in this country and across the sea, he enjoyed the companionship of the first statesmen and scholars of the time. Everywhere and always he was intent on the perfect development of his character, striving to make it strong and pure. And when his native State called on him to use his ample powers in furthering a great reform, he sprang to the front, displaying the full wealth of his equipment; and in all that makes man loved as friend or feared as foe, he towered high above every other champion on either side.

His whole life is a tribute to the worth and power of a well-rounded individuality. Isolation, indeed, mourned a worthy son when the funeral-bells tolled Charles Sumner's requiem. He was a man "without fear and without reproach."

In fine, then, Isolation is the power that moves the world. It works on society through man, regenerating and purifying the one by developing and strengthening the other. It leads man to recognize his own personality, and the rights which naturally attach thereto. It incites him to strengthen and adorn that personality, that it may serve some useful purpose in the world. And when injustice attempts to deprive him of his inborn rights, man rises in the dignity of his Isolation to repel the foul assault. Isolation does more than this for man. When once he has arrived at a full realization of his own dignity and worth, the great truth dawns upon him that he is but one of a

vast assembly of independent entities. There are other natures like unto his own, with similar abilities and similar desires. There are other beings, each of whom is conscious of his own personality, and justly claims for it a recognition. When this thought takes full possession of the mind, man holds out his hand to man as to a brother, and between them there arises a reciprocity of rights. Thus does Isolation exercise a double influence on man. It tends to make him worthy of the world's regard, and it moves him to respect the sacred and inviolable rights of others.

How beautiful is a pure and lofty character! What nobility inheres in well-developed manhood! How happy is the life of him, who, having clothed his personality with dignity and grace, devotes himself to the amelioration of his neighbor!

Such is the character and such the life made possible by Isolation. It ennobles and purifies the aspirations of the soul. It strengthens and expands the mind, equipping it with the power of independent thought. It dwells within the heart like a benediction, filling it with a charity which, in its encircling arms, enfolds humanity.—*The Chronicle, Ann Arbor, Michigan, June 30, 1876.*

[FOR THE INDEX.]

"PROUDHON AND HIS TRANSLATOR" AGAIN.

BY STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

IN THE INDEX of July 13, 1876, Mr. Benj. R. Tucker criticises my criticism of Proudhon, published in a previous issue of THE INDEX (June 22). Permit me to use a small portion of space for a reply. For the most part the tone of Mr. Tucker's article is elevated and courteous, his appreciation of what he approves in mine ample and generous, and his discriminations in behalf of Proudhon full of a devotedness alike honorable to the head and heart of the disciple. In some of the cases in which he finds fault with me I think he has misapprehended me; in others our judgments differ; in one or two he is partially right, and in one, at least, he is in danger of falling below the dignity of the occasion, and dealing in the insinuation of bad motive, and in vituperation.

In my comments on Proudhon's use and repeated use of the phrase "property is impossible," I did not deny, but distinctly affirmed, that, in the sense he meant, he made out his case. I was simply showing that it was a blinding statement for the ordinary reader, instead of an illuminating one; more calculated, as I said, to astound than to convince; to repel than to attract; to confuse than to enlighten—wholly apart from the question whether there might or might not be a hidden sense in which it was true, and in which, if the reader would go along with him (a fact rendered doubtful by the seeming absurdity), he might convince him of its truth.

In my first sentence (objected to), I was stating, not my own ultimate estimate of the proposition, which I reserved for the next sentence, but the natural train of reasoning which would pass through the mind of the reader at its announcement; the first-blush impression; and it seems that I, too, presumed too much, as I was accusing Proudhon of doing, upon the intelligence of my reader, and for want of more explication of the idea failed to be understood. I was endeavoring to show that the love of such surprises—stating what, in a sense to be afterwards explained, is essentially true, but which when first put seems absurd—sometimes prevents Proudhon from being lucid or easily apprehended. It was a trivial criticism, if you will, upon style merely; but it was what I thought, and I think so still.

Mr. Tucker's next point is allied with this. He adopts and praises my rendering of Proudhon's meaning in his celebrated aphorism, *Property is robbery*. I had said this: What he means by property is that subtle fiction which makes that mine or thine of which we are out of possession, for which we have no present use, but which by this subtle tie we may recall at our option, using it in the mean time to subjugate others to our service by taking increase for its use, in the form of rent, interest, and the like. In this definition there are two branches, one covering the proprietorship, and the other a nefarious use of that proprietorship, which I say, and Mr. Tucker assents, Proudhon associates, as if inseparable, with the proprietorship itself. Either the necessity or the propriety of this association I deny, and because I do so, Mr. Tucker accuses me of forgetting and departing from the beautiful definition I had just made of Proudhon's formula. I hope that simply showing that I understand a man does not bind me to agree with him. Having defined Proudhon's meaning, I then dissent, in part, from the correctness of his idea. Mr. Tucker's head is set whirling, he says, by this complication of discriminations, and he is afraid he will get muddled if he does not at once desist from the effort to comprehend me. I would gently encourage him to try again. He will get possession of his wits presently, and the whole thing will come clear to him.

If Mr. Tucker had been old enough to have taken an interest in the old anti-slavery discussions, he would have been familiar with the question, whether slave-holding is, in itself, sinful, or whether it is the abuses of the power it gives which are so. The same question arises here whether it is proprietorship, *per se*, which is wrong, or only an oppressive use which may be made of the power it gives. Differently from my verdict in the case of slavery, I was now favoring the latter view, pointing out the fact that Proudhon involves the two things in the same definition, and objecting that they ought not to be so confounded. Is there anything so awfully confounding in all this? Whether Proudhon is right or I am

right, I am certain that Mr. Tucker's mental capacity is amply good for the comprehension of the difference.

The space which I can presume on in the columns of THE INDEX will not allow me to make a full answer to Mr. Tucker's points in his next paragraph. He concedes that I am partially justified in one of my views by the language of Proudhon, though he thinks Proudhon meant otherwise. In that particular the *onus* lies with him. Upon the other point, my mere opinion and general estimate, not from this particular book, but from his whole labors, that the genius of Proudhon was, in predominance, critical and destructive, rather than constructive, I have at least, in respect to manner, the concurrence of an authority to which Mr. Tucker greatly defers. What I said was mildness itself compared with a dictum of his friend William H. Green. I quote from his little work called *Mutual Banking* (pp. 21, 22). He is speaking of *Money and Banking*, a work by William Beck, assuming also Mr. Beck to be the writer. "In the pages of Proudhon," Mr. Green says, "socialism appears as an avenging fury, clothed in garments dipped in the sulphur of the bottomless pit, and armed for the punishment of imbeciles, liars, scoundrels, cowards, and tyrants; in those of Mr. Beck, she presents herself as a constructive and beneficent genius, the rays of her heavenly glory intercepted by a double veil of simplicity and modesty. Mr. Beck's style has none of the infernal fire and profundity which cause the reader of the *Contradictions Economiques* to shudder; you seek in vain in his sentences for the vigor and intense self-consciousness of Proudhon; yet the thoughts of Proudhon are there."

I come now to what Mr. Tucker most, and with most show of reason, complains of. I said that Proudhon proposed a return to a primitive state of equality, whereas (as I also meant) the true thing is a constant advance to higher states of scientific harmonization between equality and inequality. Mr. Tucker admits, if I understand him, that I am right in insisting on the inequality, as an equal factor,—what Proudhon wholly omits,—and I admit that my language does not imply a sufficiently careful reading of the fifty-sixth page. I was misled by the inconsistency on equality of conditions as the whole truth; the designation of the departure from an assumed primitive equality as a "degeneracy" (which from my point of view would be a growth); the phrase that if Providence placed the first human beings in a condition of equality it was an indication of its desires, etc., and by the repeated use on the same page of the phrase "returning to," with reference to this idea of equality. My eye catching these phrases, I thought that I recognized the old, familiar doctrine about returning to a state of nature, and I partly overlooked the modifying words "in other forms," which I ought to have noticed. Measured, therefore, by the standard which I now see Proudhon entertained, I did him injustice; but measured by what I had in mind, as the true mode of viewing the subject, and by his failure explicitly to insist on the ideas of growth and advance, instead of degeneracy and return, I doubt whether the injustice is more than apparent. Such as it was and is, however, it was wholly unintentional that I should fall to present his idea fairly, and I am obliged to Mr. Tucker for correcting me. I could make myself better understood on this difference between growth and degeneracy with more space to expand the subject.

As if to pay me off for this oversight, Mr. Tucker adds in this connection, that my three universalistic principles, Unism, Duism, and Trinism, were known to Proudhon from Hegel in Germany, called by them Thesis, Antithesis, and Synthesis; that they go back to the Kabbalists, etc. In the announcement of all this, substantially, I am beforehand with Mr. Tucker, as more familiarity with my ideas would have made him aware; only, to be particular, it was Fichte, back of Hegel, who first explicitly propounded Thesis, Antithesis, and Synthesis. In *The Basic Outline of Universalism*, I have traced the same ideas also to Pythagoras, and, indeed, with proximate definiteness they form the staple of thought of all the great classifiers and thinkers of all ages and countries. But they are not, for that reason, either, on the one hand, false, nor, on the other hand, sufficiently explicit and definite to have a specific scientific value. Unism, Duism, and Trinism, while substantially like the other trio, are still vitally different. The likeness, or sameness, is readily apprehended; the difference not so readily, without a conscientious study of the subject. It consists in identifying Thesis, Antithesis, and Synthesis with the root-ideas of the mathematics, thereby carrying them over from vague philosophizing generalizations, and converting them, by this new alliance, into the basis of the unity of the sciences, and into an absolute guide for all classifications, mental and physical, from the broadest generalizations to the minutest particulars. The difference is, therefore, the new and the main element, and it is that which Mr. Tucker has failed to appreciate.

Frankly, then, it is to the study and comprehension of this discovery that I hoped to divert Mr. Tucker's attention, as I once thought he gave me some reason to think that I might. In my first article I veiled my intention somewhat, *ex gratia* modestly, to assert the existence of a better way; although I have never quite comprehended why it should be immodest to tell a truth simply because it is a big one. But Mr. Tucker has penetrated the "animus" of my allusion to prior great changes in the scientific status of things.

Yes, certainly, it has come to this, that a single decade is quite sufficient to change the proper method of scientific investigation, provided that, during that decade, a real and all-comprehensive discovery touching that very matter has been made. Whether such

a discovery has been made or not is a simple question of fact, and need not be the occasion of bad blood. It has been said, I think by the editor of some of Proudhon's works, that he discovered nothing, but elucidated much. If, then, to his genius of elucidation and device are due views so profound that "one fears to present even the outline of them, lest he may overtop credulity," how much more critical the situation, if a discovery as single and definite as anything of Kepler or Newton were in question, and which claimed to traverse the ground traversed by Proudhon, to furnish a canon of criticism upon what has been done, and to reveal an ocean of new truth not heretofore dreamed of!

Yes, precisely what I mean is that Mr. Tucker would ward off future regrets, and save half a lifetime, if he could and would come squarely up abreast of the real questions of the hour, and cease to act upon old methods when a better is known. I am sorry it is an offence for me to tell him so. The Pantarchy is not exactly something to be "joined," as one joins the Methodist Church, or a debating society, but rather something to be arrived at by increased knowledge; but one can be helped in the matter, if he is not too captious. Mr. Tucker may, perhaps, recognize the probability that there were, in France, during the lifetime of Proudhon, several brave and noble-minded young Tuckers, whose clear and impartial comprehension of him, and whose sympathy and devoted help, would have been everything to "the master"; but that they were too busily and earnestly engaged in just waking up to the appreciation of the thought of some thinker of the just-previous age, and consequently, perhaps, predisposed to disesteem him, without any adequate effort to understand him. He may, perhaps, even conceive that Proudhon might, years before, have studied, comprehended, absorbed, and transcended the very thought which these young devotees were so assiduous in mastering, and which, if mastered, might help, in another twenty years, to bring them to the vantage-ground which he then occupied, and was only too anxious to share with them. Can he not think that, if they could have seen it so, they would have saved him and economized their forces, if they had begun at the other end in his school, and gone back, subsequently and incidentally, upon the past; and can he not also think that true as all this might have been, he would only have made himself suspected, and have got himself snubbed for his pains, if he had ventured to tell them so? There is so much human nature in people, that it is difficult to tell what, under certain circumstances, one should do. What right has Mr. Tucker to talk flippantly of my "foolishly persisting" in asserting the transcendent value of what he cannot judge of? How does he know that every word of what I say, and more, is not true? Is he sure that it is not he that is making the blunder of arrogance? The dogmatism of ignorance is as old, and, I suppose, as immodest, as the dogmatism of knowledge.

THE MORAL SIDE OF THE FINANCIAL QUESTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

THE INDEX, I believe, has ever been ready to defend right in every field of human action, and to give a reason for the faith it upholds; but in occasional out-givings on the great financial question of the day, the tone seems to be more the reflection of Boston than reason.

The terms "soft" and "hard money" have little significance in expressing the practical financial question before the country.

At this time there is a difference of about twelve hundredths between the value, or purchasing power, of a gold dollar and a greenback dollar. This difference the government stands pledged to add to the greenback dollar in a little more than two years, meanwhile holding the greenback dollar free from taxation.

But it is perfectly plain that this increase of purchasing power cannot be given to the greenback dollar without a corresponding decline taking place in everything else. If a yardstick is lengthened, it takes more cloth to measure the same number of yards. If the size of the bushel is increased, it takes more grain to fill it; and when government, by mere legislation, increases the value of money, it decreases by the same act the value of everything else. The effect is precisely the same as if more gold were to be added to a given coin. That is, currency, if kept idle, is guaranteed growth, as it were, in the hands of the holder; but, if invested as capital in production, it is certain, under the same law, to lose through the decline of that which is produced. Hence money is necessarily withdrawn from use as capital, and there is everywhere forced idleness of labor and stoppage of production.

But this is not all, nor the worst, of the evil that follows this policy.

The withdrawal of money from use, under the influence of the existing Resumption law, reacts in a more than geometrical ratio on prices generally, and that in two ways. First, it is only money, as John Stuart Mill has shown, that is offered in the market against goods, that acts on prices; and hence the withdrawal of money from the open market amounts in effect to a contraction of the currency far greater than the Treasury Reports show; and, secondly, the constant decline in prices decreed by the Resumption act necessarily destroys confidence in the success of enterprise and industry, and with confidence go all instruments of credit that in ordinary times play so important a part in the affairs of trade and business.

Under these influences prices decline till to-day the great staples, wool, cotton, iron, steel, and, in fact, products generally, are lower in currency than they were in gold, on the average, for the ten years preceding the war. Debtors are ruined because the govern-

ment has altered the value of money so that often twice the property is required to discharge the same debt that would have been necessary, if prices had remained as they were when the debt was created. Laborers who, by industry and economy, have applied their earnings to a home fund that the smallest balance takes all to satisfy it now. Industry finds no profit; idle money alone brings gain.

I think the above are facts which no one looking over the field can deny. On what principle, then, of equity or right is a course that brings these results in its train to be justified? It is a mistake to suppose it is sanctioned by any sound principle of political economy; for if there is any one thing clearly taught, it is that the value of money cannot be arbitrarily altered in any country or at any time without working the greatest injustice, either to debtors or creditors.

We have heard from the stump and from the press continually of the wickedness of altering the value of money by depreciating it, whereby creditors are cheated; but never a word as to the wrong of altering it by appreciation, whereby debtors are robbed.

The moral side of the press (THE INDEX not excepted) has been quick to point out the unfairness of cheating creditors by depreciating money, but seldom anything denunciatory of cheating debtors by changing, through legislation, the value of money, whereby a double amount of property is required to pay a given debt.

The entire debts of the country, private, municipal, State, and national, gauged by the quantity of property or commodities required to discharge them, have been nearly doubled since 1873, and as the last act in a drama of wickedness unsurpassed in any country, we have deposed silver from its place as money, and declared for gold only, simply because it is the more valuable and will give more to creditors.

It is susceptible of positive proof that the demonetizing of silver by Germany, and taking gold in its place, has, by increasing the uses for gold, operated to permanently augment the value of this metal throughout the world, by at least eight per cent., and the demonetizing of paper (greenbacks) money in this country, and calling for gold to take its place, must enhance the value of gold, as compared with other things, ten or twelve per cent. more.

Hence, with all the decline in prices we are no nearer gold than we were three years ago. With the single standard it is possible for a foreign state, India, for instance, by demonetizing silver and adopting the gold standard alone, to augment the burden of our national debt by ten or twenty per cent., by simply raising the value of the standard that measures it.

Now we have no disagreement to adjust with the advocates of metallic money, but we denounce the present Resumption policy as, in effect, a gigantic system of robbery,—robbery of the debtor, by arbitrarily appreciating the value of money while in use, as the common measure of value in all the exchanges of the country, robbery of industry, by causing a forced depreciation of everything produced. Now where is the justification of this policy? If THE INDEX can point it out, it will have discovered principles of ethics unknown to the writer. The only justification ever heard is that during the war money was depreciated, and thereby creditors wronged. Granted; and certainly it is just as wrong to cheat creditors by arbitrarily depreciating money as it is to rob debtors by appreciating it; and without here raising the question of the wisdom of the policy of the government at that time, nothing could justify it but that condition of things which justified taking the citizen and compelling him to serve in the army or navy at such rate of pay as the government saw fit to prescribe, and in such kind of money, too, as the government in its extremity could give him. But if taking the person was justifiable, who would say taking capital was not likewise justifiable,—for is not life more than meat, the body more than raiment?

But we are not now righting a wrong done then. That can no more be than severed limbs can be restored, or the exact value of each and every life given to save the nation determined, and adequate compensation rendered.

We are simply committing another wrong—a wrong immeasurably greater than that of depreciating the value of money then, for then only creditors were wronged, but now not only all debtors are equally wronged, but industries are overthrown, and labor everywhere forced into idleness; for the ulterior consequences of altering the value of money by appreciating it are the reverse of depreciation in their influences on industries, trade, and commerce, as Hume long ago pointed out.

We hold, then, this truth to be self-evident—that it is as wrong to alter the value of money whereby debtors are robbed as it is to alter it so that creditors are cheated. In other words, if he who would pay but one dollar where two dollars are owed cheats, he is not much short of a thief, at heart, who would exact two dollars where but one is due. The principle is not changed in either case if the difference is wrought by the chicanery of legislation.

Mr. James Wilson expresses this when he says (*Capital, Currency, and Banking*): "When governments or monarchs interfere with or alter the intrinsic value of money, a practical fraud is committed on all existing creditors if its value is depreciated, and on all existing debtors if its value is appreciated."

Mr. J. R. McCulloch with no less truth says: "To elevate the standard after it has been for a considerable period depressed is not a measure of justice, but of new injustice."

Greenback notes, as evidences of debt merely, must not be confounded with greenback money. As evidences of debt simply—certificates of the Treasury due at sight,—every one could be paid, as the rest of our war-debt has been largely paid, in thirty days, without the least shock to business.

If five per cent. bonds will sell for gold, they will for

greenbacks. I repeat, then, as mere certificates of the Treasury due at sight, the greenback notes could be taken up in thirty days without disturbing anything. But that is not the problem we are trying to work out. It is to retain the greenback currency as money, and, while in use as money, change its value, and then, at the end of a given time, demonetize it and pay it as a debt; and this for the reasons above given we hold is what no government has a moral right to do. We hold it to be as wrong in ethics as it is unsound in political economy.

But it is rather the moral aspect of the question that we have chosen to bring out in this letter, and it is more especially that aspect of the question that we have desired to see presented in THE INDEX.

A. J. WARNER.

MARIETTA, Ohio, July 13, 1876.

GENERAL DIX ON CHURCH TAXATION.

Ex-Governor Dix, of New York, a few months ago published a letter in the Albany Journal which is so extraordinary a production as to merit preservation in these columns as a curiosity of Orthodox literature. When the most eminent Christians betray such wrong-headedness in treating a question of simple morality, and such ingenuity in devising excuses for robbing the community at large, the pretension of the churches to be exempted from taxation on the score of exerting a "good moral influence" becomes an unconscious but cutting satire on themselves. Church exemption, being a violation of good morals, is neither more nor less than one species of civic immorality; and the longer it is continued, the more completely and irremediably are the churches destroying their own prestige as the supposed guardians of the moral interests of mankind. Premising that nobody expects to put God on the tax-list, that the only proposition is to require the owners of church property to pay their just share of the public expense of protecting it, and that the motives of those who favor this proposition are quite as respectable as the motives of those who oppose it, we invite attention to General Dix's typically Orthodox effusion:—

NEW YORK, March 7, 1876.

MY DEAR SIR:—

"I was surprised and grieved to learn that the taxation of church edifices had been seriously and even earnestly advocated before the Committee of Ways and Means in the Assembly. It is virtually a proposition to impose a tax on the worship of Almighty God, unless it is rendered in the open air, or in some building already subject to taxation. No one objects to the taxation of any church property devoted to secular uses. It is the imposition of taxes on houses of worship that is so objected to as a profanation of that which should be held sacred.

"One of the advocates of the measure commends to us the example of the primitive Christians in regard to out-door service, as if a parallel could be drawn between the climate of Judea, radiant with sunshine and perennial bloom all the year round, and ours, in which (extraordinary seasons excepted) we are buried in snow two or three months, and pinched with cold, even when under cover, two or three more.

"Another says that the Apostles achieved their successes without churches.

"But these references to the habits of the early followers of the Savior manifest an extremely superficial knowledge of ecclesiastical history. The last supper was administered by Him in an upper room, and most of His teachings were in the synagogues. The Acts of the Apostles show that they preached in the Temple at Jerusalem, whenever they were allowed to do so, and in the synagogues at Antioch, Thessalonica, Athens, Corinth, Ephesus, and wherever else they went. They used Jewish houses of worship because they had none of their own. After the ascension of their Divine Master his followers were for a long period of time the objects of Jewish and Pagan persecution, sustained by the temporal authorities, and their worship was conducted in hiding-places, sometimes in catacombs in the bosom of the earth. If they had been blessed with the religious toleration which we enjoy, and had our wealth, there is every reason to believe that they would have built houses of worship as tasteful and costly as our own. The instinct of all communities of men is to erect for the worship of their Creator edifices responding to their conceptions of His majesty and his beneficence. There are, as we all know, more inexpensive than expensive houses of worship; but it is because, in the great majority of religious societies, there is an inability to do more. It is creditable to Christians of all denominations that their expenditures for religious worship are only limited by their pecuniary means. We cannot doubt that the primitive Christians entertained as elevated views of the dignity of the service due to their Heavenly Father as their Israelitic predecessors, who built the Temple of Jerusalem. The Divine Founder of our faith gave an impressive proof of His conception of the sacred character of edifices consecrated to the service of God, by driving the money-changers out of the temple,—the only act of violence in His meek and compassionate life; and I trust we shall have courage and reverence enough to imitate His example, and prevent the money-changers from getting a foothold in our houses of worship and converting them into dens of thieves.

"As soon as the primitive Christians ceased to be objects of persecution and were protected by their civil rulers, they began to erect expensive houses of

worship; and from the era of Constantine they converted splendid Pagan temples to the service of their Maker. There are now in the city of Rome seven or eight of these temples reclaimed from heathenism and consecrated to Christian worship. From that day to this—during the lapse of nearly sixteen hundred years,—no government has undertaken to make church-edifices pay tribute for the privilege of worshipping God. Even the Pagans, through the veneration in which they held the temples dedicated to their idols, manifest more reverence than the promoters of this raid upon religious worship. No movement has given such encouragement and comfort to unbelievers who would create every possible impediment to the progress of Christian teaching, as this proposal to tax church-edifices. Sectarian dissensions have succeeded in driving religious instruction out of the public schools; and now cupidity and unbelief would break down the Sunday-schools by pecuniary impositions upon the edifices in which they are held, and set communities and neighborhoods at work to calculate the cash value of religious worship.

"It is difficult to conceive that the proposition could have had its origin in any other breast than one unfriendly to all church organizations, or one in which the love of money is the predominant passion. If those who have set on foot this movement want more money, let them tax their rum, their tobacco, their pictures, fast horses, game-dogs, liquor-saloons, dance-houses, clubs, theatres, diamonds, equipages,—everything, in short, which ministers to their pleasures, their tastes, and their sensual indulgences. Nay, let them tax their seminaries of learning, their institutions devoted to human science, and even the grounds in which the unconscious bones of their ancestors repose, rather than invade with mercenary exactions the edifices devoted to the worship of Almighty God, and to the teaching of our duty to Him and our neighbors.

"Some of the abettors of this movement have had the magnanimity to let us understand that they are ready to compromise with the Sovereign Ruler. They will make reasonable concessions. They will allow one thousand dollars of the value of each of His churches to be exempt from taxation, and only exact of Him payment on the residue. They may, perhaps, go so far as to allow Him two thousand dollars,—as much as it would cost a well-to-do farmer to house his horses and his horned cattle. There is a degree of sublimity in this condescension which beggars all comment, and I dismiss it. With those who think the Almighty sufficiently honored by rendering Him homage in buildings no better than barns and outhouses, no matter how abundant the pecuniary means of the worshippers, and who attach no more sanctity to one class of those edifices than to the other, it would be equally fruitless and humiliating to hold any parley or conference. In manifold instances both in the Old and New Testaments a house of worship is called the house of God, and it is always named with appropriate expressions of reverence. The universal heart responds to this designation; and no matter how humble the edifice consecrated to His service, all men when within its hallowed walls feel more sensibly than they do amid the turmoil of the outer world that they are in the presence of the Omnipotent Being, by whom the great forces of the universe are moved and controlled, and that by ignoring Him they renounce all hope of a higher state of existence.

"The scheme should be repudiated and denounced in all its parts. One can hardly debate it without a feeling of abasement. It is not a subject for human logic. It is not a problem of profit and loss, to be argued by religious obligation on one side and financial cupidity on the other. It is a matter of instinct, of inborn reverence, of the consciousness which every mind, not perverted by the sophistications of worldly science, has of its own immeasurable inferiority to the Sovereign Ruler of the universe, and of the homage it owes Him as its creator and redeemer. There is something revolting to the moral sense in its normal state in the idea of making a mercenary profit out of an edifice consecrated to His service. When this inner sense is wanting, argument is fruitless.

"The most attractive objects which meet us in our travels in Europe are the cathedrals. Amid all the wars, the bloodshed, the barbarities, the desolation which nations have visited upon each other, under the misguidance of their evil passions, these monuments of their faith and their devotion come out from the dark background of the picture in bright relief as sacred tributes to the Creator of the universe. No man can stand beneath their domes and vaulted roofs without feeling that they atone for much of the wrong committed by their authors, who lavished on them without stint the wealth they would otherwise have wasted on ostentatious gratifications or unholy indulgences. Heaven forbid that the lesson of these comparatively uncivilized ages should be lost on us, and that in this day of intellectual light and social refinement the tax-gatherer should be sent to fill his bag of lucre by levying contributions on the sanctuaries of the living God!

"I do not believe that any community which seeks to throw its secular expenses on the worship of God, by levying contributions on the edifices consecrated to His service, can long escape the chastisement it provokes. It is not necessary to look for special visitations of ill as manifestations of His displeasure. Cupidity, selfishness, rapacity, the profanation of things which should be held sacred, carry with them, by the force of immutable laws, the retribution denounced by the codes they violate.

"All religious denominations have the same interest in preventing their houses of worship from being desecrated and secularized by taxation. As was beautifully expressed by Madame de Staël: 'Their

ceremonies are strongly contrasted: but the same sigh of distress, the same petition for support, ascends to heaven from all.'

"It seems to me that this whole movement is calculated to create in the breasts of reflecting persons a feeling of profound sorrow and unmitigated disgust. The proper mode of treating it is to scout it out of the committee rooms, legislative halls, and social circles which it has defiled by its presence. To give it any countenance would be to furnish new ground for the national reproach too often cast upon us, that the almighty dollar is the chief object of our adoration.

"Very truly yours,

"JOHN A. DIX.

"ORLANDO MEADS, Esq., Albany."

THE TWO INDIAN POLICIES.

Some of the Canadian journals are discussing what ought to be done should the hostile Sioux be defeated by the United States troops, and driven over the border; and it seems Mr. Taylor, United States Consul at Winnipeg, has been publishing letters predicting trouble in case such an event should occur, unless a treaty should be framed to meet the contingency. A writer in the Winnipeg Standard, Mr. Morgan Coldwell, reviews the whole subject, and as his views undoubtedly represent those of the majority of Canadians, they are worthy of notice. He holds that a treaty binding the Canadian government to treat the Sioux as enemies, in case they should, after defeat, take refuge on Canadian soil, would be a violation of the sacred right of sanctuary, which the British government would never permit; but even if such a treaty were practicable it would be in the highest degree impolitic. The policy, he says, of Canada and that of the United States with regard to the Indian have been widely different, and any entangling alliance with the United States on the Indian question would be likely to involve Canada in the same troubles that have cost us so dear. In Canada the tribes are peaceable, molesting no one, while upon this side of the border bloody and costly Indian wars constantly rage. We quote from his argument:—

"We will not change our policy with regard to red men; we will continue to mete out to them the same measure of justice, and afford them the same protection, as we accord to white men. So far our hands are clean,—no Indian blood stains them; under our rule no Indian has ever been put to death by the government, except by the same process of law that sends the white man to the gallows."

What Mr. Coldwell asserts is unfortunately true. When Indians are robbed or murdered by the whites in Canada, the transgressors are punished with as much severity as if it were whites who had been wronged, while all the agreements made with the Indians by the Canadian authorities are fulfilled with scrupulous exactness. With us, however, the Indians are treated as if they had no right even to existence; friendly and peaceable bands have been wantonly slaughtered, not only by frontier ruffians, but by regular troops acting under the orders of officers so high in rank as Gen. Sheridan; and the agents of the government who have been appointed to disburse the enormous appropriations made for the Indians have robbed them without mercy. Hundreds of innocent lives in unprotected settlements have been sacrificed to this ruinous and dishonest policy, and no one can foresee what the end will be, now that our people have undertaken to wrongfully wrest from the most warlike Indian nation on the continent the last remnant of their lands, after the government had solemnly guaranteed to protect those Indians in the sole and exclusive possession thereof. It is no wonder that the Canadians, who have enjoyed the benefits of an entirely different policy, look with disfavor upon any proposal for an agreement which would expose them to the disastrous effects which have resulted from our faithless dealings with a weaker race.—N. Y. Sun, July 12.

IF LIFE be a pleasure, yet since death also is sent by the hand of the same Master, neither should that displease us.—Michel Angelo.

ENTHUSIASM is the leaping lightning, not to be measured by the horse-power of the understanding.—Emerson.

THERE is a youth of the soul growing out of the age of our life.—E. G.

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The Index.

BOSTON, AUGUST 10, 1876.

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THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

The transition from Christianity to Free Religion, through which the civilized world is now passing, but which it very little understands, is even more momentous in itself and in its consequences than the great transition of the Roman Empire from Paganism to Christianity. THE INDEX aims to make the character of this vast change intelligible in at least its leading features, and offers an opportunity for discussions on this subject which find no fitting place in other papers.

N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

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CARRIE BURNHAM KILGORE, Ch. Com. Phil. L. L.,
805 Walnut St., Philadelphia.
PHILADELPHIA, July 31.

THE PIQUANT little parable about General Hawley, in THE INDEX of July 27, should have been credited to the Philadelphia *New Century for Woman* of July 8. The Boston *Herald*, to which we attributed it by mistake, gave the proper credit; but as we had never heard of the above paper before, we did not understand the credit at the time.

MR. A. E. MACOMBER, whose name is gratefully remembered by all warm friends of THE INDEX, has published an exceedingly valuable and interesting article on "Mortgage Credit Companies: the Crédit Foncier in France and Germany." Everybody interested in real estate will find this paper full of historical information and instruction of a very unusual kind. Mr. Macomber is qualified by experience and rare business capacity to treat his theme with the authority of an expert. This passage well illustrates the quality of his article: "The truth is that our financial system is defective on that side of it which has to do with long loans and land mortgages. The necessity of making loans easier of access to the farmers and other land owners is a question of great importance. This difficulty is at the bottom of much of the greenback agitation in the West. The farmers of Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois complain that they are forced to pay 10 to 12 per cent. for money, and that it is often unattainable at that rate. Hence they cry aloud for more and cheaper money. What they need and what they mean is that a demand exists for more capital than can be loaned." Mr. Macomber points to the newly-organized Mortgage Security Companies as "the coming institution, especially adapted to meet the demands of the most neglected industrial interest in the United States." The article is to be found in *Locke's National Magazine* for May, 1876, and can be had for ten cents from J. P. Jones, Toledo, Ohio.

F. R. A. ANNUAL REPORT.

The report of the annual meeting of the Free Religious Association for 1876 is published in pamphlet form.

It contains a full abstract of the discussion at the business meeting; the annual report of the executive committee; address by the president, O. B. Frothingham; essay, by James Parton, on "The Relation of Religion to the State" (or, as he styles it, "Cathedrals and Beer"), with addresses on the subject by Miss Susan H. Wixon and Rev. M. J. Savage; also essay by Samuel Longfellow, on "The Relation of Free Religion to Churches;" with the addresses that followed it, by Prof. Felix Adler, Rev. Henry Blanchard, Rev. Brooke Herford, and John Weiss.

Price, single copy, 40 cents; package of three, \$1; postage paid. Address Free Religious Association, No. 1 Tremont Place, Boston, Mass.

W. J. POTTER, Secretary.

NON-RESISTANCE AND NON-AGGRESSION: A SHORT STUDY IN ETHICS.

According to the first gospel, Jesus taught thus in the Sermon on the Mount: "But I say unto you, That ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also."

Paul taught similarly: "Recompense to no man evil for evil." "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil."

These passages express the general tenor of the whole New Testament, and are nowhere in spirit contradicted by other passages, so far as we can recall them. It is true that both Peter and James (we raise no question of authenticity now, but take the Scriptures as they are received) counsel Christians to "resist the devil"; but it is the devil alone, and not human aggressors, as appears from James himself, who says to "rich men": "Ye have condemned and killed the just [i.e. the faithful Christian], and he doth not resist you." The virtues everywhere enjoined by the New Testament are such as submission to established power, passive endurance of all its abuses, obedience to tyranny itself, meekness under provocation, resignation and non-resistance under injustice, etc. The perpetual existence of wrongs and outrages is simply taken for granted; the necessity of their occurrence is assumed; no methods or measures are contemplated to prevent them; retribution for them is left wholly to God. "Vengeance is mine: I will repay, saith the Lord." The times are so badly out of joint that it is not worth while to undertake to set them right; no Christian is charged with the task that was too heavy for the melancholy prince of Denmark. Assuming the universal prevalence of human injustice, without creating either desire or purpose to resist it, the New Testament simply teaches men to endure it unresistingly, with expectations of recompense in another world.

Now what is the natural and necessary consequence of such ethical teaching? We hold its influence to be equally unfortunate both as regards individual character and social welfare.

On the one hand, the Christian doctrine of non-resistance exalts that into a virtue which is in truth nothing but a weakness. To inculcate non-resistance as the highest or noblest manner of meeting injustice is to confound all moral values, and lose sight of the law that to acquiesce in wrong of any sort is to be demoralized by it—to suffer disintegration in the constituent fibres of character itself. Injustice is always an invasion of the sacred precincts of individuality, a reckless and ruinous encroachment upon the domain of existence marked out and reserved for the individual by Nature. To permit it, when the prevention of it is within the compass of one's power, is to allow hostile squatters on one's private estate, to suffer a portion of one's moral being to be wrested from the rightful possessor. Repeat this process often enough,—let the individual become habitually and callously passive when his rights are trampled on by others,—and his character is utterly destroyed. The man who suffers himself to be thus contemptuously overrun by any and every aggressor deteriorates morally in precisely the same manner as the woman who lives a life of prostitution; they both have lost the protective and conserving sense of the inviolability of their own individualities, and die the same spiritual death. There is no way

to preserve the interior integrity of one's being but to resent and resist to the uttermost every attempt to break through that "sphere of right" which surrounds each one of us, and which must be defended from every assailant as the very citadel of the soul. "Every man, whatever his high position," says Colonel Bronnen, in Auerbach's *On the Heights*, "stands opposed to others enjoying equal rights in their own sphere, thus forming a barrier of right." It is no more a duty to preserve this barrier on the one side than on the other; it is no more a duty not to be unjust to others than it is to repel injustice to ourselves. It is moral death to throw down this barrier, and non-resistance levels it with the ground. Nothing but absolute powerlessness can justify any one in the passive endurance of injustice; and non-resistance, instead of being a virtue, is either a sign of outward weakness or of moral dissolution.

On the other hand, the doctrine of non-resistance exerts an equally baleful influence on social welfare. Every high interest of society suffers by the prevalence of injustice, and demands that it shall be averted in all possible ways. Those who commit injustice are the most dangerous foes to society, because they undermine the foundations of public security, public confidence, and public peace. If any individual adopts a principle of action which gives immunity to the perpetrators of injustice, he becomes a conscious or unconscious accomplice in their wickedness, and connives in their evil purposes and deeds. Now the whole experience of mankind proves that violations of equal rights (i. e. all acts of injustice), unless checked by effective penalties, tend to multiply rapidly; depredators and desperadoes desire nothing so much as passive submission in their victims, nor are they in the least disarmed by it; on the contrary, they despise the very non-resistance which helps them to their booty. Hence the necessity of civil law for the repression of such acts and the protection of their victims. But civil law cannot be maintained except by the active support of the citizens themselves; they must be disposed to take measures against the unjust, or civil law becomes a mere dead letter. In other words, each citizen must be disposed to defend his own rights, as an indispensable means of defending the rights of all; he must act on the principle of resistance to wrong, not non-resistance, out of regard to the general welfare. He must resist the aggressor upon his own individuality, not merely for his own sake, but for the sake of all his fellow-citizens, whose rights are imperilled at the same time by the escape of the guilty. In a large and broad sense, every man who acts on the principle of non-resistance commits a social crime of the same order as that known as "compounding with felony," and is a bad citizen to that extent. There must be a universal and jealous defence of private rights, or else the public welfare is undermined. "Christian" morality, therefore, just so far as it inculcates the doctrine of non-resistance, tends not only to degrade the moral character of the individual, but also to deprave, to demoralize, and to disintegrate civil society.

The moral and civil salvation of the world, however, has been brought about by the inveterate persistence of natural impulses, as opposed to artificial theological precepts. Self-assertion, or the instinctive vindication of individual rights against aggression, has rescued mankind from the moral and civil ruin into which Christianity, if practicable, would have plunged them. Everybody admits that it is impossible to "live up to" the precepts of the Christian gospel; but few suspect that it is because they are distorted and false, and that mankind are immensely better off by reason of this very impossibility. The world lives by its own non-Christian code, and always will; nature is too strong for theology to subdue. There is a natural morality based on recognition of the simple facts of life,—on knowledge of the practical necessities of social existence; and it will create its natural fruit far better when the Christian delusion has been dissipated, as it will be inevitably by the mere development of the general intelligence.

Now natural morality, dealing with society as an aggregation of constituent individuals, teaches one broad moral principle which not only corrects this theological infatuation of non-resistance, but which also lays the axe to the root of all social wrongs. It is briefly this: *every individuality is inviolably sacred from all invasion just so long as it invades no other individuality.* This principle teaches the absurdity of non-resistance, and commands every individual to repel all injustice, by moral means if possible, by legal means if that fails, and by forcible means if both fail; and

it commands non-resistance only when effective resistance is impossible. But it does more than this. It forbids non-resistance, it is true, as demoralizing both to the individual and to society; but it also commands non-aggression. The very same principle which teaches the inviolability of one individuality teaches equally the inviolability of all other individualities; prohibiting the passive surrender of self as the victim of injustice, it also prohibits the active aggression of self as the perpetrator of it. Here is the great curative power of natural morality, whether as regards private character or public welfare. Educate all men from childhood never to submit to wrong, but also never to commit it; and the necessity of resistance to wrong disappears with the disappearance of wrong itself. Abolish aggression, and there will be no possibility of resistance. It is the great practical lesson of non-aggression that the world needs to learn, and until that lesson is learned, the pulpits that preach the gospel of non-resistance are whistling against the wind. So long as injustice is perpetrated, just so long will men resist it; and they would commit moral suicide if they did not. But when children are trained to cherish profound reverence for the equal rights of others, to refrain most scrupulously from all encroachment upon them, and thus to exercise the all-comprehensive virtue of self-control by universal ideas, then all need for resistance will be outgrown, and the era of brotherly love will indeed arrive.

Why has Christianity failed so utterly to preach this great and sublime doctrine of non-aggression—the very root of all social righteousness? For the very same reason that it has preached the false and pernicious doctrine of non-resistance: namely, its almost total ignorance of equal rights. If it had ever seen the necessity of preserving equal rights, it could never have counselled the total and voluntary sacrifice of them through unresisting submission to the aggressor. If it had been wise enough to teach non-aggression, it would have been too wise to teach non-resistance. There is scarcely a glimpse of the sacredness of equal human rights in the whole New Testament—scarcely a vague suspicion of the inviolability of individuality as such. That was not an ancient conception; it is the greatest product of modern civilization; and it is destined to do away with Christianity altogether. The religion of the future is embodied where people least think to look for it—in the Constitution of the United States and in the National Liberal League which would bring it to full fruition. The principles there contained are the fountain of peace, of happiness, of universal love, because they are the divine principles of equal justice to all. It is through equal justice to all that universal peace and love must come; there is no other way. And natural morality lays the corner-stone of the new temple in its short, simple, omnipotent principle of Non-AGGRESSION.

INTERNATIONAL ACQUAINTANCE.

There are two points of what may be called the moral of the Philadelphia International Exhibition that I do not remember to have seen dwelt upon by the correspondents who have attempted to discourse upon what they have there seen.

The thought that first specially impressed me, and that kept coming back, was, What a great place is held, among the different nations of the world, by the peaceful arts and industries of civilization, and what vast numbers of people everywhere are quietly devoting themselves to these pursuits, instead of following the more ambitious courses of politics or the more perilous courses of war, though these last are the more conspicuous affairs, of which we are constantly hearing, and which are apt to give nations their chief acquaintance with each other. Consider Spain, for instance. For several years Spain has been in the turmoil and strife of civil war. Her affairs have been bruited around the world. But it has been almost wholly of her political and military affairs that we have heard,—of revolution succeeding revolution, of the wars with Don Carlos and Cuba, of successive administrations, republican, military, monarchical, vainly attempting to govern the State; and we have heard of these things so exclusively that it seemed as if society in all its aspects must be disorganized and given over to anarchy. Yet Spain presents one of the finest sections in the Exhibition. The variety, skill, and beauty of her manufactured fabrics are worthy of the pride with which they have evidently been arranged. In view of her recent history they must excite the wonder of all who look at them. Perhaps the representatives of her industries and her present government have taken special pains in the exhibit, for the purpose of coun-

teracting any impression which other nations may have got of her commercial ruin. But on any theory, the part that Spain takes in the Exhibition is amazing, and shows that, in spite of her civil commotions and wars, great multitudes of her people cannot have been greatly disturbed in their industrial arts and economies. And this is a great tribute to human nature, and to the inherent soundness of modern progress in civilization. The mass of mankind, not only in Spain but in all countries that are now making history, are devoted, even in the midst of civil and international wars, to the interests of peace and progress.

Naturally, Spain at this time is the most conspicuous example of this fact, but by no means the only example. Turkey, before her present war, has been for years the scene of gross civil maladministration, and we have heard but little of her affairs, except of her political disorders and impending bankruptcy. Yet Turkey makes no mean show in the Exhibition. So of other countries. The things that we hear about them through the newspapers and telegraph are most likely to be the things that are least to their credit,—the political blunders and crimes, the sway of ambitious demagogues, the strifes and revenges of nations against each other; but the International Exhibition acquaints the nations with the better side of each others' character and doings,—with the silent industrial and moral forces that keep their constant sway over the majority of people, and are quietly building up the national welfare, prosperity, and happiness.

Another reflection that specially impressed me at the Exhibition was, How is it possible for so many religions as are indirectly represented in this international demonstration to come thus together without learning more of toleration and respect for each other? Here are not only exhibits of the peaceful industry of Christians, but also of Jews, Mohammedans, Brahmanists, Confucians, Buddhists,—and all brought together on terms of equality. It is, in one aspect, a kind of Peace Congress of the different religions of mankind. Now there is a wide-spread popular opinion among Christians (of course not prevailing among the most enlightened), that all nations that are not of the Christian faith are in a condition of barbarism. But such an exposition as is here made of the industries and arts of non-Christian peoples cannot but help to correct this opinion; and to start, also, the question whether a people that can do the things which are represented here by nations called heathen can be so very barbarous in their religious beliefs and practices as they are commonly supposed among Christians to be. International commercial acquaintance tends to international religious acquaintance. I have noticed that men who have been much in countries of different faiths are apt to become broad and liberal in their religious views. They learn that human nature is everywhere essentially the same, and that, under some variety of form, it shows everywhere essentially the same capacities for moral and religious ideas. A retired sea-captain recently told me that the people, of all whom he had met in his life, who seemed to him to live most nearly in accordance with the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount were a people in a little community of India, called heathen. And one of the indirect results of every international industrial exhibition is to increase this kind of acquaintance of the religions with each other: an acquaintance which must in time manifest the fact of a kindred lineage among the different faiths of mankind.

I said above that the different religions met in the International Exhibition on equal terms. To this statement, unfortunately, the exception has to be made, that the Christian exhibitors, though acting the part of hosts, being the majority, unjustly and unhandsonely require all exhibitors and visitors of other faiths to do homage to the Christian "sacred day,"—and this though exhibitors of other faiths contribute to the success of the Exhibition by taking part in it on days by them deemed "sacred."

W. J. P.

GUIBORD is to be silently buried, but the ground will be cursed all the same. The ground was cursed, if we remember, in the year 1, at a celebrated interview with Adam and Eve.—*New York Graphic*.

A FEW DAYS ago a Norwich man bought a chest of tea in Providence, and on opening it found a stone inside, weighing nearly eleven pounds. He remarked that the weights of Providence are mysterious.

A MINISTER out West made all the doctors in his congregation mad by preaching from the text, "In his disease Asa sought not to the Lord, but to the physicians. And Asa slept with his fathers."

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY R. C.

Mr. Tilden declares, in his letter of acceptance, that "the present depression in all the business and industries of the people has its principal cause in excessive governmental consumption"; that Federal and local taxation together, for the last eleven years, amounts to the enormous sum of \$7,500,000,000; that taxation was aggravated, moreover, by unscientific and ill-adjusted methods of taxation, and by a bad financial policy; and that "for these eleven years, governmental consumption has been a larger portion of the national earnings than the whole people can possibly save, even in prosperous times, for all new investments." The remedy for the present state of affairs is to be found in obedience to the "old homely maxim, 'Live within your income'"; and in order that waste of income may be readily detected and stopped, he suggests that all appropriation bills be regulated and made distinct by a constitutional amendment, and that all independent legislation in them be forbidden. An accessory cause of business depression, Mr. Tilden suggests, "is to be found in the systematic and unsupportable misgovernment imposed on the States of the South." He believes that "the moral influence of every good citizen" should be exerted "to establish a cordial fraternity and good-will among citizens" of the different races at the South; that the constitutional amendments should be universally accepted; and that the President should do all in his power "to protect all its citizens, whatever former condition, in every political and personal right." With reference to resumption, to which question at least one-half of his long letter is devoted, Mr. Tilden believes that the national banks could resume without difficulty, and without injury to any one; that Government is the sole delinquent; but that Government resumption need not be a work of difficulty. But, with regard to resumption, preparation "is everything"; without it, "a legislative command fixing a day, an official promise fixing a day, are shams." "It cannot be doubted that the substitution of a system of preparation without the promise of a day, for the worthless promise of a day without a system of preparation, would be the gain of the substance of resumption in exchange for its shadow." With reference to our national debt, Mr. Tilden believes that the interest thereon could be reduced gradually at least one per cent., which would save \$17,000,000 per year, and that this sum, invested at 4 per cent., would pay the whole debt in thirty-eight years. Mr. Tilden states, next, the principal evils of our present civil service, and advocates a thorough reform, which, however, he is convinced can be made permanently effective only by an amendment to the Constitution disqualifying the President for reelection. The letter concludes with a well-written paragraph referring to his personal experience of official life.

Of the letter of Mr. Hendricks it is hardly necessary to give an outline. He indorses the St. Louis platform; declares that the President alone should not be blamed for all the abuses of the present administration, but that "Congressional and party leaders have been stronger than the President"; discusses the financial question, favoring gradual resumption, and the repeal of the Resumption Act; believes that the Cooley system should be abolished; favors civil service reform; declares that the public schools should not be involved "in political or sectarian controversy"; speaks briefly of the Southern question; and closes with a complimentary reference to Tilden. The letter is much better than we had expected from Hendricks, and nothing in it need be seriously criticised, with the exception of his discussion of the financial question, which is wholly vitiated by his opening assertion that "gold and silver are the real standard of values." Had he said gold and tin, or rags, or copper, the absurdity of his statement would have been apparent at once; yet any one of these three articles is just now more stable and a more "real standard of values" than silver.

The Democrats surely have no reason to be ashamed of the letter of their chief candidate. It is unusually able and adroit; is admirably expressed throughout; and, in the main, must command the universal assent of political reformers. This may be strong praise, but the letter fully merits it. Mr. Tilden, in fact, has written his own best campaign speech, and it is safe to prophesy that at least nine-tenths of Democratic stump oratory for the coming three months will consist of amplifications of the good points of his letter. What Mr. Tilden says of the necessity of economy in administration; of misgovernment at the South; of the need of civil service reform; and of the preparation for resumption—cannot be disputed. It must be a galling fact, moreover, for the Republican managers to reflect upon, that many of Mr. Tilden's statements are made effective solely because of their own dishonesty and bad management, and not by reason of any arraignment of their party's principles. At least one-half of Mr. Tilden's letter, for instance, and that which he undoubtedly considers the most important part, could not have been written at all if the Republicans of the last Congress had supported their own Resumption Act with the legislation it manifestly called for; and here we should state distinctly that while we admit the validity and brilliancy of much of Mr. Tilden's reasoning upon the question of resumption, we do not admit the correctness of his conclusion that the Resumption Act should be repealed, or, at least, that its repeal would be a matter of indifference. We hold, instead, that every sentiment of national honor should urge us to put forth the most strenuous efforts to resume specie payments on the first of January, 1879, and that the suggestion of re-

peal should only be listened to and accepted at the very last moment and with deepest humiliation,—with the same feeling, in fact, with which an honest man shoves aside the note he has promised to pay, and intended to pay, and labored to pay, and allows to go to protest at last only because he cannot possibly pay.

What we have just said becomes more effective in the light of the recent action of the House of Representatives. On the day of the publication of Mr. Tilden's letter, and after it had been read and approved by the members of his party in the House, a repeal of the Resumption Act was forced through by a vote of 106 to 86, and this was done in utter disregard of what Tilden had written concerning the absolute necessity of preparation for resumption, and in spite of the persistent opposition of the best Democratic leaders. The repeal was put through evidently as a sop to Democratic inflationists, against a swarm of whom Mr. Tilden, if elected, would be obliged to wage a deadly war, the result of which can hardly be foreseen. On the score of ability and acquirements, and the possession of statesmanlike views, no one can question Mr. Tilden's fitness for the presidency; but it becomes daily more apparent that Mr. Tilden is not representative of the genuine sentiment of the Democratic party. With reference to civil service reform, the payment of the public debt, the introduction of independent legislation in appropriation bills, and preparation for resumption, the present Democratic House has not only done nothing in accordance with the principles advocated by Mr. Tilden, but has done all that it could to weaken the effect of what had been attempted by its Republican predecessors.

Mr. Cox, of the Banking and Currency Committee, introduced in the House, on Saturday, a bill which was passed appointing a commission of three Representatives, three Senators, and three experts, to inquire, first, into the change which has taken place in the relative value of gold and silver, with the causes and effects thereof; second, the policy of the restoration of a double standard in this country; third, the policy of continuing legal tender notes concurrently with the metallic standard; and, fourth, the best manner of providing for facilitating the resumption of specie payments. The commission is to report by the 15th of January next, and, if well made up, might do some good service in calling attention to correct financial views, but is more likely to be so made up that its report or reports would be of no value. Mr. Boutwell, in the Senate, introduced a weak imitation of the poorest part of the above, calling for the appointment of a similar commission to inquire into the expediency of coining a legal tender silver dollar, and appropriating \$10,000, to pay the expenses of the commission.

The Judiciary Committee of the House made a unanimous report exonerating Proctor Knott from the charge of suppressing Caldwell's dispatch in the Blaine inquiry; but Knott, taking advantage of the occasion to lose his temper and to make an uncalled-for speech, the Republican members of the Committee withdrew their names from the report, and it was recommitted. The report of the Naval Committee with reference to Robeson was referred to the Judiciary Committee. A great deal of time has been consumed in "filibustering" against the passage of Bland's "Silver" Bill. The question of sectarian appropriations from the public school funds has been taken out of the presidential canvass by the almost unanimous adoption (166 to 5) of the substance of Blaine's proposed amendment to the Constitution.

The Senate acquitted Belknap, not because it believed him innocent, but because most of the Senators who had denied the jurisdiction of the Senate entered a formal vote of "Not guilty," on the ground of non-jurisdiction. It may be remembered that, at the time of Belknap's impeachment, we took the ground that the Senate had no jurisdiction in his case, and so far as this goes, therefore, we are not sorry that the case is now left where in our judgment it seemed to belong several months ago. But we are extremely sorry that this result has been reached by a very tedious, stupid, and unjust process, and we cannot quite justify those Senators who, believing Belknap to be guilty, voted not guilty on the ground of non-jurisdiction, after the Senate, which should be recognized as the court of ultimate appeal in this matter, had declared in favor of jurisdiction. The result, however, is likely to prevent a great deal of possible political mischief, and may be cheerfully acquiesced in, therefore, especially if Belknap be now "jugged" by the criminal court which has indicted him.

One good result of late Congressional investigations may be seen in the withdrawal of Mr. Godlove S. Orth as candidate for governor of Indiana, and the nomination of Benjamin Harrison in his place. Mr. Orth, it will be remembered, resigned his position as Minister to Austria and came home for the purpose of running for Governor in his State; but one of the investigating committees found out that some time ago Mr. Orth, while a member of Congress and serving upon the Committee on Claims, had acted at the same time as attorney and agent for Venezuela in presenting certain claims before his own committee. This discovery, duly emphasized by opposition newspapers, was a little too much for Republican stomachs in the present condition of Indiana politics, and Mr. Orth now retires to private life, we trust to remain there.

The temperance cause, which is always more or less prominent in Massachusetts, seems to be making considerable progress of late, and to be carried on

with more than customary good sense. "Reform clubs," which take no political action, are numerous and active in the eastern part of the State; and in Boston, especially, the license law seems to be attended with some good results, nearly three hundred places in which liquor was illegally sold having been closed within the past ten days. The number of arrests for drunkenness, also, for the present year is less than for either of the two years preceding. Another good sign is the fact that the consumption of lager beer, and soda, and mineral waters has increased enormously within two years, while during the same period the consumption of spirits and the stronger ales and mixed drinks has greatly diminished. One of the most encouraging signs, however, is a recent occurrence among the Baptists. The Rev. E. P. Eddy, of Hyde Park, who must be a man of considerable courage, read a long and apparently able paper, the other day, at a meeting of Baptist ministers, in opposition to prohibitory liquor-laws. Although it is evident enough that, with reference to the temperance cause, "the fools are not all dead yet," nor are some of them likely to die for a long time to come, it is nevertheless a very hopeful sign when so bright a gleam of good sense shines from so unpromising a spot as a Baptist ministers' meeting.

The news from Servia would be more interesting if the details could be clearly understood. The Turkish force opposed to the Montenegrins seems unable to cope with them. The Servians have won at least one important battle during the past week, but they have also lost more than one, and the Turks on the south-eastern frontier are preparing to invade Servia.

ENGLISH SKETCHES.

BY MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

LONDON, July 20, 1876.

It is pleasant to hear that American freethinkers are proud to share in the privilege of raising a statue to the memory of the great freethought martyr, Giordano Bruno. It is possible that some of the less studious readers of THE INDEX may not know much about Bruno, and that a slight sketch of who he was, and the reasons for which we honor him to-day, may, therefore, be acceptable to very many.

Giordano Bruno was born at Nola, a small town near Naples, in the year 1550, and in his youth he clad himself in the robe of the Dominican, and plunged deeply into study, sheltered by the walls of the monastery from the tumult of that turbulent age. Study, however, led him away from the dogmas of the Church; transubstantiation did not approve itself to his intellect; the immaculate conception raised doubts in his mind; Aristotle, whose philosophy was followed by all doctors of the Church, was very unsatisfactory to him; he embraced the theories of Copernicus, and thus placed himself in opposition to Catholicism; he wrote a satire on the monkish orders; finally, he made Italy too hot to hold him, and fled from the fangs of the Inquisition. On his arrival at Geneva he found no welcome. Geneva was pledged to the Aristotelian philosophy, and would have none of this heretic assailant; so he passed on into France, visited Lyons and Toulouse, and once again fled for his life from the latter city. At Paris he found some rest. He disputed in the Sorbonne, and gained much credit; but his refusal to attend mass prevented his becoming an accredited professor, and put him in considerable danger. The protection of the king, however, and his popularity among the students, saved him; he was young, eloquent, beautiful, learned, and he drew large audiences of pupils, in spite of his heresy. In Paris he remained a year, and then, A.D. 1583, he crossed the Channel into England, visited the English Court, became intimate with Sir Philip Sidney, and distinguished himself in a philosophical tournament held at Oxford. "The earth is immovable, the universe is finite and movable," said the University, with Aristotle and Ptolemy. "The earth revolves, and the universe is infinite," said Bruno, relying on Philolaus and Copernicus. Very hot grew the battle, and clouds gathered round the bold heretic. At Oxford he taught publicly until opposition became so strong that once again he was forced to flee, and he returned to Paris in 1586, and again publicly disputed against Aristotle. Paris cast him out, as reward, and he took refuge in Germany, teaching in Würtemberg, in Prague, in Helmstedt; excommunicated, he persisted in lecturing. At Würtemberg he might have rested in peace, for the University protected him. But Bruno could not rest. The burning love of truth possessed him, and he must needs teach everywhere, that the truth might be made known. So on he went, teaching the theories of Copernicus, reviving the atomic theory of Lucretius, spreading materialism, denying the authority of Scripture as decider in scientific disputes. He wrote, as well as spoke, on logic, on metaphysics, on cosmography, and at last, in an evil hour, he returned to Italy and to death. He taught publicly in Padua, and was hunted out of the city; to Venice, the beautiful, he fled, and here they ran him down; he was seized by the officers of the Holy Office, and thrown into the dungeons of the Piombi. Here, for six years, they kept him in horrible solitude; no books, no pens, no paper; nothing to break that awful weariness and monotony. He was forty-two when they buried him in this living grave; he was forty-eight when they brought him out, and carried him to Rome. There two years more of prison-life awaited him, during which the greatest controversialists of the Roman Church—Bellarmine among them—strove in vain to force him into denying the truth he knew. At last they gave up in despair, and he was led before the Grand Inquisitor, San Severino, excommunicated as atheist, and handed over to the civil arm to be punished

"without shedding of blood," i.e., to be burnt alive. They forced him on his knees to hear his sentence, but no word for pity escaped him; only he said, as he rose, and boldly looked straight at his terrible judges: "I think that you pronounce that sentence with more fear than I feel in hearing it." A week after they led him to his death, Feb. 17, 1600. In the Champ de Flore the stake was raised, and, dressed in the hideous Inquisition robe, he walked calmly to his death. A priest pressed the crucifix on him, but he turned aside and refused to touch it, and never flinched as they tied him to the stake; silent he was to the very end, quiet, serene, fearless, giving his noble life into the hands of his mistress, Truth, and leaving his body as a stepping-stone for those who should come after him, and should triumph where he had fallen.

Such was the man who died in 1600; such is the memory to which we do homage in 1876. In the city where Bruno died Bruno's statue shall arise, and the martyr of the seventeenth century shall become the hero of the nineteenth, proving the truth of his own glorious words: "To know how to die in one century is to live for all centuries to come."

In philosophy, Bruno was a materialist, and he was a pantheist rather than an atheist. To him the world was the expression of the Supreme Intelligence, no more apart from God than the word is apart from the voice which speaks it. Lewes, in his *History of Philosophy*, thus writes of him:—

"Bruno admits the existence of only one Intelligence, and that is God. This Intelligence, which is perfect in God, is less perfect in inferior spirits; still less so in man; more and more imperfect in the lower gradations of created beings. But all these differences are differences of degree, not of kind. The inferior orders of beings do not understand themselves, but they have a sort of language. In the superior orders of beings intelligence arrives at the point of self-consciousness,—they understand themselves and those below them. Man, who occupies the middle position in the hierarchy of creation, is capable of contemplating every phase of life. He sees God above him; he sees around him traces of the divine activity. These traces, which attest the immutable order of the universe, constitute the soul of the world. To collect them, and connect them with the Being whence they issue, is the noblest function of the human mind. Bruno further teaches that, in proportion as man labors in this direction, he discovers that these traces spread abroad in Nature do not differ from the ideas which exist in his own mind. He thus arrives at the perception of the identity between the soul of the world and his own soul, both as reflections of the Divine Intelligence" (Vol. II., pp. 108, 109). "Bruno's creed was pantheism. . . . He taught that God was the Infinite Intelligence, the Cause of causes, the Principle of all life and mind, the great Activity, whose action we name the universe. But God did not create the universe; he informed it with life,—with being."

Debates are still the order of the day, and one on the disestablishment and disendowment of the English Church, between Mr. Bradlaugh and Mr. Simpson, a candidate for the representation of Liverpool in Parliament, which has been held in that Tory stronghold, has caused great excitement. Hitherto the arguments of the Church in Liverpool have been of a very forcible character; they have consisted of stones, vegetables, eggs, with an occasional dead cat to give piquancy to the repast, and these weapons have driven all anti-establishmentarians from the platform. My own lecture at Birkenhead was the first which was carried through in peace. During this debate, there was a good deal of interruption at times, but it was very easily suppressed, and the arguments were brought to a conclusion without any extraneous aid to the Church in the shape of missiles flung at the secularist. The leading Liverpool paper has dealt very fairly with both sides, and as a sign of the growing liberality of thought this is very encouraging.

The sale of the *Freethinkers' Text Book*, to which I drew the attention of the readers of THE INDEX, is something enormous for a freethought work of so solid a character, and speaks volumes for the desire that must exist really to study these great problems of religion. For the book is somewhat dry, and contains close argument, and is not a work that would commend itself to the ordinary, careless reader, in search of amusement. The first part, which was issued in April last, is now in its sixth edition, and continues to sell rapidly, and that is a fair success to attain in three and one-half months. Few things, perhaps, do more to raise the National Secular Society in general estimation than a success of this kind, and it is encouraging to know that our ranks contain so many students and thinkers, and are recruited from the more thoughtful class of the community. All around us progress is becoming more and more marked, and the eastern sky begins to brighten to the dawning.

We shall anxiously look forward to the accounts of the proceedings of the Centennial Congress of Liberals, which seems to have met with so hearty an approval among you on the other side. It has been pleasant to watch the growing length of subscriptions, until, at last, a terror has come upon me lest THE INDEX should contain nothing else. May the conclusion of the work be as successful as its commencement, and the radical movement will then have left its mark on this glorious Centennial year.

"I'm TWO YEARS older than you," said a little eight-year-old girl to a New Bedford boy the other day. "Well, I don't care," was the reply. "I'm going to wear trousers soon, and that you'll never do."

Communications.

THEN AND NOW.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

The more I read, and the further I look into this Christian Amendment movement, the more firm is my conviction that its outcome will be to subjugate the free conscience, to enforce Sunday laws, to extort money from the whole tax-paying people of this country to support churches and their dogmatic claims.

It is an attempted outrage so subtle that the average citizen will acquiesce in it without realizing its bearing upon his natural rights. On reading those extracts from the press of the country on the Centennial Congress of Liberals, I am astonished to see the open apostasy of some public journals, and saddened to find such blindness to the grave issues involved in this struggle. The most glaring apostasy is that of the *Christian Union*. In January, 1871, that journal said editorially:—

"The friends of the measure are not likely ever to agree among themselves. The convention which met in Philadelphia on the 18th inst. to consider this subject refused to accept a phraseology which simply recognizes the Deity, and insisted upon including in the amendment the name of Jesus Christ as well. A party in behalf of the Holy Spirit, which is so conspicuously slighted, will be next in order; and then the way will be open for a proposition to recognize the 'Vicegerent of Christ on earth,' as the true source of power among the nations! If the proposed amendment is anything more than a bit of sentimental cant, it is to have a legal effect. It is to alter the status of the non-Christian citizen before the law. It is to affect the legal oaths and instruments, the matrimonial contracts, the sumptuary laws, etc., etc., of the country. This would be an outrage on natural right."

We may well regard the decided change of tone manifest in your quotation as the most just cause of concern which has lately developed. What means this new attitude? Could anything be stronger than the language used by the *Christian Union* at the birth of this movement,—that it was "an outrage on natural right"? Yes, it is an outrage on natural right! Let us not fail to press this fact on the attention of the unwary. It is idle to talk about "the genius of our people," "the natural development of American institutions," etc. Let the warning be continually rung in the ears of the common people, that under this movement their status is to be changed. There is need for somebody to be terribly in earnest in this matter, when such papers as the *New Age* can treat it cavalierly, and when once staunch friends in the realm of journalism assume a treacherous front towards a power that two years ago they vigorously opposed.

A. BRIGGS DAVIS.

WORCESTER, Mass.

[We agree emphatically with the above letter, except in one point. We do not believe that the ultimate outcome of the Christian Amendment movement will be its victory; we have no fear whatever that freedom will not conquer in the end. Certain parties take a malicious pleasure in attributing "terror" and "fright" to THE INDEX, because it points out steadily the vast dangers of this movement; but they know so well the falsity of their own representations that it would do no good to correct an error which is wilfully committed. The Christian Amendment movement is winning successes every day through the blind and even stupid indifference of the people, and the outcome of these things must be either subjugation or a desperate struggle with the usurper. We believe that it will be the latter, and that thus Christianity will at last destroy itself in this country by proving itself to every freeman to be the deadliest foe of freedom and equal rights. Let the issue come when it must: it will make very plain who is afraid. —ED.]

"DRAWING THE FIRE."

F. E. ABBOT:

Dear Sir,—I have just looked over the newspaper comments in THE INDEX of July 27, on the call for the Centennial Congress of Liberals. Military men have sundry devices to "draw the fire" of an enemy, and so learn the force and disposition of their opponents. You have drawn the fire well, and a singular fusillade it is. Taxation of church property and discontinuance of Bible-reading in schools seem to gain some growing favor, while yet meeting a deal of bigoted opposition; but the "holy Sabbath" must be guarded by the strong arm of law! What a revelation of pious horror of the infidel aims and irreligious spirit of the League! A want of comprehension of the situation and a blind prejudice against heretics are the saddest features of these newspaper comments; yet these are relieved by gleams of a partial light and proofs of waning bigotry. On the whole, I think twenty years ago would have shown a darker revelation. We have not wrought in vain.

I know not how pure religion and spiritual culture can be better helped than by banishing from our statute books every vestige of force or favoritism touching matters of conscience. Let Christian and Pagan, Bible and Koran, Sunday and Monday, Materialist and Spiritualist, be equal before the law, and righteousness and truth will win such triumphs as are not possible otherwise. Bigotry and dogmatism fear this state of things; true religion courts it.

"Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty."

said an earnest Hebrew in New Testament days. "Where the spirit of the sect is, there is slavery," is good gospel for to-day, and true as the Hebrew's word.

If we have made valuable approaches (thanks to the framers of our national Constitution) toward a separation of Church and State, we have realized such benefits therefrom as to show the need of perfecting that separation, and this is the object of the Liberal League. Possibly its methods and minor demands may not be perfect (I find no fault with them myself), but these can shape themselves in due time.

There is need of organized effort for its great and leading objects. The "God-in-the-Constitution" movement, the great organization of Young Men's Christian Associations, the newspaper extracts in your INDEX, show that need plainly enough.

You asked us to attend the Philadelphia meeting, but, unfortunately for me, I could not. The League starts on a good path; let the people see that it moves on.

Yours truly,

G. B. STEBBINS.

DETROIT, Mich., Aug 2, 1876.

DEDICATION OF A NEW HALL.

On Sunday, July 30, a new hall in Shoemakertown, Pa., some eight or ten miles from Philadelphia, built and owned by Edward M. Davis, was dedicated to freethought and speech, and to all entertainments that go to improve and elevate human character. This hall is twenty-eight by fifty feet, and about thirty-five feet high, and cost \$3,500. The main hall is on the second floor, and will comfortably seat three hundred persons, with an ample stage at one end. Descending by a stairway from the stage, is a smaller hall adapted to school purposes, with two dressing or retiring rooms at one end.

A pouring rain that flooded the streets of the city, and made wading necessary to locomotion in the country, did not prevent the presence of one hundred or more persons at the appointed hour. Mr. Davis opened the meeting with appropriate remarks, stating why it had fallen to his lot to build the hall. Others felt the need of such a place, and were willing to aid, but perfect agreement could not be had respecting the uses to be made of it. Mr. Davis wished unrestricted liberty for the utterance of all honest convictions, and all kinds of amusement, tending to pleasure, recreation, and improvement, and as no one was ready to cooperate upon this ground, he had himself built it. He said his object was not so much to propagate his own views as to excite to thought and interest on all subjects that concerned human welfare. Honest conviction he respected, whether in accordance with his own or not. He said years ago he had taken part in a discussion on the sin of American slave-holding in a school-house near by, and, after listening to his opponent's remarks, he said to himself, "That man is more a friend than a foe to human freedom." So it proved, for it was none other than Robert Collyer, of Chicago, whom he had invited there to dedicate this new hall, and whom he then presented to the audience.

Mr. Collyer said that when among strangers, he could easily enough commence a speech, but among friends and old acquaintances, such as he met there, he was somewhat embarrassed, because he wished to be upon his best behavior, and do all things in the best way. However, Mr. Davis had aided him by requesting that he give a brief autobiographical sketch, and (as his address was only the first dedicatory one,—for every one given there would dedicate the hall to human good, if the objects had in view in its erection were carried out) he felt free to use the time in speaking of himself, trusting that his experiences might be of profit to the young men present. He narrated his early life in England, without advantages of school, means, needed comforts; his emigration to America, at the age of twenty-six, with a young wife, and his finding work at his trade of blacksmithing, in the hammer-factory in the town where this new hall was built; his call to Chicago seventeen years ago. This he termed the first chapter of his discourse, refraining from allusion to the brilliant record of his ministry there. He said he had learned what he considered to be four important secrets of life: first, the power to do a good, honest day's work,—power both of body and disposition; second, the power to make a good home, where equality and not subjection was the law; third, the power to save time by performing whatever work came to hand, without waiting for something better-liked to turn up; and, fourth, the power to be contented with these things. Not that he disapproved of discontent, in the sense of improving all conditions of life; this was healthy and to be encouraged.

No description can do justice to the hearty, easy flow of thought and humor which made a long address seem like participation in a delightful conversation.

The venerable Lucratia Mott, who occupied a chair on the platform by Mr. Collyer's side, followed in remarks upon the religious character of the occasion, the motives for the building of the hall being religious in their very nature,—being with reference to the highest good of the minds and hearts of the people. She thought when Mr. Collyer had attended a few more women's rights meetings, he would put a little more stress upon the aid rendered by women to men, and gracefully reminded him of his indebtedness to his wife for her criticisms upon his early sermons. She had epitomized her thoughts of the true marriage relation thus: "The independence of the husband and wife is equal; the dependence mutual and the obligations reciprocal."

John M. Spear referred to the three marked persons who had addressed the meeting, and said it was a rare man who would build a hall for purposes so disinterested and useful, and referred to the Radical

Club of Philadelphia, which Mr. Davis had conducted so generously for a number of years. He felt that the service such a course rendered to liberalism and human advance was invaluable, and all honor was due the man who afforded such opportunity and hospitality.

C. H. SPEAR.

PHILADELPHIA.

THE MOTTO "IN GOD WE TRUST."

EDITOR INDEX:—

A young friend has sent me several copies of your paper, all of which I have carefully read. As a born radical of some forty years, I find much in your paper, in general terms, with which I can agree; but there are one or two points in the platform adopted by the Congress of Liberals which I don't think are consistent with your own teaching. As a lover of, and a seeker for, truth, I am always ready to look for it and to receive it from any source, when rationally proved to be truth. I am not, and never have been, a member of any church or sect, and can truly say that I believe in none and in all; that is to say, I believe that all sects and religions have done some good, by helping more or less to prepare the world for the good time coming, when unselfish love shall be the motive power of humanity.

The chief point I wish briefly to refer to (as I have no right to intrude too much upon your time and space, before I know whether a little will be intrusion) is this:—

The objection to the use of "In God we trust," which I believe was first put upon the gold coins during the war.

There seems to be a general acknowledgment by almost all the liberal leaders that there is a God. At the same time I suspect that many of them have only a vague idea of a blind Force operating in Nature, much like the Orthodox idea of the soul or spirit,—a sort of floating ether, or next to nothing. Now if you do really, not in your memory alone, but in your heart or inmost consciousness, believe in a God of love and infinite goodness, as the Creator and Sustainer of all things, how can you, consistently with reason, object to stand upon an open avowal of trust in him? What would you think of a child who should say that he loved and trusted his father, and yet objected to its being inscribed upon any of his books or keepsakes, or upon any gift he wished to give his father?

If you don't really believe in the existence of any personal God, as the Creator and Father of all, then your objections are consistent.

W. M. E.

AMHERST, Va., July 22, 1876.

[We object to any religious motto on the national coinage, not because we disbelieve in God (for all our readers know to the contrary), but because we have enough sense of justice not to wish to force our belief on those who do not share it. We have no objection to the motto "In God we trust," as an individual merely; but we have the strongest objection to it as a citizen of the United States. Some of our fellow-citizens are atheists, and their rights are just as sacred as our own. If they were in a majority, they would have just as much right to stamp "There is no God" on United States coins as we have to stamp "In God we trust" upon them. Would not our correspondent be aggrieved by such an atheistic motto on the coins? Yet the atheist is just as much aggrieved by the present motto; and his rights are just as good as our correspondent's. When will the world learn to refrain from doing an injustice which it is in their power to do? The Liberal League would teach a lesson in brotherly love by teaching all men to be just to each other.—ED.]

DRESS IN 1776.—Fashions changed a hundred years ago as they do now, and perhaps it would be impossible to give an exact picture of the costumes of different classes at any one given time. But, in general, it may be said that gentlemen wore small clothes, knee-buckles, and buckled shoes; coat broad-skirted, wide-cuffed, and lace-ruffled, and a brown, gray, claret, or other color; long waistcoats with broad flaps over the pockets, cocked hats, and in many cases wigs and powdered hair. The small sword was a common article of full dress, while scarlet cloth and gold and silver laces, with showy buttons, were resorted to by patricians on important occasions. The ladies made up their silks, and satins, and brocades into sacks and petticoats, hooped and trailed, set off with ruffles, and variously patterned and bedecked, according to the style of the hour. They spent much time upon the hair, and the arrangement of the head-dress for the great party or grand ball was a very complicated operation.—Edward Abbott's "Revolutionary Times."

A LITTLE GIRL in Genesee County, N. Y., attending church on a summer's day and seeing many in white bonnets, whispered to her mother and asked: "Ma, does Mrs. God wear a white bonnet?"

A MODEL will, duly executed and witnessed, was recently presented for probate at Plymouth, Mass., of which the following is a verbatim copy: "July 12, 1875. I give all my property to my wife."

"JOHN, I WISH you'd close that door!" said an irritable father to his son. "Your mother must be scolding somebody at the other end of the hall, there's such a draught from that quarter."

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Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America—that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of our country,—is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large." And later still: "I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest."

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Property is impossible, because it demands something for nothing.

Second Proposition.

Property is impossible, because, wherever it exists, Production costs more than it is worth.

Third Proposition.

Property is impossible, because, with a

given Capital, Production is proportional to Labor, not to Property.

Fourth Proposition.

Property is impossible, because it is Homocidal.

Fifth Proposition.

Property is impossible, because, if it exists, Society devours itself.

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Sixth Proposition.

Property is impossible, because it is the Mother of Tyranny.

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Property is impossible, because in consuming its Receipts, it loses them; in hoarding them, it nullifies them; and in using them as Capital, it turns them against Production.

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Property is impossible, because its Power of Accumulation is infinite, and is exercised only over Finite Quantities.

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PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practicing the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

GLIMPSES.

THE ADVERTISEMENT on our last page will give additional information about the *Secular Review*, to which Mr. Holyoake alludes in his interesting letter of this week.

MR. FRANCIS HANFORD, principal of a Chicago high school, has just been shot by Mr. Alexander Sullivan, Secretary of the Board of Public Works, whose wife Mr. Hanford had charged (among other things) with plotting the exclusion of the Bible from the schools. Sullivan is a Catholic, while Hanford was a Methodist.

ARCHBISHOP PURCELL, in the Cincinnati *Catholic Telegraph* of August 10, makes this declaration, which asserts still the right of the Catholics not to be taxed for public schools, but offers to "waive" this right for the present: "No doubt justice and equality would entitle the Catholic people of this country to exemption from taxation for the support of other schools, or to a share of the public school funds in proportion to the number of pupils in the schools, but even this we are disposed to waive in your favor."

IN THE *Independent* of August 10, Col. Higginson has a ringing article on the Hamburg massacre in South Carolina. It closes with these admirable words: "In case of burglary, we look to the owner of the roof to vindicate his rights by following up the guilty party. There is one man in the nation upon whom the next step in duty now devolves. If he is faithful, he has a hard task before him. If he shrinks, he will have a more sudden downfall than any man has yet sustained, from the respect and confidence of the whole American people. That man is Governor Chamberlain, of South Carolina." These words breathe the spirit of the true anti-Christian, who recognizes the duty of "vindicating his rights" and protecting the rights of others. At least in this passage, Col. Higginson is really an anti-Christian without intending it.

THE BALTIMORE *Gazette* sees some vitality in the school question: "Zach. Chandler and the men who are managing the Republican campaign are already in the field with their pamphlets and documents, stirring up the seeds of strife and fanaticism among our people. Four campaign documents going to prove an alliance between the Democratic party and the Catholic Church, arraigning the party for its inaction on this question, have been issued and scattered broadcast over this and other States. There is only one way to meet the issue they have presented, and that is by taking high and strong ground upon this school question. It must be taken out of the campaign, and the way to take it out is to pass the amendment which a Catholic Congressman from this State has prepared, and is ready to offer. We entreat the leaders of the Democratic party to take measures to keep this firebrand out of the canvass; to crush out an issue which will undoubtedly be raised, and which will bring ruin and destruction to the Democratic party."

DR. BELLOWES has apparently more practical sagacity in the matter of organization than all the rest of the Unitarian denomination combined. He sees and points out (with at least one metaphor of very questionable taste) the absurdity of having both a National Conference and a Unitarian Association,—one with a system of delegate representation, but no treasury, and the other with a treasury, but no representation. With the object he would attain (that is, the consolidation of a new Christian sect as a body possessed of power and influence, and dedicated to the "Lord Jesus") we have no sympathy whatever; but we admire the clear sense and executive faculty which make him discontented with a mere childish toying with organization. The Unitarians, as a sect, have given up liberty for Christ; now they will command increased respect by showing that they are at least in earnest in the "Lord's" cause. Their Na-

tional Conference, which is soon to be held at Saratoga, ought either to be developed into a vigorous executive body or else abandoned as an addled egg that can never be hatched. Of course we look on as a mere spectator; but we have an involuntary respect for business energy even in a dubious cause, and think it about time for the Unitarian denomination to desist from its endless and unsuccessful attempts to ride two horses at once. The better horse is the old Unitarian "Free Inquiry"; but if they prefer the "Lord and King" preamble, why not bestride him as if they really wanted to take a ride?

THE NEW YORK *Daily Graphic* of August 8 had this wise warning, which should be well heeded: "Something in the line of what is called 'the Blaine amendment' to the Constitution will need to be adopted sometime, but the discussion of the question is not yet sufficiently mature for action. The House has precipitately passed it, prohibiting in set terms the use of public funds for the support of 'sectarian schools,' probably fancying that it will have some sort of influence in creating capital for some party or candidate. Let us have no demagoguism now. To pass an amendment concerning sectarian schools without defining what is meant by sectarian schools is puerile folly. President Grant in his Des Moines speech was sufficiently specific when he declared that the public schools should be wholly secular, and should teach neither religion nor atheism. Let Congress be at least as specific before thrusting a vast and serious question before the people for discussion during a presidential contest. All would cordially support an amendment against appropriations to sectarian schools if sectarianism is defined to be everybody's religion but ours; but the question which now begins to challenge attention is not merely whether Catholic schools shall receive public money, but whether Protestant schools shall; whether King James' Bible, or the Douay, or some other, or none at all, shall be read by or to the pupils; and whether revival hymns and theological songs shall be sung in concert. The discussion of the question is not yet mature, and until it is this new amendment to the Constitution had better be allowed to sleep."

WITH WHAT serene superficiality the *Nation* delivers itself on the school issue! Never was there a more melancholy exhibition of *sancta simplicitas* on what the *Graphic*, with more insight, truly describes as "a vast and serious question": "We have ventured at several times to express the opinion that the belief, apparently prevalent among the Republicans, that the Bishop of Rome was in secret league with the Democrats for the purpose of breaking up our common-school system was unfounded, and have been often assured that we did not appreciate the bitterness of the feeling about the matter in Ohio and other parts of the country. It has always been our sincere conviction that the Democrats cared little or nothing for the Pope, and the Pope almost as little for the Democrats, and that the whole excitement was got up by General Grant, and Mr. Blaine, and other politicians, as a good political cry. We have never seen anybody who, of his own knowledge, knew of a conspiracy against the public schools, though we have seen people who had seen somebody else who had 'just returned from the West,' and reported the most terrible state of feeling somewhere about it. But that it would be of any appreciable importance in the present canvass we have never believed, and the vote in the House on the Blaine school amendment may be taken as full and conclusive proof that we were right. The amendment (which is a cruel blow at the Pope, and was devised by his greatest enemy on this side of the Atlantic, with the exception perhaps of General Grant) was passed by the Democrats in the House without any discussion or debate to speak of, by a vote of 166 to 5. This looks as if the Jesuits would be kept at bay for some time yet."

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

An Agnostic's Apology.

FROM THE LONDON "FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW" OF JUNE 1, 1876.

BY LESLIE STEPHEN.

AN attempt has recently been made to obtain currency for the new nickname—Agnostic. Protests against nicknames are foolish; foolish because unavailing, and foolish because nicknames are always harmless. A protest in this case would be especially foolish; for the nickname in question seems to indicate a distinct advance in the courtesies of controversy. The old theological phrase for an intellectual opponent was *Atheist*—a name which still retains a certain flavor as of the stake in this world and hell-fire in the next, and which, moreover, implies an inaccuracy of some importance. Dogmatic Atheism—the doctrine that there is no God, whatever may be meant by God—is, to say the least, a rare phase of opinion. The word Agnosticism, on the other hand, seems to imply a fairly accurate appreciation of a form of creed already common and daily spreading. The Agnostic is one who asserts—that no one denies—that there are limits to the sphere of human intelligence. He asserts, further, what many theologians have expressly maintained, that those limits are such as to exclude at least what Mr. Lewes has so happily called "metempirical" knowledge. But he goes further, and asserts, in opposition to the theologians, that theology lies within this forbidden sphere. This last assertion raises the important issue; and, though I have no pretension to invent an opposition nickname, I may venture, for the purposes of this article, to describe the rival school as Gnostics.

The Gnostic holds that our reason can in some sense transcend the narrow limits of experience. He holds that we can attain truths not capable of verification, and not needing verification, by actual experiment or observation. He holds, further, that a knowledge of those truths is essential to the highest interests of mankind, and enables us in some sort to solve the dark riddle of the universe. A complete solution, as every one admits, is beyond our power. But some answer may be given to the doubts which harass and perplex us when we try to frame any adequate conception of the vast order of which we form an insignificant portion. We cannot say why this or that arrangement is what it is; we can say, though obscurely, that some answer exists, and would be satisfactory if we could only find it. Overpowered, as every honest and serious thinker is at times overpowered, by the sight of pain, folly, and helplessness, by the jarring discords which run through the vast harmony of the universe, we are yet enabled to hear at times a whisper that all is well, to trust to it as coming from the most authentic source, and to know that only the temporary bars of sense prevent us from recognizing with certainty that the harmony beneath the discords is a reality and not a dream. This knowledge is embodied in the central dogma of theology. God is the name of the harmony; and God is knowable. Who would not be happy in accepting this belief, if he could accept it honestly? Who would not be glad, if he could say with confidence, The evil is transitory, the good eternal: our doubts are due to limitations destined to be abolished, and the world is really an embodiment of love and wisdom, however dark it may appear to our faculties? And yet, if the so-called knowledge be illusory, are we not bound by the most sacred obligations to recognize the facts? Our brief path is dark enough on any hypothesis. We cannot afford to turn aside every *ignis fatuus* without asking whether it leads to sounder footing or to hopeless quagmires. Dreams may be pleasanter for the moment than realities; but happiness must be won by adapting our lives to the realities. And who that has felt the burden of existence, and suffered under well-meant efforts at consolation, will deny that such consolations are the bitterest of mockeries? Pain is not an evil; death is not a separation; sickness is but a blessing in disguise. Have the gloomiest speculations of avowed pessimists ever tortured sufferers like those kindly platitudes? Is there a more cutting piece of satire in the language than the reference in our funeral service to the "sure and certain hope of a blessed resurrection"? To dispel genuine hopes might be painful, however salutary. To suppress these spasmodic efforts to fly in the face of facts would be some comfort, even in the distress which they are meant to alleviate.

Besides the important question whether the Gnostic can prove his dogmas, there is therefore the further question whether the dogmas, if granted, have any meaning. Do they answer our doubts, or mock us with the appearance of an answer? The Gnostics pride themselves on their knowledge. Have they anything to tell us? They rebuke what they call the "pride of reason" in the name of a still more exalted pride. The scientific reasoner is arrogant because he sets limits to the faculty in which he trusts, and denies the existence of any other faculty. They are humble because they dare to tread in the regions which he declares to be inaccessible. But without bandying such accusations, or asking which pride is the greater, the Gnostics are at least bound to show some ostensible justification for their complacency. Have they discovered a firm resting-place from which they are entitled to look down in compassion or contempt upon those who hold it to be a mere edifice of moonshine? If they have diminished by a scruple the weight of one passing doubt, we should be grateful: perhaps we should be converts. If not, why condemn Agnosticism?

I have said that our knowledge is in any case limited. I may add that, on any showing, there is a danger in failing to recognize the limits of possible

knowledge. The word Gnostic has some awkward associations. It once described certain heretics who got into trouble from fancying that men could frame theories of the Divine mode of existence. The sects have been dead for many centuries. Their fundamental assumptions can hardly be quite extinct. Not long ago at least there appeared in the papers a string of propositions framed—so we were assured—by some of the most candid and most learned of living theologians. These propositions defined by the help of various languages the precise relations which exist between the persons of the Trinity. It is an odd, though far from an unprecedented, circumstance that the unbeliever cannot quote them for fear of profanity. If they were transplanted into the pages of the *Fortnightly Review*, it would be impossible to convince any one that the intention was not to mock the simple-minded persons who, we must suppose, were not themselves intentionally irreverent. It is enough to say that they defined the nature of God Almighty with an accuracy from which modest naturalists would shrink in describing the genesis of a black beetle. I know not whether these dogmas were put forward as articles of faith, as pious conjectures, or as tentative contributions to a sound theory. At any rate, it was supposed that they were interesting to beings of flesh and blood. If so, one can only ask in wonder whether an utter want of reverence is most strongly implied in this mode of dealing with sacred mysteries; or an utter ignorance of the existing state of the world in the assumption that the question which really divides mankind is the double procession of the Holy Ghost; or an utter incapacity for speculation in the confusion of these dead *exuvie* of long past modes of thought with living intellectual tissue; or an utter want of imagination, or even a rudimentary sense of humor, in the hypothesis that the promulgation of such dogmas could produce anything but the laughter of sceptics and the contempt of the healthy human intellect.

The sect which requires to be encountered in these days is not one which boggles over the *Alloque*, but certain successors of those Ephesians who told Paul that they did not even know "whether there were any Holy Ghost." But it explains some modern phenomena when we find that the leaders of theology hope to reconcile faith and reason, and to show that the old symbols have still a right to the allegiance of our hearts and brains, by putting forth these portentous propositions. We are struggling with hard facts, and they would arm us with the forgotten tools of scholasticism. We wish for spiritual food, and are to be put off with these ancient mummeries of forgotten dogma. If Agnosticism is the frame of mind which summarily rejects these imbecilities, and would restrain the human intellect from wasting its powers on the attempt to galvanize into sham activity this *caput mortuum* of old theology, nobody need be afraid of the name. Argument against such adversaries would be itself a foolish waste of time. Let the dead bury their dead, and Old Catholics decide whether the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son or from the Father alone. Gentlemen indeed who still read the Athanasian Creed, and profess to attach some meaning to its statements, have no right to sneer at their brethren who persist in taking things seriously. But for men who long for facts instead of phrases, the only possible course is to allow such vagaries to take their own course to the limbo to which they are naturally destined, simply noting, by the way, that modern Gnosticism may lead to puerilities which one blushes even to notice.

It is not with such phenomena that we have seriously to deal. Nobody maintains that the unassisted human intellect can discover the true theory of the Trinity; and the charge of Agnosticism refers, of course, to the sphere of reason, not to the sphere of revelation. Yet those who attack the doctrine are chiefly believers in revelation; and as such they should condescend to answer one important question. Is not the denunciation of reason a commonplace with theologians? What could be easier than to form a catena of the most philosophical defenders of Christianity who have exhausted language in declaring the impotence of the unassisted intellect? Come, has not more explicitly enounced the incapacity of man to deal with the Absolute and the Infinite than a whole series of Orthodox writers. Trust your reason, we have been told till we are tired of the phrase, and you will become Atheists or Agnostics. We take you at your word; we become Agnostics. What right have you to turn round and rate us for being a degree more logical than yourselves? Our right, you reply, is founded upon a Divine revelation to ourselves or our church. Let us grant—it is a very liberal concession—that the right may conceivably be established; but still you are at one with us in philosophy. You say, as we say, that the natural man can know nothing of the Divine nature. That is Agnosticism. Our fundamental principle is not only granted, but asserted. By what logical device you succeed in over-leaping the barriers which you have declared to be insuperable is another question. At least you have no *prima facie* ground for attacking our assumption that the limits of the human intellect are what you declare them to be. This is no mere verbal retort. Half, or more than half, of our adversaries agree formally with our leading principle. They cannot attack us without upsetting the very ground upon which the ablest advocates of their own case rely. The last English writer who professed to defend Christianity with weapons drawn from wide and genuine philosophical knowledge was Dean Mansel. The whole substance of his argument was simply and solely the assertion of the first principles of Agnosticism. Mr. Herbert Spencer, the prophet of the Unknowable, the foremost representative of Agnosticism, professes in his programme to be carrying "a step further the doctrine put into shape by Hamilton and Mansel."

Nobody, I suspect, would now deny, nobody except Dean Mansel himself ever denied very seriously, that the "further step" thus taken was the logical step. Opponents both from within and without the Church, Mr. Maurice and Mr. Mill, agreed that this affiliation was legitimate. The Old Testament represents Jehovah as human, as vindictive, as prescribing immoralities; therefore Jehovah was not the true God; that was the contention of the infidel. We know nothing whatever about the true God, was the reply, for God means the Absolute and the Infinite. Any special act may come from God, for it may be a moral miracle; any attribute may represent the character of God to man, for we know nothing whatever of his real attributes, and cannot even conceive him as endowed with attributes. The doctrine of the Atonement cannot be revolting, because it cannot have any meaning. Mr. Spencer hardly goes a step beyond his original, except, indeed, in candor.

Most believers repudiate Dean Mansel's arguments. They were an anachronism. They were fatal to the decaying creed of pure Theism, and powerless against the growing creed of Agnosticism. When theology had vital power enough to throw out fresh branches, the Orthodox could venture to attack the Deist, and the Deist could assail the traditional beliefs. As the impulse grows fainter, it is seen that such a warfare is suicidal. The old rivals must make an alliance against the common enemy. The theologian must appeal for help to the metaphysician whom he reviled. Orthodoxy used to call Spinoza an Atheist; it is now glad to argue that even Spinoza is a witness on its own side. Yet the most genuine theology still avows its hatred of reason, and distrusts sham alliances. Dr. Newman is not, like Dean Mansel, a profound metaphysician, but his admirable rhetoric expresses a far finer religious instinct. He feels more keenly, if he does not reason so systematically; and the force of one side of his case is undeniable. He holds that the unassisted reason cannot afford a sufficient support for a belief in God. He declares, as innumerable writers of less power have declared, that there is "no medium in true philosophy between Atheism and Catholicity, and that a perfectly consistent mind, under those circumstances in which it finds itself here below, must embrace either the one or the other." * He looks in vain for any antagonist, except the Catholic Church, capable of baffling and withstanding "the fierce energy of passion, and the all-corroding, all-dissolving scepticism of the intellect in religious matters." † Some such doctrine is in fact but a natural corollary from the doctrine of human corruption held by all genuine theologians. The very basis of Orthodox theology is the actual separation of the creation from the Creator. In the *Grammar of Assent*, Dr. Newman tells us that we "can only glean from the surface of the world some faint and fragmentary views" of God. "I see," he proceeds, "only a choice of alternatives in view of so critical a fact; either there is no Creator or he has disowned his creatures." ‡ The absence of God from his own world is the one prominent fact which startles and appals him. Dr. Newman, of course, does not see or does not admit the obvious consequence. He asserts most emphatically that he believes in the existence of God as firmly as in his own existence; and he finds the ultimate proof of this doctrine—a proof not to be put into mood and figure—in the testimony of the conscience. But he apparently admits that Atheism is as logical, that is, as free from self-contradiction, as Catholicism. He certainly declares that though the ordinary arguments are conclusive, they are not in practice convincing. Sound reason would of course establish theology; but corrupt man does not and cannot reason soundly. Dr. Newman, however, goes further than this. His Theism can only be supported by help of his Catholicity. If, therefore, Dr. Newman had never heard of the Catholic Church, if, that is, he were in the position of the great majority of men now living, and of the overwhelming majority of the race which has lived since its first appearance, he would be driven to one of two alternatives. Either he would be an Atheist or he would be an Agnostic. His conscience might say, There is a God; his observation would say, There is no God. Moreover, the voice of conscience has been very differently interpreted. Dr. Newman's interpretation has no force for any one who, like most men, does not share his intuitions. To such persons, therefore, there can be, on Dr. Newman's own showing, no refuge except the admittedly logical refuge of Atheism. Even if they shared his intuitions, they would be necessarily sceptics until the Catholic Church came to their aid, for their intuitions would be in hopeless conflict with their experience. I need hardly add that, to some minds, the proposed alliance with reason of a church which admits that its tenets are corroded and dissolved wherever free reason is allowed to play upon them is rather suspicious. At any rate, Dr. Newman's arguments go to prove that man, as guided by reason, ought to be an Agnostic, and that, at the present moment, Agnosticism is the only reasonable faith for at least three-quarters of the race.

All, then, who think that men should not be dogmatic about matters beyond the sphere of reason or even conceivability, who hold that reason, however weak, is our sole guide, or who find that their conscience does not testify to the divinity of the Catholic God, but declares the moral doctrines of Catholicity to be demonstrably erroneous, are entitled to claim such Orthodox writers as sharing their fundamental principles, though refusing to draw the legitimate inferences. The authority of Dean Mansel and Dr. Newman may of course be repudiated. In one sense, however, they are simply stating an undeniable fact. The race collectively is agnostic, whatever may be the case with individuals. Newton might be certain of

the truth of his doctrines whilst other thinkers were convinced of their falsity. It could not be said that the doctrines were certainly true, so long as they were doubted, in good faith, by competent reasoners. Dr. Newman may be as much convinced of the truth of his theology as Mr. Huxley of its error. But speaking of the race and not of the individual, there is no plainer fact in history than the fact that hitherto no knowledge has been attained. There is not a single proof of natural theology of which the negative has not been maintained as vigorously as the affirmative. The fact is notorious.

You tell us to be ashamed of professing ignorance. Where is the shame of ignorance in matters still involved in endless and hopeless controversy? Is it not rather a duty? Why should a lad who has just run the gauntlet of examinations and escaped to a country parsonage be dogmatic, when his dogmas are denounced as erroneous by half the philosophers of the world? What theory of the universe am I to accept as demonstrably established? At the very earliest dawn of philosophy men were divided by earlier forms of the same problems which divide them now. Shall I be a Platonist or an Aristotelian? a nominalist or a realist? Shall I admit or deny the existence of innate ideas? Shall I believe in the possibility or in the impossibility of transcending experience? Go to medieval philosophy, says one smart controversialist. To which medieval philosophy, pray? And why should I believe you rather than the great thinkers of the seventeenth century, who agreed with one accord that the first condition of intellectual progress was the destruction of that philosophy? There would be no difficulty, if it were a question of physical science. I might believe in Galileo and Newton and their successors down to Adams and Leverrier without hesitation, because they all substantially agree. But when men deal with the old problems, there are still the old doubts. Shall I believe in Hobbes or in Descartes? Can I stop where Descartes stopped, or must I go on to Spinoza? Or shall I follow Locke's guidance, and end with Hume's scepticism? Or listen to Kant, and, if so, shall I decide that he is right in destroying theology or in reconstructing it, or in both performances? Does Hegel hold the key of the secret, or is he a mere spinner of jargon? May not Feuerbach or Schopenhauer represent the true development of metaphysical inquiry? Shall I put faith in Hamilton and Mansel, and, if so, shall I read their conclusions by the help of Mr. Spencer, or shall I believe in Mill or in Mr. Lewes? State any one proposition in which all philosophers agree, and I will admit it to be true; or any one which has a manifest balance of authority, and I will agree that it is probable. But so long as every philosopher flatly contradicts the first principles of his predecessors, why affect certainty? The only agreement I can discover is, that there is no philosopher of whom his opponents have not said that his opinions lead logically either to Pantheism or to Atheism.

When all the witnesses thus contradict each other, the *prima facie* result is pure scepticism. There is no certainty. Who am I, if I were the ablest of modern thinkers, to say summarily that all the great men who differed from me are wrong, and so wrong that their difference should not even raise a doubt in my mind? From such scepticism there is indeed one, and so far as I can see, but one, escape. The very hopelessness of the controversy shows that the reasoners have been transcending the limits of reason. They have reached a point where, as at the pole, the compass points indifferently to every quarter. Thus there is a chance that I may retain what is valuable in the chaos of speculation, and reject what is bewildering, by confining the mind to its proper limits. But has any limit ever been suggested, except a limit which comes in substance to an exclusion of all ontology? In short, if I would avoid utter scepticism, must I not be an Agnostic?

Let us suppose, however, that this difficulty can be evaded. Suppose that, after calling witnesses from all schools and all ages, I can find ground for excluding all the witnesses who make against me. Let me say, for example, that the whole school which refuses to transcend experience errs, from the wickedness of its heart and the consequent dulness of its intellect. Some people seem to think that a plausible and happy suggestion. Let the theologian have his necessary laws of thought, which enable him to evolve truth beyond all need of verification from experience. Where will the process end? The question answers itself. The path has been trodden again and again, till it is as familiar as the first rule of arithmetic. Admit that the mind can reason about the Absolute and the Infinite, and you will get to Spinoza. No refutation of his arguments, starting from his premises, has ever been even apparently successful. In fact, the chain of reasoning is substantially too short and simple to be for a moment doubtful. Theology, if logical, leads straight to Pantheism. The Infinite God is everything. All things are bound together as cause and effect. God, the first cause, is the cause of all effects down to the most remote. In one form or other, that is the conclusion to which all theology approximates as it is pushed to its legitimate result.

Here, then, we have an apparent triumph over Agnosticism. But nobody can accept Spinoza without rejecting all the doctrines for which the Gnostics really contend. In the first place, revelation and the God of revelation disappear. The argument according to Spinoza against supernaturalism differs from the argument according to Hume, in being more peremptory. Hume only denies that a past miracle can be proved by evidence; Spinoza denies that it could ever have happened. As a fact, miracles and a local revelation were first assailed by Deists more effectually than by sceptics. The old theology was seen to be unworthy of the God of Nature, before it was said that Nature could not be regarded through the theological representation. And, in the next

place, the Orthodox assault upon the value of Pantheism is irresistible. Pantheism can give no ground for morality, for Nature is as much the cause of vice as the cause of virtue; it can give no ground for an optimistic view of the universe, for Nature causes evil as much as it causes good. We no longer doubt, it is true, whether there be a God, for our God means all reality; but every doubt which we entertained about the universe is transferred to the God upon whom the universe is moulded. The attempt to transfer to pure being or to the abstraction Nature the feelings with which we are taught to regard a person of transcendent wisdom and benevolence is, as theologians assert, hopeless. To deny the existence of God is, in this sense, the same as to deny the existence of no-God. We keep the old word; we have altered the whole of its contents. A Pantheist is, as a rule, one who looks upon the universe through his feelings instead of his reason, and who regards it with love because his habitual frame of mind is amiable. But he has no logical argument as against the Pessimist, who regards it with dread unqualified by love, or the Agnostic, who finds it impossible to regard it with any but a colorless emotion.

The Gnostic, then, gains nothing by admitting the claims of a faculty which at once overturns his conclusions. His second step is invariably to half retract his first. We are bound by a necessary law of thought, he tells us, to believe in universal causation. Very well, then let us be Pantheists. No, he says; another necessary law of thought tells us that causation is not universal. We know that the will is free; or, in other words, that the class of phenomena most important to us is not caused. This is the position of the ordinary Deist; and it is of vital importance to him, for otherwise the connection between Deism and morality is, on his own ground, untenable. The ablest and most logical thinkers have declared that the free-will doctrine involves a fallacy, and have unravelled the fallacy to their own satisfaction. Whether right or wrong, they have at least this advantage, that, on their showing, reason is on this point consistent with itself. The advocate of free-will, on the other hand, declares that an insoluble antinomy occurs at the very threshold of his speculations. An uncaused phenomenon is unthinkable; yet consciousness testifies that our actions, so far as they are voluntary, are uncaused. In face of such a contradiction, the only rational state of mind is scepticism. A mind balanced between two necessary and contradictory thoughts must be in a hopeless state of doubt. The Gnostic, therefore, starts by proclaiming that we must all be Agnostics in regard to a matter of primary philosophical importance. If by free-will he means anything else than a denial of causation, his statement is irrelevant.

For, it must be noticed, this is not one of the refined speculative problems which may be neglected in our ordinary reasoning. The ancient puzzles about the one and the many, or the infinite and the finite, may or may not be insoluble. They do not affect our practical knowledge. Familiar difficulties have been raised as to our conceptions of motion: the hare and tortoise problem may be revived by modern metaphysicians; but the mathematician may continue to calculate the movements of the planets, and never doubt whether the quicker body will, in fact, overtake the slower. The free-will problem cannot be thus shirked. We will admit that a competent reasoner can foretell the motions of the moon; and we admit it because we know that there is no element of objective chance in the problem. But the determinist asserts whilst the libertarian denies that it would be possible for an adequate intelligence to foretell the actions of a man or a race. There is or is not an element of objective chance in the question; and whether there is or is not must be decided by reason and observation, independently of those puzzles about the infinite and the finite which affect equally the man and the planet. The anti-determinist asserts the existence of chance so positively that he doubts whether God himself can foretell the future of humanity; or, at least, he is unable to reconcile Divine prescience with his favorite doctrine.

In most practical questions, indeed, the difference is of little importance. The believer in free-will admits that he can make an approximate guess; the determinist admits that our faculty of calculation is limited. But when we turn to the problems with which the Gnostic desires to deal, the problem is of primary importance. Free-will is made responsible for all the moral evil in the world. God made man perfect, but he gave his creature free-will. The exercise of that free-will has converted the world into a scene in which the most striking fact, as Dr. Newman tells us, is the absence of the Creator. It follows, then, that all this evil, the sight of which leads some of us to Atheism, some to blank despair, and some to epicurean indifference, and the horror of which is at the root of every vigorous religious creed, results from accident. If even God could have foretold it, he foretold it in virtue of faculties inconceivable to finite minds; and no man, however exalted his faculties, could by any possibility have foretold it. Here, then, is Agnosticism in the highest degree. An inexorable necessity of thought makes it absolutely impossible for us to say whether this world is the anteroom to heaven or hell. We do not know, nay, it is intrinsically impossible for us to know, whether the universe is to be a source of endless felicity, or a ghastly and everlasting torture-house. The Gnostic invites us to rejoice because the existence of an infinitely good and wise Creator is a guarantee for our happiness. He adds in the same breath that this good and wise Being has left it to chance whether his creatures shall all, or in any proportion, go straight to the devil. He reviles the Calvinist, who dares to think that God has settled the point by his arbitrary will. Is an arbitrary decision

* *History of my Religious Opinions*, p. 322, 3.

† *Id.*, p. 379.

‡ *Grammar of Assent*, p. 392.

better or worse than a trusting to chance? We know that there is a great First Cause; but we add that there are at this moment in the world some twelve hundred million little first causes which may damn or save themselves as they please.

The free-will hypothesis is the device by which theologians try to relieve God of the responsibility for the sufferings of his creation. It is required for another purpose. It enables the Creator to be also the judge. Man must be partly independent of God, or God would be at once pulling the wires and punishing the puppets. So far the argument is unimpeachable; but the device justifies God at the expense of making the universe a moral chaos. Grant the existence of this arbitrary force called free-will, and we shall be forced to admit that, if justice is to be found anywhere, it is at least not to be found in this strange anarchy, where chance and fate are struggling for the mastery.

The fundamental proposition of the anti-determinist, that which contains the whole pith and substance of his teaching, is this: that a determined action cannot be meritorious. Desert can only accrue in respect of actions which are self-caused, or in so far as they self-caused; and self-caused is merely a periphrasis for uncaused. Now no one dares to say that our conduct is entirely self-caused. The assumption is implied in every act of our lives and every speculation about history that men's actions are determined, exclusively or to a great extent, by their character and their circumstances. Only so far as that doctrine is true can human nature be the subject of any reasoning whatever; for reason is but the reflection of external regularity, and vanishes with the admission of chance. Our conduct, then, is the resultant of the two forces which we may call fate and free-will. Fate is but a name for the will of God. He is responsible for placing us with a certain character in a certain position; he cannot justly punish us for the consequences; we are responsible to him for the effects of our free-will alone, if free-will exists. That is the very contention of the anti-determinist; let us look for a moment at the consequences.

[TO BE CONCLUDED NEXT WEEK.]

[For THE INDEX.]

THEISM AND MODERN SCIENCE.

All movement is circular or parabolic; we know no instance of movement along a straight line. The track of worlds and of ideas is of one pattern; all reasoning ends where it began—if carried far enough; the mind's first intuitional impulses are wonderfully similar to the conclusions it afterwards arrives at by patient thought and scrutiny. Let us institute a parallel between theism, a product of early rudimentary thought, and the idea of the indestructibility of force, a prominent element in modern advanced thought, making its inductions assumably from the widest attainable range of observation.

Theopoesy is ever the work of youthful, undeveloped persons and ages. All incarnations of the supernatural are of prehistoric origin. Man when we first gain any half-accurate knowledge of him is too old, too much probability-ridden, to invent new deities.

Perception is busy every moment of our lives; we see an unending procession of shapes when we close our eyes, and in our dreams remembered or forgotten. Vision is inseparable in our minds from the idea of being, and each sees himself; no two see alike, but each in some degree creates the forms he beholds. All nature is a mirror in which we discover our own likeness; it reflects to us not only the present, but the past and future. Most, if they have not entirely forgotten their childhood, know something of the faculty and lack of faculty by which its active, uncorrected, nascent visual sense peoples space with reflections of itself and its possibilities. How much more we see then! All objects are fresh and unexhausted; each sticks out boldly by itself, and is not yet classified into indistinguishable uniformity with a thousand others.

The child sees giants in combat, misshapen, crouching dwarfs, brandished weapons, heraldic monstrosities of his own invention, in the dim, gnarled forest; in the late twilight he is shadowed by forms that are almost entirely his own creation—all manner of weird, elfin analogues to the sinister aspect of the hour. Venus and all beautiful forms are but half hidden by sunny sky and wave; the mountainous brows of Jupiter and Odin are revealed by the lightning's flash riding the midnight storm.

The child-man has yet learned little to distinguish what he imagines from what he sees; images swarm all about him; is it strange that they are anthropoid? Would it not be strange if they were otherwise? He names them, fears them, loves them, divides the world with them, gives them the unknown, the invisible, the secret cause-sources of all things, for their habitation. The primary reason for theism is the imaginative, highly chromatic, self-tinctured eye of the new-born race; the fulness of that faculty (and lack of faculty) of which we all preserve a share, of seeing human faces and figures on blotched, discolored walls, in the configurations of the landscape, in the seething convolutions of the cloud-chaos—everywhere where the gaze meets dim cross-lights and indistinct outlines. The creation of the theistic embryo was evidently entirely involuntary—not motivated by any stirring of the causal instinct; that comes afterwards.

It is a long way from the visions darkly divined in the obscurity of thicket or cavern to the God of Theodore Parker, or the author of *Ecce Homo*. The human, personal part of deity we see to be the play of the eye and the imagination; the philosophic aspect of deity—God as cause—is the after-work of the reason. To see one's self everywhere mirrored; to feel images that exist in the eye and the brain more than elsewhere; the teeming fertility of the child-mind, not yet blighted by chilly rationalism, revelling

in the swarming beauties and horrors of fairy and polytheism; slow accretion of the causative quality around the primal, sensuous form—burying the original conception out of sight; the consolidation of all modes of divine energy, or monotheism; recognition of the universality and unity of all-embracing force in its many interconvertible expressions,—thus we may roughly sketch the scale of mental development. It is from the sense-blurred eye, the joy-bewildered glamour of the anthropoid, to the undeceivable contemplation of the sad, brave thinker. As the sud-capsule mocks the bud, so the foldings and unfoldings of the flower, man, are alike in their first and last; all cycles contain a central destiny, completion; the only satisfying ideal of the last culture is the fresh, free, volcanic mind of the new-created savage, not yet emasculated of blood-fed fantasy, not yet dried down by much reading and indigestion into a mere critic's pair of scales. We tire at last of everything but that close intimacy with Nature which few save children and savages are wise enough to undeviatingly adhere to as the greatest possible good. We come back at last into the true path from which, in stormy middle life, passion and ambition may have diverted us. Respectabilities, imposing institutions, general enlightenment, security of life for lives not worth preserving, yea, even steam-cars, telegraphs, and national debts, are none too great compensation for the defection of that aboriginal vigor of body and mind which grows best in the sheltering obscurity and unstimulating quiet of savage life, and which, while it makes cultivation possible, is unfailingly corroded thereby.

The polytheist felt himself surrounded by mysterious, irresistible powers to be feared and obeyed, which he, child-like, inferred were beings animated by like instincts with himself. The mind, in its highest intensity of instructed vision (clearness always purchased by loss of coloring or poetic quality), conceives an unknowable reservoir of influence surrounding on all sides the sense-illuminated arena in which we go through our little parts. The irresistible impartiality of force, which kills its creatures with the same genial vigor of elemental influences with which it produces them, is to be feared, its wide modality is to be studied and obeyed; its infinite beauty attracts our love.

That speck in time and space which consciousness reveals to us rests on all sides on the unknown; from the unknown and back into its arcana come and go the forces that make life and its surroundings. Deity is the logical perception of this truth personified. God is a pure negation, the sum of our ignorance; and the most bigoted scientist must admit that our ignorance immeasurably exceeds our knowledge. The idea of the conservation of energy is God impersonal—monotheism divested of the infantile personal quality which properly belongs only to polytheistic conceptions. To declare that force is indestructible is simply to affirm that our powers of observation reach but a short distance; it is to comprehend that motion, when it appears to us to desist, merely passes into some mode latent to our senses, rejoins the great total of unknown, insensible force from which it came. Pure monotheism and the theory of the conservation of energy are inferences to which the causal instinct drives us, and are at bottom the same. The deeper our gaze penetrates into the relativity of phenomena, the more firmly we become grounded in the belief that cause and effect are inseparable and equipotent, that the point of contact between cause and effect is the work of the senses,—is the degree of greatest perceptibility to our senses of natural operations.

The history of the elevation of a race-type shows always, as one of its accompaniments, a progress from polytheism to monotheism, and it is impossible to stop there. The mind that has arrived at the stage of strict monotheism must find that conception growing more and more an idea, a dynamic generalization, and less and less a person. He whose imagination is only vivid—or literal—enough to see one God cannot long expect to see any. Theism proper, being so largely the work of the fancy, must be nourished by the fancy; undertake to transplant it into the domain of reason, and its vitality exhales.

Science, intellectual freedom, and eclecticism, the reign of the pure decarnated idea, succeed monotheism as naturally as it succeeds polytheism. Progress, even unto extinction, is the universal law. The most grossly sensuous conceptions of the first crude experimenters in God-fiction are some sons higher than the awe-struck crouching of dumb hearts before tempest or avalanche.

No creed or theory of existence is worthy the name that is less than universal; we believe all; the unintelligible, cateleptic mutterings of the mystic, bearing in his hyperæsthetic brain heaven and hell and all mysteries that have been and will be; we believe the exuberant, obscure histories of the sense-and-Nature-intoxicated children of the slimes, ere pain and thought woke souls within them; we have almost seen the riotous concourse of faun and satyr through the underbrush; we know that we have seen wonderful and beautiful things, for we are not yet so old and rational that we have all forgotten; epos, idyllic fantasy, winged jest or wingless, sprawling lustiness, the immense tyranny of the ether, the fearful suction of the molten underworld, the serene impenetrability of all-brooding fate,—in our depth each of us contains the germ, blossom, or dead-ripe fruit of all myths.

We search after interior, wondrous truths in hidden and remote times and places, but the glare of the present disturbs no mysteries; the meridian sun shining on the thronged thoroughfare uncovers nothing more distinctly than the eternal reticence of the vital essence which is kneaded into every clod and every soul. There is one sole wonder, at last—the perpetual miracle of animal existence; and the

brighter the light turned on that fact, the more wonderful and undecipherable it becomes. Science interprets enigmas no faster than it discovers new ones. That inorganic existence should ever, in any measure of time, produce organic life, and maintain and improve it, is the sum of all that is wonderful; after that, all is matter of course. Many—perhaps most—minds find this inconceivable, and seek to deny it, and evade the necessity of its inference by some fanciful hypothesis which only puts the difficulty a little further off.

The universal, impersonal intelligence, the movement of the inorganic world which produces the organic world, are, in comparison with our limited personal intelligence, the ocean to a dew-drop. Human intelligence is condensed, concentrated, made vivid, lovely, and odious, by the mystic wool of passionate caprice and unaccountable individual taste; buys its divergence from the universal with imperfection and limitation. The cosmical movements know not caprice nor fallibility; God is all-wise; the atom is all-wise; *savant* and devotee equally recognize an omniscient omnipresence. The antilogy of coupling personality with universality is obvious; these are ideas that meet only as extremes meet. Man is the extreme of self-consciousness and intense life; the slightly-guessed universal forces are the opposite extreme of unconscious serene existence—not, indeed, life in our sense, knowing neither our felicities nor our sorrows. The universe of inanimate existence is absolute intelligence undisturbed by passion, which is the dower and the doom of imperfection. Passion is the basis of personality, and the extra-human cannot be called personal in our sense. After all, this is perhaps a verbal entanglement, and the difference between the extreme possible concepts of personal and impersonal is wholly of degree or quantity.

There is, from unknown sources external to our consciousness, a continuous succession of infractions on our senses. The sum of these constitutes phenomenalism, and includes physical science. These movements, appearances, or external causes of sensation, we perceive not to be isolated, capricious, or causeless, but related and coherent. But we do not infer that we follow all their relations; phenomenalism means manifestations of force: that trifling part of the whole, of which we are sensible. Force is the all-comprehending generalization; we do not conclude, when its manifestations change their form, or vanish from our perception, that their energy has become extinct. There is no completed or isolated action. All movement is effect, but it is equally cause,—its precedents and its subsequents exactly equal to each other and to itself. Latent energy, potential force,—these phrases generally mean little but the defectiveness of our powers of observation. Perfection is a modal aspect of cerebral force; conception, otherwise than as a classification of percepts, is unintelligible. The idea of the conservation of energy is neither new nor fanciful; it is old as human thought and axiomatic as the multiplication table; it is the logical necessity which we are under of viewing existence as fleeting in form, eternal in essence, and consequently a *plenum* to which nothing can be added, and from which nothing can be taken away. Forms must fade, for form is the track, the outline of movement, and must change with its changes: form is the mutative aspect of force. Force may become latent to the senses, but not to the reason: to admit that it may be converted into less than its equivalent is to affirm the possibility of universal annihilation.

GEORGE E. TUFTS.

BINGHAMTON, N. Y.

DECLINE OF THE CLERICAL PROFESSION.

Within six years two professorships have been added to the Divinity School, one in 1869, and one in 1872; and the amount of instruction given therein has quite doubled. The school never before offered such advantages as it has offered since 1872; yet the number of its students does not increase.

	1871-72	1872-73	1873-74	1874-75	1875-76
No. of regular students,	21	11	19	15	12
No. of special students,	9	9	2	4	3

The causes of the small resort to the school are doubtless many and complex, but the unsettled condition of the clerical profession is a principal cause. How much the relation of the college to that profession has changed may be clearly seen in the following significant figures:—

	1661-1670	1761-1770	1861-1870
Whole No. of Bachelors of Arts in the ten yrs.,	69	422	993
No. of ministers among those graduates,	31	121	57
Percentage of ministers,	.45	.29	.05%

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the ministers among the graduates were almost all of one sect; but among the fifty-seven ministers of the ten classes from 1861 to 1870 inclusive, several sects are represented.

The condition of the school is to be deeply regretted, for the sake both of the public and of the university,—of the public, because the community sorely needs to avail itself to the utmost of every agency competent to produce a learned and vigorous clergy; and of the university, because it finds itself ineffective in a department of great historical and actual dignity and worth, in which for the first half of its existence Harvard College rendered its greatest service to the State. To remedy the feebleness of the school seems to be beyond the power of its learned and devoted Faculty, of the governing boards, and of the administration of the university. The causes of its depression lie beyond their control.—*Extract from the Report of the President of Harvard College for 1875-6.*

THE TRUE STORY OF GEORGE WASHINGTON AND HIS LITTLE HATCHET.—Almost everybody knows our oldest inhabitant, "Old Uncle Isaac," but how old he is nobody knows. We called upon him the other day, and are now willing to swear on our faith in his word that two hundred years of "sarvin' de Lo'd" will not more than fill the bill. Of course, Uncle Isaac is pious; all darkies who live to the age of one hundred and fifty years are pious. One of the first things which enlisted our attention, after entering Isaac's house, was a small hatchet, hung above the ample fire-place on two or three rusty nails; and it, of course, became the subject of inquiry. We were astounded at learning that it was the identical hatchet with which that mischievous little George Washington had hacked the favorite cherry-tree in his uncle's garden. We endeavored to make Isaac understand that the garden was not the uncle's but the father's. Isaac's memory was good and our history at fault. He knew because he was "thar." He had gone "wid Mas' Jawge for to see his uncle, and his uncle took him into the garden and showed him de cherry-tree, and told him dat was de fust cherry-tree dat ever come over to dis country, and dat in about so many years de tree would ba'r fruit, and dat he would send Mas' Jawge some sho'. Mas' Jawge was a mighty independent little cuss, and says to me, arter his uncle had gwine in de house, says he, 'Ike'—for I was a youngster den—Ike, I fen't gwine to wait on uncle for dem cherries; I'es gwine to cut dat tree right down, and will take it 'long home wid us.' Says I, 'Don't you do it, honey, for if you does your uncle he'll skin you 'live.' 'Jiat as soon be skinned as not,' says Mas' Jawge; 'I'es gwine to hab dat 'ar tree.' So he goes and gits dat are same identicle tool, and purty soon he was whackin' away at dat tree. And I don't think de chile had chopped more'n several licks before de ole gentleman,—dat's his uncle—he come a slippin' out'n de gooseberry bushes wid a wattle, and de way he flaxed dat chile was a absalom sia. De chile flung dat same little hatchet at his poor uncle, and jist more'n got out dat gadding; and when I cotechd up wid him he was a swearin' like a mate on a steamboat. Now, sar, dat's de true story, sar. Dese little one-hoss school-books dey don't know nuffin' 'bout it. W'y, bless your soul, honey, I went home wid him, and Mas' Jawge, and I staid all night wid him, and I followed him to Braddock's 'feat, and I got lost dar, and I kep' a comin' out West, 'cordin' to de device of Mr. Hoss Greenly dat killed Mr. Burr, and I was 'mong de Injuns for 'bout seventy-five year afore dis country was settled by de fust white woman."

We had given Uncle Isaac a "snort" when we went in, and we gave him another and came away. He's booked for the Centennial.—*Ironton (Mo.) Register.*

MR. LEONARD SWETT, of Chicago, gives this estimate of President Lincoln's legal powers: "As a trial lawyer, he had few equals and no superiors. He was as hard a man to beat in a closely-contested case as I have ever met. He was wise in knowing what to attempt and what to let alone. He was fair to the court, the jury, and his adversary, but candor compels me to say that he by practice learned there was power in this. He was candid and he was fair, but he knew how to make just the most of this. As he entered the trial, where most lawyers object, he would say he 'reckoned' it would be fair to let this in or that, and sometimes, when his adversary could not prove what Mr. Lincoln knew to be the truth, he would say he 'reckoned' it would be fair to admit the truth to be so and so. When he did object to the court, after he heard his objection answered, he would often say, 'Well, I reckon I must be wrong.' Now about the time he had practised this three-quarters through a case, if his adversary didn't understand him, he would wake up in a few minutes finding that he had feared the Greeks too late, and wake up to find himself beaten. He was wise as a serpent in the trial of a cause, but I tell you I have got too many scars from his blows to certify that he was harmless as a dove. When the whole thing is unravelled the adversary begins to see that what he was so blandly giving away was simply what he couldn't get and keep. By giving away six points and carrying the seventh he carried his case, and the whole case hanging on the seventh he traded everything off which would give him the least aid in carrying that. Any man who took Mr. Lincoln for a simple-minded man would very soon wake up on his back in a ditch."

WALT WHITMAN thus describes the scene in the theatre at Washington after Lincoln was shot: "A moment's hush, incredulous—a scream—the cry of murder—Mrs. Lincoln leaning out of the box, with ashy cheeks and lips, with involuntary cry pointing to the retreating figure: 'He has killed the President.' And still a moment's strange, incredulous suspense—and then the deluge!—then that mixture of horror, noises, uncertainty—(the sound, somewhere back, of a horse's hoofs clattering with speed)—the people burst through chairs and railings, and break them up—that noise adds to the queerness of the scene—there is inextricable confusion and terror—women faint—quite feeble persons fall, and are trampled on—many cries of agony are heard—the broad stage suddenly fills to suffocation with a dense and motley crowd, like some horrible carnival—the audience rush generally upon it—at least the strong men do—the actors and actresses are still there in their play costumes and painted faces, with mortal fright showing through the rouge, some trembling, some in tears—the screams and calls, confused talk—redoubled, trebled—two or three manage to pass up water from the stage to the President's box—others try to clamber up—etc., etc., etc. And in the midst of that night-pandemonium of senseless hate, infuriated soldiers, the audience, and the crowd—the stage, and all its actors and actresses, its paint-pots, spangles, and gas-lights—the

life-blood from those veins, the best and sweetest of the land, drips slowly down, and death's ooze already begins its little bubbles on the lips."

CAMP-MEETINGS in Ohio are characterized by such extravagance of word and deed that they may be described without irreverence as religious spasms. The pilgrims from the Embury Park Camp-Meeting, at Loveland, returned to Cincinnati, Ohio, in a happy frame of mind. They sang hymns on the train, tossed hats, clasped hands, and were as boisterous as children on a half-holiday. "Bless the Lord!" cried one brother, clapping his hands, and thrusting out his foot after the departing form of one of the passengers with whom he had been shaking hands. One brother went down the aisle of the car. "Sister," said he, "I am all clean now. All the dirt, and all the smoke, and all the cobwebs are washed out of me, and I am all clean. God bless you!"—*Tribune.*

THE MANNER in which missionaries are received when making their evangelistic tours often presents strange contrasts. In one place recently visited by a Ningpo party of brethren, they were reverently taken into the ancestral hall of the village, and amid the tablets of the forefathers of their attentive hearers, they preached the doctrine which will in the end overthrow the ancestral worship of China. In the very next place the party were treated so rudely that they were obliged to spend the night in some boats on the river, and were roused in the morning with a volley of stones and the salutation: "Foreign devils, get up. Let us look at you."—*Independent.*

A SYRIAN convert to Christianity was urged by his employer to work on Sunday, but he declined. "But," said the master, "does not your Bible say that if a man has an ox or an ass that falls into a pit on the Sabbath day he may pull him out?" "Yes," answered Hayop, "but if the ass has a habit of falling into the same pit every Sabbath day, then the man should either fill up the pit or sell that ass."

SUNDAY AT THE "WORLD'S FAIR."

RECOMMENDED FOR CAREFUL PERUSAL BY THE UNITED STATES CENTENNIAL COMMISSION.

BY THOMAS HOOD.

"It is the king's highway that we are in, and in this way it is that thou has placed the lions."—*Bunyan.*

What! shut the gardens! lock the latticed gate!

Refuse the shilling and the fellow's ticket!

And hang a wooden notice up to state,

"On Sundays no admittance at this wicket!"

The birds, the beasts, and all the reptile race

Denied to friends and visitors till Monday!

Now, really, this appears the common case

Of putting too much Sabbath into Sunday—

But what is your opinion, Mrs. Grundy?

The gardens—so unlike the ones we dub

Of tea, wherein the artisan carouses,—

Mere shrubberies without one drop of shrub,

Wherefore should they be closed like public houses?

No ale is vended at the wild Deer's Head,

No rum, nor gin, not even of a Monday;

The Lion is not carved—or gilt—or red,—

And does not send out porter of a Sunday—

But what is your opinion, Mrs. Grundy?

The Bear denied! the Leopard under locks!

As if his spots would give contagious fevers!

The Beaver close as hat within its box;

So different from other Sunday beavers!

The Birds invisible, the Gnu-way Rats,

The Seal hermetically sealed till Monday;

The Monkey tribe, the family of Cats—

We visit other families on Sunday—

But what is your opinion, Mrs. Grundy?

What is the brute profanity that shocks

The supersensitively serious feeling?

The Kangaroo—is he not Orthodox

To bend his legs, the way he does, in kneeling?

Was strict Sir Andrew, in his Sabbath coat,

Struck all a-heap to see a *Cont mundi*?

Or did the Kentish Plum-tree fail to note

The Pelicans presenting bills on Sunday?

But what is your opinion, Mrs. Grundy?

What feature has repulsed the serious set?

What error in the bestial birth or breeding,

To put their tender fancies on the fret?

One thing is plain—it is not in the feeding!

Some stiffish people think that smoking joints

Are carnal sins 'twixt Saturday and Monday;

But then the beasts are pious on these points,

For they all eat cold dinners on a Sunday—

But what is your opinion, Mrs. Grundy?

What change comes o'er the spirit of the place,

As if transmuted by some spell organic?

Turns fell Hyena of the Ghoulish race?

The Snake, *pro tempore*, the true Satanic?

Do Irish minds (whose theory allows

That now and then Good Friday falls on Mon-

day)—

Do Irish minds suppose that Indian Cows

Are wicked Bulls of Bashan on a Sunday?—

But what is your opinion, Mrs. Grundy?

There are some moody fellows, not a few,

Who, turned by Nature with a gloomy bias,

Renounce black devils to adopt the blue,

And think when they are dismal they are pious;

Is't not possible that Pug's untimely fun

Has sent the brutes to Coventry till Monday?

Or perhaps some animal, no serious one,

Was overheard in laughter on a Sunday—

But what is your opinion, Mrs. Grundy?

What dire offence have serious fellows found

To raise their spleen against the regent's spinney?

Were charitable boxes handed round,

And would not Guinea Pigs subscribe their guinea?

Perchance the Demoiselle refused to moult

The feathers in her head—at least till Monday;

Or did the Elephant, unseemly, bolt

A tract presented to be read on Sunday?—

But what is your opinion, Mrs. Grundy?

At whom did Leo struggle to get loose?

Who mourns through Monkey tricks his damaged

clothing?

Who has been hissed by the Canadian Goose?

On whom did Llama spit in utter loathing?

Some Smithfield saint did jealous feelings tell

To keep the Puma out of sight till Monday,

Because he prayed extempore as well

As certain wild itinerants on Sunday?—

But what is your opinion, Mrs. Grundy?

To me it seems that in the oddest way

(Begging the pardon of each rigid Socus)

Our would-be keepers of the Sabbath day

Are, like the keepers of the brutes, ferocious.

As soon the Tiger might expect to stalk

About the grounds from Saturday till Monday

As any harmless man to take a walk,

If saints could clap him in a cage on Sunday—

But what is your opinion, Mrs. Grundy?

In spite of all hypocrisy can spin,

As surely as I am a Christian scion,

I cannot think it is a mortal sin

(Unless he's loose) to look upon a lion.

I really think that one may go, perchance,

To see a bear, as guiltless as on Monday

(That is, provided that he did not dance;

Bruin's no worse than bakin' on a Sunday)—

But what is your opinion, Mrs. Grundy?

In spite of all the fanatic compiles,

I cannot think the day a bit diviner

Because no children, with forestalling smiles,

Throng, happy, to the gates of Eden Minor.

It is not plain, to my poor faith at least,

That what we christen "Natural" on Monday,

The wondrous history of bird and beast,

Can be unnatural because it's Sunday—

But what is your opinion, Mrs. Grundy?

Whereon is sinful fantasy to work?

The Dove, the winged Columbus of man's haven?

The tender Love-bird, or the filial Stork?

The punctual Crane, the providential Raven?

The Pelican, whose bosom feeds her young?

Nay, must we cut from Saturday till Monday

That feathered marvel with a human tongue,

Because she does not preach upon a Sunday?—

But what is your opinion, Mrs. Grundy?

The busy Beaver, that sagacious beast,

The Sheep that owned an oriental shepherd,

That Desert Ship, the Camel of the East,

The horned Rhinoceros, the spotted Leopard,

The creatures of the great Creator's hand,

Are surely sights for better days than Monday;

The Elephant, although he wears no band,

Has he no sermon in his trunk for Sunday?—

But what is your opinion, Mrs. Grundy?

What harm if men who burn the midnight oil,

Weary of frame and worn and wan of feature,

Seek once a week their spirits to assail,

And snatch a glimpse of "Animated Nature"?

Better it were if, in his best of suits,

The artisan who goes to work on Monday

Should spend a leisure hour amongst the brutes

Than make a beast of his own self on Sunday—

But what is your opinion, Mrs. Grundy?

Why, zounds! what raised so Protestant a fuss

(Omit the zounds, for which I make apology)

But that the Papists, like some fellows, thus

Had somehow mixed up Deism with their theology?

Is Brama's Bull (a Hindu god at home)

A Papal Bull to be tied up till Monday,

Or Leo, like his namesake, Pope of Rome,

That there is such a dread of them on Sunday?—

But what is your opinion, Mrs. Grundy?

Spirit of Kant! have we not had enough

To make religion sad, and sour, and snubbish,

But saints zoological must cant their stuff,

As vessels cant their ballast—rattling rubbish!

Once let the sect, triumphant to their text,

Shut Nero up from Saturday till Monday,

And sure as fate they will deny us next

To see the dandelions on a Sunday—

But what is your opinion, Mrs. Grundy?

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING AUGUST 12.

Edw. Mead, \$3; E. J. Leonard, \$1; D. Crowley, 75 cents; F. H. Dodge, 75 cents; F. H. Proctor, \$1.60; C. D. B. Mills, 20 cents; F. Edson, \$4.50; M. F. Howill, 50 cents; B. P. Elliott, \$3.20; A. W. Kelsey, \$4.40; Cash, \$2.20; I. B. Harrison, 25 cents; W. L. Garrison, Jr., \$3.20; L. A. Foster, \$3; H. M. Simmons, \$2.25; Chas. E. Gager, 80 cents; Chas. H. Goddard, \$3; Ella A. Fisher, \$1; D. C. Levy, 50 cents; Ohlson, Mendlik & Co., 75 cents; David Ferguson, \$1; S. H. Richardson, \$3.90; B. R. Tucker, 35 cents.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

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N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

The Index.

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THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

The transition from Christianity to Free Religion, through which the civilized world is now passing, but which it very little understands, is even more momentous in itself and in its consequences than the great transition of the Roman Empire from Paganism to Christianity. THE INDEX aims to make the character of this vast change intelligible in at least its leading features, and offers an opportunity for discussions on this subject which find no fitting place in other papers.

N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

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605 Walnut St., Philadelphia.
PHILADELPHIA, July 31.

F. R. A. ANNUAL REPORT.

The report of the annual meeting of the Free Religious Association for 1876 is published in pamphlet form.

It contains a full abstract of the discussion at the business meeting; the annual report of the executive committee; address by the president, O. B. Frothingham; essay, by James Parton, on "The Relation of Religion to the State" (or, as he styles it, "Cathedrals and Beer"), with addresses on the subject by Miss Susan H. Wixon and Rev. M. J. Savage; also essay by Samuel Longfellow, on "The Relation of Free Religion to Churches," with the addresses that followed it, by Prof. Felix Adler, Rev. Henry Blanchard, Rev. Brooke Harford, and John Wales.

Price, single copy, 40 cents; package of three, \$1; postage paid. Address Free Religious Association, No. 1 Tremont Place, Boston, Mass.

W. J. POTTER, Secretary.

TEN DOLLARS for the Hofferichter fund have been received through Miss Emily J. Leonard, of Meriden, Connecticut, contributed by "a friend who does not wish his name given."

OUR THANKS are due to the Boston Investigator, the New York Jewish Times, and the numerous other journals which have given "aid and comfort" to the National Liberal League.

THE Pacific Liberal, edited by Mr. A. J. Boyer at San Francisco, has vigorously and enthusiastically taken up the work of the National Liberal League, and is devoting itself with energy to the organization of Liberalism on the Pacific coast.

REV. W. E. COPELAND, of Lincoln, Nebraska, edits a monthly sheet under the name of *Radical Leagues*, which is doing good service in behalf of the Liberal League. Mr. Copeland sees the great need of the hour, and is nobly doing his part to meet it.

HARRIET MARTINEAU'S autobiography and life will be read with great avidity, when published. Women may well be proud of the intellectual ability of three such representatives as Harriet Martineau, George Sand, and George Eliot.

MISS MARTINEAU, in 1848, wrote a letter on national education, which has just been published by the Birmingham Post. In it she said: "For years I have seen our national ruin looming in the distance,

from the brutal ignorance of a large proportion of our people; and for years all that I have been able to ascertain of the character of the education professed to be given, of the nature of the efforts made under the voluntary principle, and of the tendency of the proceedings of the Privy Council Committee, has only deepened my sense of despair. No one is more sensible, I believe, than I am of the improvements wrought in society by time and by a long peace; but not the less for this do I feel that we cannot go on as we are; that society cannot continue to exist much longer while maintaining such a mass of ignorance and misery as we are trifling with,—trifling with for the indulgence of our sectarian prejudices. Unless we give our people enlightenment which shall bring all into mutual sympathy, we have that to go through as a nation which has never been paralleled in our history."

THE FRENCH are learning to separate Church and State in a way which would startle Americans: "The case of Count de Mun, which was alluded to in an article on 'The Irrepressible Conflict in France,' in the Tribune of April 27, has at last been decided. Count de Mun was elected to the Chamber of Deputies from the District of Pontivy, in Brittany, and it was charged that his election was directly due to the illegal interference of the clergy. The proposition to investigate the matter provoked a great excitement; the Ultramontane journals pronounced it 'blasphemy.' Nevertheless, the proposition was carried in the Chamber of Deputies, a committee was appointed, and the investigation proceeded. On the 14th ult., a report having been made adverse to the Count's right to a seat, he was allowed to plead his cause before the Chamber. He made a calm, temperate speech, which was heard in profound silence, and then the vote was taken. The Chamber decided, by a vote of 308 to 187, that the election was invalidated. Priestly interference in politics has thus been emphatically condemned in France."

GEORGE ELIOT, in her new story of *Daniel Deronda*, prefixes this striking paragraph to her twenty-first chapter: "It is a common sentence that 'knowledge is power'; but who hath duly considered or set forth the power of ignorance? Knowledge slowly builds up what ignorance in an hour pulls down. Knowledge, through patient and frugal centuries, enlarges discovery and makes record of it; ignorance, wanting its day's dinner, lights a fire with the record, and gives a flavor to its one roast with the burnt souls of many generations. Knowledge, instructing the senses, refining and multiplying needs, transforms itself into skill, and makes life various with a new six days' work; comes ignorance on the seventh, drunk, with a skin of oil and a match, and an easy 'let these not be,' and the many-colored creation is shrivelled up in blackness. Of a truth, knowledge is power; but it is a power refined by scruple, having a conscience of what must be and what may be; whereas ignorance is a blind giant who, let him but wax unbound, would make it a sport to seize the pillars that hold up the long-wrought fabric of human good, and turn all the palaces of joy dark as a buried Babylon."

THIS is the account of a curious religious squabble, as told by the New York Tribune: "A very pretty and seasonable article might be written about fans; there is already a neat poem by Gay upon that subject. Fans which are intended to cool the constitution ought not to arouse the angry passions, especially in church, where if anywhere they should be quiescent. It was in Cambridge, Mass., and it was a very warm Sunday. It was in St. Mary's Church (R. C.) that the clergy issued an edict forbidding the use of fans during divine service. The ladies of an Alderman, in spite of the order, fluttered the obnoxious article, and the Alderman, Reardon by name, sustained them in it. The pastor, approaching the Aldermanic pew, ordered the Reardon family, fans and all, to leave the church. Reardon, as the representative of his wife and daughters, refused, and an officer was called to put him out. This functionary rather doubted his authority to expel the Alderman without a warrant, but offered to undertake the business if some one would help him. Nobody else offering, the pastor came to the aid of the officer; Reardon was pulled into the aisle and knocked down. Some came to the rescue of Reardon, some to the aid of the pastor; and being much bruised, the Alderman will bring his action against the priest and all who assisted him. A poorer way of getting cool on a hot day than this we cannot well imagine. That fans were irregular and irreverent in church we have never before suspected; and we fear that a general adoption of the principle would render midsummer church-going even a little more unpopular than it is already."

AN EDITORIAL ARTICLE already in type on the "School Amendment" in Congress must be held over till next week; the accounts of the proceedings in the Senate, given in the Boston dailies as we go to press, are too confused to make its final action intelligible, and the subject is too important not to be treated with exact knowledge of the facts.

THE CLOSING OF THE CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION ON SUNDAY.

The late debate on this subject by the commissioners indicates one of the worst evils growing out of the superstitious sabbatical observance of Sunday, in its bewilderment and debasement of the conscience.

Gen. Hawley was driven to acknowledge his own inconsistency; but we doubt very much if his past life has been regulated, or his future will be, by the strict sabbatical observance enjoined by what he professes to believe to be the "Word of God." We have heard a preacher tell his people that every secular act—the writing of a letter, the settling an account, or a visit to a friend—was a mortal sin on Sunday; and before leaving the church we have seen him actually engaged in distributing letters and papers, collecting subscriptions, and settling accounts!

It is time that the protest of liberal thinkers against the sabbatarian superstition took an affirmative instead of a negative form. There is no authority, either in Scripture or reason, for this forced excessive worship of a special time.

But (and the liberal Christians now base their observance of Sunday largely on this ground) there is ample justification for observance of the day on the rational ground of its usefulness. That the State should reserve one day in the week as a general holiday of rest is perfectly within its province as guardian of the social welfare, and the Church may turn this holiday to its own account by using the opportunity thus given for public worship and religious instruction. But if the Church throws obstacles in the way of its use for other purposes equally beneficial, it is right to protest against its dictates.

Under the present system Sunday is to many a day of wearisome routine, or enforced idleness, or idle dissipation, ruinous to body and mind. Our aim should be to redeem the day from its misuse, and give it a real, humanitarian value.

Many years ago an "Anti-Sabbath Convention" was called in Boston. The name gave immediate offence, and deterred many from joining it who would have sympathized with the principles of the signers. Theodore Parker, who incurred much odium by taking part in it, said he would have headed the call, "A Convention to Promote the more Christian Observance of the Sunday." Substituting the word "humane" or "religious" for Christian, we wish the Free Religious Association would devote a convention to the discussion of this important theme, that the day may be redeemed from superstition, and given to human improvement, and that the words of Jesus may be made the text of our discourse—"The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath." E. D. C.

INCIDENTS AT AN ENGLISH CONFERENCE.

MR. EDITOR:—

I am sitting in St. James's Hall, London, listening to Father Hyacinthe delivering an oration on "The Progress of Christendom and Fusion of Opinion." The day is warm enough to admit of a fusion of the human race. The famous father speaks with pleasant ease, and that apparent reservation of power which gives the impression of abounding force. Mr. Gladstone has just come in, and every one cheers the great commentator on the Pope. The Duke of Argyll, who wrote the *Reign of Law*, is in the chair, so we have the Reign of Law, the Reign of Progress, and the Reign of Criticism, all before us.

So far as I can calculate, I will select such topics as shall not conflict with or coincide with those upon which other English writers may address you. If I make an exception, it shall be with reference to a freethought conference which has been held in Leeds since I wrote you last. Yet I cannot pass over, without a word of acknowledgment, the gracefully expressed reference Mrs. Besant makes to me and the generous note you append to her remarks. It is not possible to merit an estimate so high. Every one who reflects upon himself becomes conscious, with dismay and humility, how much he falls short of his own ideal of life and work. Yet those confer both pleasure and encouragement who discern ever so remote fulfilment of personal endeavor, and one thinks much of the friendly inaccuracy which makes the measurement too great. I hope I am not vainer than

the statute permits; still I own to being gratified by words like your own, from one whom I have never seen, said too in Boston, in the hearing of so many whom I honor and whom I one day hope to meet.

We have had a freethought conference in England. Do not think that you alone have centennial conferences of Liberals. True, we have not yet fixed upon our centennial point, but we may. We have a considerable choice between to-day and the building of the Tower of Babel. That, I believe, is the first time when free discussion was known to be in full force. It must have been in full play to occasion that famous confusion of tongues. I have oft thought that the stars must have some coöperative understanding among them, since they do not run against each other, as our men of business do. But it never occurred to me that there could be freethought and secular conferences of any note in England. We have had social conferences and political conferences, but the wider and more important conferences on behalf of Individuality of Ideas have been far less frequent and much less known. Heretofore, long years ago, I was chairman of one or two. The one at Leeds, in session in June last, was one of several held annually by the National Secular Society. Mrs. Besant was present and took, as is her wont, an animated part in the proceedings; Mr. Charles Watts and Mrs. Harriet Law also were speakers. Mr. C. Bradlaugh was president. Voracious for business, we had three days' work ready to be crowded into one. As a consequence, the president and his hammer were continually going. As you say in America, the business was "put through"; if it had not been, it would never have got itself through. The president had to make a hundred decisions during the day. I do not believe he decided wrongly in half a dozen instances, but the decisions were given with such celerity that many persons did not know whether they were right or wrong. The Scotch delegates, who belong to a nation which sees a long way ahead, were not quick enough to discern the fitness of some awards.

As a whole, the conference was the most encouraging I have seen of the kind in this country. It was numerous beyond precedent, and everybody was in earnest about something. In fact, there was enthusiasm enough to have differences of opinion and entertain them with vigor. The constitution of the society is to be revised; that was one thing decided upon; and a personal question disagreeably enlivened the day.

There needs a special doctrine for the determination of personal differences among freethinkers. If notice be taken of them, the time of the society is taken up by them. If no notice is taken of them, any person may be offensive with impunity, and then quietly-disposed persons will keep away from a body that has no power to put down calumniators. There ought to be a committee of differences, to whom all personal questions of conduct or character should be referred, and every member pledged to accept their decision. On the conference day in question, Whimples was called to account for having published something to the purport that "the president had better not make objections to something Whimples had put forward, or a very unpleasant rejoinder would be made." Of course Whimples was properly and promptly asked, in a private letter, to say his dreadful say. He refused, as "he should choose his own time to do that." This was mere vulgarity of menace, and unfairness besides. When one makes an accusation against another, he puts himself at the mercy or will of him assailed, and is bound in honor to state the accusation, substantiate it, or withdraw it: else any one may suffer from a charge which is never proved, and which may be suspended and never substantiated. If the accuser keeps silence when speech is demanded of him by him whom he accuses, he is treated as a calumniator in every society of gentlemen. In the House of Commons such a man could not hold up his head. There is no reason why the code of honor should be lower among freethinkers than among gentlemen. Whimples told me more than once that "the president would never dare to quarrel with him, as he (Whimples) knew too much." Of course I was shocked. I thought the president had shot his grandmother, and did not like to mention it. Perhaps he had caused the death of the late Sultan Abdul Aziz; or he might be at the bottom of the "Bulham Mystery" (a poisoning case which troubles the town just now). No one could imagine what he had done, that he should be dumb in the presence of the dreadful Whimples. The president is certainly not a timid person, and he demanded openly and publicly before every one at the conference that Whimples should open wide his mysterious mouth. Had this demand not been made,

there had been silly persons who would have said, "You see the president is dumb. He is afraid to speak. There is some horrid disclosure to be made. Whimples is right. Who would have thought it?" It came to pass that Whimples was compelled to bring his accusation, and a more limp, flabby, boneless, confused, or (as I thought) impertinent story was never told by a pretentious accuser. When the bag of accusation was opened, there came out, not a cat, nor a rat, nor even a mouse, but a midge, and it flew away straight into the everlasting shade. But the tiresome insect cost a national conference two hours of precious time to embag it. My belief is that a committee of differences had got at the little creature in twenty minutes.

Next Whimples permitted himself to be put forward as a vice-president of the society. The good sense of the assembly soon decided against it. Nobody had any personal objection to Whimples, had he owned his error and apologized for it, or handsomely withdrawn his decrepid charges. As he did neither, how could he be asked to take office under a president whom he accused? I once knew a popular society which elected an annual executive of seven persons, not one of whom was on speaking terms with each other. They never met, and the year was lost. The persons who gave their foolish votes to this end deserved three weeks on the nearest treadmill. There can be no organization except in a united party, and there can be no united party except under a united executive; and you cannot have that, if one is trying to stab, and his colleagues must kick him to keep the peace. It would not be worth writing on these occurrences, were it not to suggest that in freethought societies, where so much liberty is conceded, it must be bounded by honor and order, and regulated by good feeling and good sense.

But I must bring what I have to say to an end, or I shall find myself locked in St. James's Hall. The tones of the eloquent *père* have long since died in the air; Mr. Gladstone has long since departed, and is now doubtless explaining to the House of Commons some abstruse question of high politics (like Cleopatra, his infinite variety never stales). A lady is sitting by my side, to whom I have not spoken for an hour; and lest she should go home and make (not to my credit) a note in her diary (to be read a century hence) on "The Radical Incivility of Literary Pursuits," I at once subscribe myself

Yours ever faithfully, and as modestly as I can,

GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.

22 ESSEX ST., TEMPLE BAR, LONDON.

P. S.—By the next mail I will send you No. 1 of the *Secular Review*, which is already prepared for the press. More interest has been taken in this journal than any one I have heretofore issued. I have received from the *Secular Chronicle*, edited by Mrs. Harriet Law, and especially from the *National Reformer*, edited by Mr. C. Bradlaugh, the friendliest coöperation. It will be published by Mr. Edward Truelove, 256, High Holborn, London,—a well-known freethought bookseller. I have met Americans at his shop who occasionally pay him international visits. Holborn is wider than the Strand, and in some seasons probably a million persons a week pass by the house, and all can read the far-extending sign—"Secular Review." If all of them stop and buy it, I will mention it!

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY R. C.

The event of the week, so far as the purposes of THE INDEX are concerned, is the adoption by the Senate of a proposed amendment to the Constitution. The House amendment, to which we referred last week as passing that body almost unanimously, was sent up to the Senate, but was not regarded as sufficiently explicit, and various substitutes being proposed by Frelinghuysen, Sargent, and Christianity, the whole matter was referred to the Judiciary Committee, which reported a substitute which the Senate adopted by a vote of 36 to 10. The first section forbids any State to make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, and forbids the requirement of any religious test as a qualification for office. It also forbids the appropriation of any public money for the support of any sectarian school, or religious denomination of any description; forbids the reading or teaching of any particular creed or tenets in any school supported in whole or in part by public money; and forbids, finally, the appropriation of public money to promote the interests or tenets of any religious or anti-religious sect, organization, or denomination. The second section gives Congress power to enforce the above provisions by appropriate legislation. We do not see but that the above amendment covers the entire ground of the "Religious Freedom Amendment," proposed as a substitute for the first amendment to the United States Constitution, which has

stood for some time past in the columns of THE INDEX. As we write, the House has not voted upon it, but will probably do so before adjournment. Its ultimate adoption by the States, besides securing public schools from sectarian control, would do away with the Massachusetts requirement that the Governor shall be of the Christian religion, with the New Hampshire statute forbidding Catholics to hold office, and with analogous provisions in the constitutions or laws of other States.

The adjournment of Congress is likely to be announced before this reaches our readers, the two Houses having agreed at last, or, as we write, being upon the point of agreement, with regard to the remaining Appropriation Bills. The House recedes from its former position with reference to the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Bill, and omits its proposed new legislation. With reference to the Indian Bill, also, the House recedes, so that the Indian Bureau will not be transferred to the War Department. Agreement upon the Consular and Diplomatic Bill was brought about by mutual concessions. Among the unexpected measures of the last week may be mentioned the restoration of the Franking Privilege, which passed the Senate by a vote of 29 to 16; and Mr. Scott Lord's resolution with regard to the Fifteenth Amendment and the protection of negroes, an electioneering resolution, of course, but one which is well calculated to take considerable wind out of certain Republican sails.

Butler comes to the front again. In a long letter, he accepts the invitation given him by the Mayor and twenty-one hundred and forty-five other voters of Lowell, to become a candidate for Congress in the seventh district of Massachusetts. He still believes in his convertible-bond magic, but is afraid that the country has not sufficient virtue to enjoy it at present, and he will endeavor therefore to endure with equanimity the coming resumption of specie payments. He refers to the tariff which he is sure will be modified at the next session of Congress, and declares that with reference to this matter he would make an excellent representative of Lowell, his interests being identical with those of that city. The full cogency of this reference will hardly be understood by those who do not know that Butler is probably the largest manufacturer of bunting in the United States, and that the cost of every American flag is nearly doubled by Butler's persistency in keeping up the tariff upon this article.

It will be remembered by most of our readers that the self-respecting Republicans of the sixth district of Massachusetts united with the Democrats of the last election, and voted for Mr. Charles R. Thompson for Congress, thus defeating Butler, who had managed to secure the regular Republican nomination. Mr. Thompson has been an able and excellent Representative, and his voting, upon all important questions, has been thoroughly unpartisan in character. His reelection to Congress by a union of Republicans and Democrats would furnish a manifold stronger evidence of belief in genuine political reform than anything contained in platform resolutions or stump professions. His renomination by the Democrats is already assured; would it be possible for a Republican convention to renominate him also?

Professor Huxley, whose name is familiar to everybody as that of one who has done so much to advance the science of physiology, and who never fails to oppose all forms of cant and humbug, is now on a visit to this country, spending the present week at New Haven in an examination of the fossils collected by Professor Marsh. He is expected to visit our principal cities, and some of our best educational institutions, and will lecture for the Smithsonian Institution, at Washington, some time during the coming autumn. The immediate purpose of his visit, however, is to deliver an address at the opening of the John Hopkins University, at Baltimore, an institution which is organized upon an original plan, and is intended to supplement the work of the regular colleges of the country.

Whenever we are tempted to sympathize with workingmen in their positive hardships or fancied wrongs, some of their number are sure to be guilty of some act so inexpressibly absurd or wicked that any expression of sympathy is inevitably checked. The Independent Workingmen of New York, for instance, have just nominated Mr. James Gordon Bennett for mayor of that city. Mr. Bennett—who is nominally editor of the *Herald*, but who as matter of fact does nothing whatever in connection with that paper, aside from spending the profits of its publication—is chiefly famous as the son of his father, although he has gained some reputation as an amateur pedestrian and yachtsman, as a player of the game of polo, and as a general patron of the sports of the average fast young man. His fitness for mayor would be well expressed by the familiar figure of "a bull in a china shop," or anything else equally incongruous.—Butler as member of Congress, for instance, or Seelye as professor of moral philosophy, or a poker-player as minister to England, or Boss Shepherd as secretary of the Treasury. His nomination was brought about, possibly, because of some fancied belief that the *Herald* favored "the cause" of the workingman. We could not possibly wish the Independent Workingmen, or the forty thousand men who are said to be out of employment at present in New York, any worse misfortune than the fulfillment of their wishes and the election of Bennett.

A very curious and in some respects suggestive strike, that of newsboys against a newspaper, has

just taken place in St. Louis. Every newsboy in the city is said to have joined in a strike against the *Evening Dispatch* of that city, and for several days, it is reported, the boys actually managed to prevent the sale of that paper upon the street. Future talk about the power and influence of the press will have to be modified somewhat. Imagine the boys of New York in combination against the *Tribune* or *World*! They could, for a short time, at least, effectually squelch those "mighty engines of thought."

Stanley, the "discoverer" of Livingstone and the well-known correspondent of the *London Telegraph* and the *New York Herald*, has sent a letter from Africa to Philadelphia. The letter is dated in the month of May, but Stanley forgot to insert the number of the year, and Mr. Edward King, the gentleman to whom the letter was sent, is unable to decide whether the blank should be filled by 1876 or 1875. It seems hardly possible to believe, in this age of railroads and telegraphs, that any portion of the world could contain a mass of savagery so dense that we cannot decide whether a letter has taken three months or fifteen months in penetrating it. Stanley, evidently, has not had an easy life in Africa, but he appears to be prosecuting his work with the same invincible energy which led to the finding of Livingstone after the latter had been given up by the English expedition sent expressly to discover him. Stanley's fame as a geographer is already established, and he bids fair to add to it immensely by his successful additions to the work of Speke, Burton, Livingstone, and other African travellers.

The long expected performance of Wagner's great musical composition is about to take place, or is now in progress, at Bayreuth, in Bavaria. The theatre, begun, we believe, in 1874, and built in conformity with Wagner's own plan, is now finished. The orchestra, composed of leading musicians from all parts of Germany, is completed, and the rehearsals, which have taken an entire year, have been brought to a successful close. Bayreuth is filled with distinguished visitors. The performance will occupy twelve days, and, however varied may be opinions concerning Wagner and the "music of the future," it is certain that the history of music has never before chronicled an event in any way comparable with that now taking place.

Servia is certainly faring badly in her warfare against Turkey, and without the intervention of some foreign power or unless the Montenegrins can render more assistance than now seems probable, her dream of independence is surely destroyed. The defeat of the Servians last week at Gurgusonatz was much more severe than at first reported, and was followed by the abandonment of Satschar and the advance of the Turks into Servia. The Servians, however, declare that they will not sue for peace until the Turks are under the walls of Belgrade; and the Turks declare that they will listen to no terms for mediation until after the capture of that city. The Turkish atrocities in Bulgaria increase in horribleness as the real facts are brought to light, and although Lord Derby, through the English minister at Constantinople, has warned the Porte that the invasion of Servia must be conducted more humanely, the Turks do not appear to have paid any attention to the warning, but are carrying on their warfare with all the barbarism of the Middle Ages. If the butchery of defenceless Christians be continued, it is probable that Russia and Austria may soon interfere. Prince Milan has returned to Belgrade, and, it is rumored, has announced to England his willingness to accept mediation.

ENGLISH SKETCHES.

BY MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

LONDON, July 28, 1876.

Most of our bishops and revered archdeacons in their late charges and visitations have been lamenting over the rapid spread of infidelity, and the growing influence and increased circulation of infidel literature. Only one comfort can be drawn by them from these melancholy facts, and that is, that it was prophesied by holy men of old that "there should come in the last days scoffers." From this the Bishop of Ripon lately drew the conclusion that the spread of scepticism was one of the signs of the coming of the Son of Man; and he exclaimed, with pious fervor, that already in the distance he could hear his approaching chariot-wheels. Scared by this threatening spectre of unbelief, the Church some years ago proved its title to be rightly that of "militant," and established the Christian Evidence Society, with archbishops, bishops, earls, and marquises to support it, with paid lecturers to travel the country lecturing against infidelity, with a journal to give its own views to the world, uncensored by unsympathetic editorship. The journal, a few months since, gave up the ghost, like Lazarus, and no "come forth" has yet broken the rest of the tomb wherein it lies, nor has called it to a renewed lease of life on earth. The lecturers still maintain a precarious existence, and the Society is always begging earnestly for funds. We may conclude that this Society may now be generally—and not only by infidels—reckoned as a failure, since on Monday last a meeting was held at Lambeth Palace (the London fisherman's hut of that successor of the apostles known to the vulgar as the wealthy Archbishop of Canterbury), and there assembled, to confer on the alleged progress of irreligious thought, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Winchester, Norwich, Gloucester, Bristol, Peterborough, Bath, and Wells. So much for the Establishment. To meet them came the representatives of non-Con-

formity, the well-known ministers of dissenting persuasions, the Revs. Dr. Allan, Dr. Angus, Dr. Aveling, Dr. C. Dykes, Dr. Donald Fraser, Newman Hall, Dr. Punshon (the ablest Christian controversialist in England), Dr. Raleigh, Dr. Stoughton, Dr. Cumming, together with others less known to fame.

The activity of the assailants of Christianity was acknowledged (only very meagre reports have reached the press), and many urged that Christianity also showed real growth, and that there was much that was hopeful in the prospect. It would be very interesting to read a full account of the speeches of the various dignitaries, so as to be able to judge from which sections of the Christian Church come the most favorable accounts of the state of religion. We are inclined to fancy that the Establishment would speak in the saddest tone, for the vast majority of the upper-middle and upper classes nominally belong to her, for respectability's and fashion's sake, and freethought is very widely spread among them. The Primitive Methodist branch of the Wesleyans would also know much of the growing scepticism, since they are very strong in the mining population, and amongst these Secularism is rapidly becoming powerful. The town Wesleyans and the Baptists would be happier, for their congregations are drawn from the small shopkeepers, and the smug and oily respectability of these is almost impervious to thought and untrainable by culture. The Congregationalists would probably be tolerably at ease, for their creed has in it so much that is manly and independent that freethought is undermining it rapidly in every direction, aided by its own valuable qualities, and unconsciously they are drifting very far away from the old landmarks. Perhaps, however, we may yet hear something more of this conference, and if anything is published concerning it I will duly report. The *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, the most influential north-country journal we have, in a leading article on this conference, thinks that the precedent is a most valuable one, and rejoices to see Churchmen and Dissenters thus meeting on friendly ground, thinking that "the main vantage-ground of popular infidelity is furnished by the irreconcilable variance of Christian sects," but it goes on to say: "If, however, it be asked why such conferences should have been impracticable in the past, or why they should not become more frequent and proportionately influential in the future, truth compels the explanation that the principles which separate Conformists and non-Conformists are nearly as vital as those which divide believers from infidels. Many religious doctrines and a few religious practices are held in common by the Churchman and the Dissenter, but the former regards the latter as a schismatic, while the latter holds the former to be a sort of Judas who has sold his Master for pelf."

A meeting was held yesterday at Willis' Rooms under the presidency of the Earl of Shaftesbury, to protest against any moral and material assistance being given to Turkey by the government, in her conflict with the insurgent populations now endeavoring to throw off the Moslem rule. A few days since two deputations were received by Lord Derby, the foreign secretary, which urged the same prayer. One of these was weighty, from the large number of towns represented upon it, and for its good sense in concerning itself only with the political situation; the other lost its dignity completely, from Mr. Jenkins' (*Gin's Baby*, late Agent-General for Canada) foolish behavior in talking about fellow-feeling for Christians as against Moslems: against this Mr. Auberon Herbert felt it his duty to protest, and endeavored to replace the matter on its proper footing of sympathy with the oppressed as against the oppressor. One wonders when Christians will become sensible enough to deal with politics as politicians, and not as theologians. At this Willis' Rooms meeting Lord Shaftesbury spoke very sensibly, urging against Turkey her *lâche* in respect of civilization instead of in respect of Christianity. He finished up by a statement that created some sensation: "I, for one, would rather, in view of the interests of the whole commonwealth of mankind, see the Russians on the Bosphorus than the Turks in Europe." It is hard to see the rationale of the English mania regarding the presence of the Russians in Constantinople. Some vague idea that the Russians could thus close our road to India seems to be at the root of this dread, but as a dry matter of fact, even supposing that the Suez Canal would be—as it never will—our high road to India in time of war, Russia could close the canal from the Black Sea as easily as from Constantinople, and could strike against us as effectively without the Bosphorus as with it. There is a much more useful weapon against Russia in our hands than Turkey can ever prove. Russia is very poor, and is really, although not apparently, bankrupt. Stopping the money supplies she borrows from us would cripple her far more than shutting her out of Constantinople. Far better to detach her from her alliance with Germany than to throw her into Bismarck's arms by maintaining Turkey against her. Germany will soon be a more formidable rival to us on the sea than any other power, and if England wants to be jealous of any power, she had better turn her jealousy that way. Our true policy would be to make all Europe understand that Great Britain no longer supported Turkey, and would not interfere on her behalf under any circumstances, and I should be inclined to say—though I believe that on this point my opinion is in conflict with many of those with whom I work—that we might well go a step further, and say that the atrocities of Bulgaria shall not be repeated, and that Turkey shall never again rule in the provinces she has deluged with the blood of women and children. I think that free nations have a duty to sympathize with and aid nations struggling for freedom, and that we should support morally, and if necessary materially, a population endeavoring to break the despot yoke of a Sultan.

Communications.

OUR NATIONAL EDUCATION.

MY DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

Although there may be once in a while something in *THE INDEX* I do not like (rarely, however, anything you write), yet I think it decidedly the best paper, and deserving a much better support than it finds. It never comes to me without bringing one or more articles of especial excellence, the perusal of which gives me much pleasure. One of this sort was that of Professor Max Müller on "National Education as a National Duty," in *THE INDEX* of June 29. The article is certainly a most excellent one, but for me it had, as everything bearing on that important subject, more than an ordinary interest, and I read it with the greatest delight. No doubt my early life has something to do with this; for, when young, I was educated as a teacher, followed that business about a dozen years in Germany, and to-day I can say with Niebuhr, as quoted by Professor Müller: "How I wished I had been allowed to follow it (for ever)!" If at any time of my life I had had the choice of selecting my occupation, I should have chosen teaching a school such as I wanted. And though the fates decreed it otherwise for me, they never could deprive me of the deepest interest in all matters of education. Hence my great delight in Professor Müller's article.

But this article must, I believe, have been of no common interest to any intelligent reader,—must have been the more so, as it would read just as well, and would be in most cases just as true, if we should read "America" and "American people," for "England" and "English people." But what he says of his *atavus*, Basedow, will, I apprehend, be hardly as well understood by any native American as by me, or any German teacher; for there is no German teacher worthy of that name who is not familiar with Basedow and his merits in relation to education. Well were it for America, if as much could also be said of American teachers! That it cannot is one (and not the smallest, either) of the reasons why American schools, at least the large majority of them, are in general inferior to German schools. But do not, sir, misunderstand me in this. I do not mean to say that American schools, or rather American teachers, are inferior to German ones because German teachers are more familiar with Basedow than American are. Of course not; but I mean by it that German teachers are educated for the business of teaching, and American are not; that German teachers generally are, because they must be, well qualified for teaching, and American are not. I will not, however, absolutely say that all German teachers are thus qualified, and that no American ones are. But while the disqualified ones are the exception there, the qualified ones are the exception here. As a rule, the majority of teachers here are young men or women too young for teaching, who have, and even that not in all cases, just got education enough to be prepared to become, by further study of a few years, educated and qualified for teaching. The consequence of this is a lamentable insufficiency of the teachers and superficiality of their instructions. They often hardly understand their text-books, are utterly lost without them, and very frequently not able to solve the examples, and thus, of course, not able to answer questions of scholars, or to aid them in their difficulties. They teach, but they do not educate, and are scarcely conscious of the vast difference between teaching and educating. Most of them are, as I said, too young and inexperienced for that. In this city of about eight thousand inhabitants, for instance, we have, as they say, "very good schools"; yet we have but a rather able superintendent and one or two tolerable teachers; the rest (more than half) are young misses, pupils of the High School of this city, where they were graduates this last or the preceding term, with more or less credit. Are such young misses, even if brilliant scholars at the High School, fit to become teachers forthwith, without any further special preparation for it? I hardly think they are. To my notion, teaching, as it ought to be, requires more training than these young misses, or young gentlemen either, of fifteen to seventeen years, receive at the High School, and considerable theoretical and practical education for teaching which they do not get at all. In Germany, those young men (of sixteen to eighteen years of age) who intend to become teachers (which business they, as a rule, are then to follow for life), before they are allowed to teach, have first to enter the "Teachers' Seminary," and prepare themselves by a regular three years' course of study. But even before they can enter the seminary, they are subject to an *examen* in which is required of them about as much knowledge as is required of the graduates of our High Schools. If they are found lacking in it, they are rejected; if they stand the examination, they may enter the seminary, the expenses of which are defrayed by the State,—professors, teachers, etc., being salaried by it, the pupils being only required to pay for their board, books, etc., and the greater number receiving even "stipends" from the State. The education they receive at the seminary consists not merely in higher instruction in religion (as a consequence of the union of Church and State there, unhappily a universal part of instruction in almost all schools below the university), grammar, mathematics, natural and general history, geology, geography, etc., but also, and especially, instruction in the physical and mental nature and faculties of the child, with a steady view to their judicious development and how to conform instruction and education to them; further, a history of schools and education in Germany, and of the various and best modes and methods of instruc-

tion in general, and of each branch of instruction in particular. For these theoretical lessons, thus taught, there are also offered practical exercises, by sending daily squads of pupils of the highest class to the public schools of the city, where they instruct the scholars under supervision of their teachers. In that way teachers are educated theoretically, and as far as possible practically, and made qualified to teach before they are allowed to begin.

Now, however well it might be, and however much I should like, to see these and other improvements introduced into America, yet I am ready to say with Professor Müller, that I am the last man to ask that the German system of national education should be transplanted into America or England. The German character is different from the American, as the German people is different from the American people. Not all that works well there would for that reason work also as well here. Although the German governments know and appreciate the value and importance of schools, and know that it requires well trained and good teachers to make the schools what they ought to be, yet the system there has its grave drawbacks. In Germany, the schools not only are entirely in the hands of the government, but the teachers as well; and both, besides, as entirely in the hands of the Church. We certainly could not wish it to be thus in this country. Not a city or village that has any voice in the selection of its teacher. The government nominates the teacher, sends him, and all the city or village has got to do is to pay him his salary. The teacher, in most cases, is at the same time also the organist and sexton, and not only as such, but also as teacher, subordinate to the clergyman of the place, who is *ex officio* the local superintendent of the school. All this is certainly most un-American, and we should not wish to imitate it.

But there is also compulsory education (from six to fourteen years) in Germany, which assuredly would be as much for the benefit of America, if we could have it here, as it certainly is for the benefit of Germany. I know, too many in this country are for various reasons opposed to compulsory education; but it is Germany that can furnish us the best lessons and strongest arguments on this point. When, however, I speak of Germany in this article, I mean in particular Prussia and Württemberg, which may be considered as the two model States in this respect. In Catholic Bavaria, for instance (where compulsory education also exists, though not as thoroughly, or rather not as generally, carried out as in the two former States), but more especially in German Austria, the state of culture is vastly inferior to what it is in the other two States named. What is the exact percentage of the whole population to those who can either not write or read, or neither, in Bavaria or Austria, I cannot say. But at any rate it is much larger in Bavaria, and proportionately larger in Austria, than either in Prussia or Württemberg. The difference between Catholicism and Protestantism, and the influence of their respective clergy, are here unmistakable. In my little native kingdom of Württemberg, among its two millions of inhabitants, there can hardly be found one in a thousand who cannot read or write; and of its present generation, say of persons from fifty years of age down to six, not one in ten thousand,—in fact, I believe scarcely any but idiots or persons otherwise incapacitated for instruction. A similar proportion prevails in Prussia. And there were even not wanting those who (and not without good reason, either) ascribed the superiority and the success of the Germans, over the French, in the last Franco-German war, to the superior education of the German soldiers.

Now, sir, what is the proportion of inhabitants of this country (leaving out the foreigners) who cannot read and write? Would not a compulsory law similar to the one in Germany work equally well and be as necessary here? We, in America, are, and oftenest where we ought not to be, too jealous of our liberties, and again too indifferent where we ought to be most jealous. We are opposed to a compulsory school-law, on the plea that the State has no right to impose on the liberty and prerogatives of parents, or to tax all citizens for the education of the children of but a part of them (to say nothing of the Catholic Church plea); but we are indifferent to the daily violations of conscience and the invasions by the State or the Church, or by both, of the freedom of conscience and of religious belief of the citizens. Yet the exercise of the unquestionable right of the State in respect to education would result in the benefit of the people; while even the smallest encroachment upon the others is a dangerous usurpation and a crime. We should think it an unbearable innovation, if Congress should pass a law prohibiting parents to rob their children of education by keeping them from school; but we acquiesce very demurely when the Bible is imposed in schools upon the children of those who do not believe in it, and when these children are compelled to sing hymns and partake in religious (sectarian) exercises they do not believe in. We would not tolerate it, if Congress were to prescribe for the people what to eat, or what to drink, or how to dress, or when to go to bed and when to rise; but we quietly conform when it decrees Sunday a holy day for all citizens, believers in the sanctity of Sunday or unbelievers, and legislates what shall be lawful for them to do or not to do on that day. We willingly pay our taxes for the Centennial International Exhibition; but allow sanctimonious Commissioners to shut its gates against the people on Sunday. We boast of our liberties, our liberal Constitution, and the equal rights of all citizens; but we tamely acquiesce when Congress, Legislatures, Presidents, Governors, etc., disregard these liberties, violate the Constitution and its equality of citizens, by exempting churches from taxation, and thus indi-

rectly do what the Constitution directly prohibits: taxing citizens for the support of churches they do not believe in. And thus I might go on *ad infinitum*, showing a contradiction of character, a contrast between profession and practice, and, withal, such a national hypocrisy as is found in no other country or nation.

Is there no remedy for these evils, sir? I profoundly believe there is: it lies in a better, more rational, education. Let, then, good schools be established all throughout the land, in every city, village, and hamlet, and let every child be educated in them by competent teachers, judiciously educated and sufficiently qualified for teaching; let us make the schools entirely secular, instructing the scholars in all that is necessary for practical life,—in all the knowledge they may need to become intelligent, useful, and good citizens, knowing their rights and duties, and willing and able to maintain the one and to do the other. Only children thus educated will, when men and women, be intelligent and good citizens, useful to themselves, an honor and valuable to the State. But to make schools thus efficient, they must be made secular, must be institutions of the State, like the State itself thoroughly separated from the Church. One thing is the function of the State, and another thing the function of the Church; each can best fulfil its own function when entirely separated from and untrammelled by the other. The only aim, the only connection of the two, must be to promote the morality and happiness of the citizens. This end will best be gained by making the schools entirely secular, teaching the scholars that knowledge and those sciences indispensable for them in practical life, and strengthening and rightly developing their sense by a judicious education. It needs, then, moral merely to assign to the State the function and rights due to it, and to the Church the functions and rights due to her, and require of both the most prudent and just performance of their functions.

"It may take," I will say with Professor Müller, "some years before all this is realized; but the higher your ideal of national education, the better. Many and various are yet the enemies and obstacles to the realization of this ideal, but an honest and rational government and rightly educated citizens may realize it."

MORRIS EINHSTEIN.

TTUSVILLE, Pa., July 28, 1876.

WHERE THE CHURCH SHOE PINCHES.

"Resolved (1), That there is an imperative necessity that the Constitution of the United States should contain an acknowledgment of God as the author of civil government, of the Lord Jesus Christ as the ruler of nations, of the Divine origin of the Christian religion, and of the Scriptures as of supreme authority in civil affairs."

[Resolutions of the Convention at Xenia, O., Dec. 1, 1875.]

Dr. Spruill, of Alleghany, said at one of these Conventions: "We do not wish an amendment to come as a kind of patchwork,—a piece of new cloth on an old garment. We want the whole made new; the government to be put squarely under Christ, and none but his friends suffered to meddle with its administration. The clauses in question should be expunged, and a declaration inserted in its place that civil office be restricted to God-fearing or religious men."

And yet these men will insist that they do not wish to unite Church and State. Perhaps when none but "Christ's friends" or "God-fearing men" have the rule there will be no State,—only the Church. But why this "imperative necessity" that the Constitution of the United States should contain an acknowledgment of God? What has happened to bring about this imperative necessity? The framers of the Constitution were wise, patriotic, and good men, but they deemed it best to leave all religious questions out of the Constitution. What has occurred in the history of our country that shows they were mistaken? Is it the ship of State that is in danger, or is it some other craft that feels the "imperative necessity"? The danger which so many Christians apprehend is the decay of their religion. The Church has no controlling authority over free thought. It cannot stay the wheels of progress. It cannot wipe out the doubts and scepticism which fasten upon the minds of its membership. It cannot meet science in the fair field of free discussion, and hence it blindly and madly seeks to wall up the field of free discussion, and to exterminate science by securing political power. If one should not accept this statement, I can only refer him to the past history of the Church as an evidence of what it will do when possessed of power. The Christian Church is in a state of rapid transformation and decay, and the consciousness of the fact makes her partisanship put forth desperate efforts.

It is not freedom which these men seek by their proposed amendments, for they make provision for the freedom of none but themselves. Protestants are to have freedom, and all others are to be robbed of what freedom they now possess. And this is the Protestant amendment! Nor do these people seek the truth, as an end, but seek power, that they may propagate sectarian creeds.

This is an inquisitive age. It is seeking all forms of truth. The old, story-telling spirit of the past, of big fish, big floods, and wonderful miracles, has lost its power over the common mind. The press is the power to-day; and the pulpit, before abdicating, threatens us with battle. But there is too much general intelligence in the country to fear that a project so wicked and unjust could ever be carried into practical effect. There is nevertheless an imperative necessity laid upon every liberal man and woman to show up the spirit and purpose of the Protestant amendment party. They are determined to get into power if they can, and, once in power, to use it as far as they can in overthrowing all religions but their

own. This they will accomplish by persecution. They are beginning to try their hand at the wheel now.

NEW BEDFORD, Mass.

W. S. BELL.

Sanctuary of Superstition.

THE INFLUENCE OF ST. JOSEPH.—All the saints have experienced the loving and watchful care which St. Joseph exercises over those who have recourse to him; many of them have, like St. Teresa, borne testimony that they never asked a favor of God through St. Joseph that was not granted. Shall not we, who have fallen on such evil times, pray daily and hourly, especially during this his month, for ourselves, for the Holy Church whose chosen patron he is, and for all faithful peoples who in so many lands are this hour suffering persecution for the faith of Christ?—*Catholic Tablet*.

THE JUDGMENT.—But who can speak of such a scene as that, when Jehovah Christ, before whom hell shall stagger with dismay, and every knee in heaven and earth shall bow, when with his own authority he shall throw open the gates of despair, grating judgment-summons through the caverns of woe! The chains of darkness, link after link, give way! The eternal bolts drive back by decree of God, and hell opens, upheaving its ruined souls, gnashing of teeth, hissing fire, as they crowd the yawning passage—bloated with blasphemies against God and the Lamb,—whose eyes drip with night, and despair sits on their brows forever!—"Shocks from the Battery": a volume of Sermons by Rev. B. Pomeroy, of the Troy M. E. Conference, published in 1869.

NO NONSENSE ABOUT IT.—I am going to tell you the simple, naked truth. I am not going to talk nonsense, as some do, about the dignity and goodness of human nature. I will not pay compliments to human nature which it does not deserve. Life is too short and uncertain for such flattery. Let us go to the Bible and to facts. Now what is man? There is one broad, sweeping answer, which takes in the whole human race: man is a sinful being. . . . Sin is too much part of ourselves to allow us to see it as it is. We do not feel our own moral deformity. We are like those animals in creation which are vile and loathsome to our senses, but are not so to themselves, nor yet to one another. Their loathsomeness is their nature, and they do not perceive it. Our corruption is part and parcel of ourselves, and at best we have but a feeble comprehension of its intensity.—"What is Man?" By Rev. J. C. Ryle: published by Amer. Tract Society.

THE "SKOPTZI".—The Russian government has been unsuccessful, hitherto, in its attempts to stamp out a religious sect known as the Skoptzi, or "white doves," the chief tenet of whose faith is the duty of celibacy. It is not very long since a large number of these people, including their chief, Koudrine, were put upon their trial, which exceeded in length, if not in interest, that of the "unhappy nobleman" to whom reference is occasionally made in the House of Commons; and now a fresh association of Skoptzi has been discovered in Southern Russia, and three hundred of their number are about to be tried at Simpheropol. The strength of this sect is to be found in the wealth of several of its most zealous adherents, and in the mingled ignorance and superstition of the people among whom converts are sought. To illustrate this combination of two not very attractive qualities, the *St. Petersburg Journal* mentions a case recently tried at the Moscow assizes. A peasant, accused of murdering an old woman who was upon a pilgrimage, was asked by the judge why he had committed the crime, and replied that he was driven to it by hunger. The judge pointed out that the provisions which the victim had in her basket were not touched, upon which the prisoner exclaimed, in quite an indignant tone: "Do you take me for a heathen? It was a Friday, and you surely don't suppose I should eat meat on that day!" It is upon imaginations such as these that the Skoptzi work, and the number of conversions which they effect is so great that the government is getting alarmed as to their progress. Each section has its prophet, who presides at the religious meetings, which are not held upon any fixed day or at any particular place, in order the more effectually to elude discovery. The service takes place at night, and commences by the singing of hymns composed by the prophet, and committed to heart by his congregation. Men and women take it in turns to sing, after which they dance until they are exhausted. The Greek Church they consider to be the receptacle of every sort of sin, and is termed by them the "Church of Babylon." But some of the Russian emperors, including Paul I. and Alexander I., and also the Empress Elizabeth, are claimed as members of their sect, and raised to the rank of saints. They reject the Sacraments, and express their opinions of priests by the saying that ample sleeves—the Russian priests wear them very large—hide a deceitful mind. Neophytes are only admitted after the celebration of elaborate rites, chief among which are invocations to their saints, and especially to Akoulina Fyranovna, their Holy Virgin. After this singing and dancing take place, as at the ordinary religious meetings, the prophet puts on white stockings, and, with a Bible in his hand, prays for strength to work miracles. He then tells different members of the congregation what fate is in store for them. These doctrines may seem more ludicrous than baneful; but they are said to be accompanied by other practices of the grossest immorality.—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

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ARTICLE V.—All charter-members and life-members of the National Liberal League, and all duly accredited delegates from local auxiliary Liberal Leagues organized in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution, shall be entitled to seats and votes in the Annual Congress. Annual members of the National Liberal League shall be entitled to seat, but not to votes, in the Annual Congress.

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ARTICLE XIII.—The Board of Directors shall have authority, as often as they receive a written application signed by ten or more persons and accompanied by ten dollars, to issue a charter for the formation of a local auxiliary Liberal League.

ARTICLE XV.—Local auxiliary Liberal Leagues organized under charters issued by the Board of Directors shall be absolutely independent in the administration of their own local affairs. The effect of their charters shall be simply to unite them in cordial fellowship and efficient cooperation of the freest kind with the National Liberal League and with other local Leagues. All votes of the Annual Congress, and all communications of the Board of Directors, shall possess no more authority or influence over them than lies in the intrinsic wisdom of the words themselves.

ARTICLE XVI.—Every local auxiliary Liberal League organized in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution shall be entitled to send its President and Secretary and three other members as delegates to the Annual Congress.

Certificates of Membership

AND

CHARTERS FOR LOCAL LEAGUES

Will be got ready for delivery as soon as possible. But meanwhile let every friend of

Equal Religious Rights and Liberties

Enroll his name either as an ANNUAL MEMBER or as a LIFE MEMBER of the National Liberal League.

And let the live Liberals of

EVERY CITY, TOWN, OR VILLAGE

in the country unite without delay to forward their

APPLICATION FOR A CHARTER

as a local auxiliary Liberal League, in order to be all ready for action as soon as the necessary papers are prepared.

Before next summer, let a

Thousand Liberal Leagues

be thoroughly organized and actively at work for the adoption of the

Religious Freedom Amendment

to the United States Constitution. The

"GOD-IN-THE-CONSTITUTION"

party are scheming and laboring more busily than ever for the adoption of their

Christian Amendment,

which would ultimately DISFRANCHISE and DISQUALIFY FOR OFFICE every honest Liberal in the land, and trample under foot the people's most sacred rights of conscience. It is time to rouse the people to an effective defence of their religious liberty, and the Liberal Leagues must do it.

Per order of the Directors of the National Liberal League:

FRANCIS E. ABBOT, President
R. H. BANNEY, Secretary.

The Index.

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VOLUME 7.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, AUGUST 24, 1876.

WHOLE No. 348.

THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practicing the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim to justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT.

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

MRS. VAN COTT claims to have converted twenty thousand sinners.

EX-CHANCELLOR WINCHELL, of Syracuse, N. Y., in a letter recently published by the *Tribune*, presents this terse and true statement of the relation of the State to education: "The State needs universal primary education to make voters; it needs secondary education to make teachers of voters; it demands university education to qualify the instructors of the teachers of the voters, and to develop the ideas at the basis of social progress."

THE NEW YORK *Sun* says: "The shooting of Hanford by Sullivan in Chicago was the sad sequel to a sectarian quarrel over appointments in the school department. Hanford was a Methodist, Sullivan a Roman Catholic. Some of the local papers have failed to withstand the strong temptation to prejudge the case from sectarian stand-points. We hope that the sober second thoughts of these newspapers will lead them to see that they have taken a course hardly less deplorable than the tragedy itself."

PROFESSOR NEWMAN, who has recently lost his wife, addressed this touching note to his friends: "At quarter to three, Sunday morning, July 16, 1876, a blessed saint breathed her last, Maria, the loved and loving life companion for more than forty years of F. W. Newman, who, though sensible of deep loneliness, yet, in the fixed and sure conviction that death in its due season, equally with life, is a gift to man from the Most High, resigns the wife of his bosom, gratefully and trustingly, to the bosom of her God."

MR. B. F. UNDERWOOD is lecturing with marked success at the West. The local papers report at length his debates with Orthodox opponents, usually with manifest fairness and consideration. The indirect effect of such work is most salutary, educating the public as it does to require argument from both sides of religious questions and not to be satisfied with the old-fashioned vituperation of one side by the other. Mr. Underwood's latest encounter has been at Jacksonville, Ill., where he held a religious discussion with Rev. Mr. Braden.

THE BOSTON *Herald* of August 6 says: "The burial of little Walter Whitman, an infant, year-old nephew of the poet, which occurred a few days ago at Camden, N. J., was very simple, without sermon or ceremony. In the middle of the room, in its white coffin, lay the

dead babe, strewed with a profusion of fresh geranium leaves and some tuberose. All the young ones of the neighborhood, by groups, or couples, or singly, kept coming noiselessly in, surrounding the coffin. Near the corpse, in a great chair, sat Walt Whitman, enveloped by children, holding one encircled by either arm, and a beautiful little girl on his lap. The little one looked curiously at the spectacle of death, and then inquiringly in the old man's face. 'You don't know what it is, do you, my dear?' said he, adding, 'We don't either.' Many of the children surrounding the coffin were mere babes, and had to be lifted up to take a look."

MR. CONWAY writes as follows to the *Cincinnati Commercial* respecting Miss Martineau: "I have recently heard from a friend who visited Harriet Martineau in her last days, that the venerable authoress was quite resolute in her philosophical opinions to the end. She had just been shown a letter asking if she believed in 'immortality,' and she replied: 'I have no reason to believe in another world. I have had enough of life in one, and can see no good reason why Harriet Martineau should be perpetuated.' She had never the slightest belief in spiritualism, but was a believer in magnetism and psychic force, and she continued her correspondence with Mr. Atkinson. This gentleman has sent the more important of his letters from her to Mrs. Chapman, of Boston (United States), who will write a biography of Miss Martineau. The old lady had not gone out beyond her garden for seventeen years when she died. She was always cheerful, read the magazines and newspapers diligently, and talked much of her old friends."

REV. DR. BELLOWS reaffirms the absolute finality of the Christian religion, not perceiving that every Protestant answer to the "previous question,"—*what is the Christian religion?*—rests only on mere private opinion and cannot be final at all. A keen Catholic would smile at the simplicity which can affirm the finality of a religion, but cannot affirm the finality of any particular interpretation of it,—which can declare unerringly that Christianity is true, but cannot declare unerringly what Christianity is! Dr. Bellows' language, of which we italicize a part, is as follows: "The ground alike of Trinitarian and Unitarian Christianity is, that the religion of Jesus has an authority peculiar to itself; established and vindicated historically, that it is a permanent religion, destined to universal sway; that it cannot be improved, and that essential changes in it are fallings away from the truth. Nothing making a less claim than this can be called a revealed religion, or an absolute religion, or be at anything less than a disadvantage as compared even with natural religion."

LET NOBODY ever say again that the International Exhibition was "closed on Sundays"! That is not true. The Centennial Commissioners have closed it to the sixty-nine thousand working people who petitioned to have it opened, and they pretend to have thus obeyed the "law of God"; but this pretence is wickedly hypocritical. They have made it one of their ordinary regulations to admit on Sundays all who have received "free or complimentary passes." The "law of God" does not apply to the Commissioners' hangers-on, forsooth! Remember this fact! Make the nation remember it! Make the Commissioners remember it to their dying day! Let the people whose rights have been trampled contemptuously under foot by these over-righteous Sabbatarians never forget the falsity and hypocrisy of their boast of having "closed the Exhibition on Sunday." The *Sunday School Times* is authority for the statement that the Exhibition itself is opened to all who have "free or complimentary passes." We could have respected the Commissioners, if they had been consistent and sincere; but they should be so lashed by an indignant people for their hypocrisy that they will carry the marks of the flagellation to their graves.

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 N. S.—For further information, apply to the Secretary, 83 above.

RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

An Agnostic's Apology.

FROM THE LONDON "FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW" OF JUNE 1, 1876.

BY LESLIE STEPHEN.

[CONCLUDED FROM LAST WEEK.]

The ancient difficulty which has perplexed men since the days of Job is this: Why are happiness and misery arbitrarily distributed? Why do the good so often suffer and the evil so often flourish? The difficulty, says the determinist, arises entirely from applying the conception of justice where it is manifestly out of place. The advocate of free-will refuses this escape, and is perplexed by a further difficulty. Why are virtue and vice arbitrarily distributed? Of all the puzzles of this dark world, or of all forms of the one great puzzle, the most appalling is that which meets us at the corner of every street. Look at the children growing up amidst moral poison; see the brothel and the public house turning out harlots and drunkards by the thousand; at the brutalized elders preaching cruelty and shamelessness by example; and deny, if you can, that lust and brutality are generated as certainly as scrofula and typhus. Nobody dares to deny it. All philanthropists admit it; and every hope of improvement is based on the assumption that the moral character is determined by its surroundings. What does the theological advocate of free-will say to reconcile such a spectacle with our moral conceptions? Will God damn all these wretches for faults due to causes as much beyond their power as the shape of their limbs or as the orbits of the planets? Or will he make some allowance, and decline to ask for grapes from thistles, and exact purity of life from beings born in corruption, breathing corruption, and trained in corruption? Let us try each alternative.

To Job's difficulty it has been replied that, though virtue is not always rewarded and vice punished, yet virtue *as such* is rewarded, and vice *as such* is punished. If that be true, God, on the free-will hypothesis, must be unjust. Virtue and vice, as the facts irresistibly prove, are caused by fate or by God's will, as well as by free-will, that is, our own will. To punish a man brought up in a London slum, by the rule applicable to a man brought up at the feet of Christ is manifestly the height of justice. Nay, for anything we can tell, for we know nothing of the circumstances of their birth and education, the effort which Judas Iscariot exerted in restoring the price of blood may have required a greater force of free-will than would have saved Peter from denying his master. Moll Flanders may put forth more power to keep out of the lowest depths of vice than a girl brought up in a convent to kill herself by ascetic ansterities. If, in short, reward is proportioned to virtue, it cannot be proportioned to merit; for merit, by the hypothesis, is proportioned to the free-will, which is only one of the factors of virtue. The apparent injustice may, of course, be remedied by some unknowable compensation; but for all that appears, it is the height of injustice to reward equally equal attainments under entirely different conditions. In other words, the theologian has raised a difficulty from which he can only escape by the help of Agnosticism. Justice is not to be found in the visible arrangements of the universe.

Let us, then, take the other alternative. Assume that rewards are proportioned not to virtue but to merit. God will judge us by what we have done for ourselves, not by the tendencies which he has impressed upon us. The difficulty is disguised, for it is not diminished, and morality is degraded. A man should be valued, say all the deepest moralists, by his nature, not by his external acts; by what he is, not by how he came to be what he is. Virtue is heaven, and vice is hell. Divine rewards and punishments are not arbitrarily annexed, but represent the natural state of a being brought into harmony with the supreme law, or in hopeless conflict with it. We need a change of nature, not a series of acts unconnected with our nature. Virtue is a reality precisely in so far as it is a part of nature, not of accident; of our fate, not of our free-will. The assertion, in some shape, of these truths has been at the bottom of all great moral and religious reforms. The attempt to patch up some compromise between this and the opposite theory has generated those endless controversies about grace and free-will on which no Christian church has ever been able to make up its mind, and which warn us that we are once more plunging into Agnosticism. In order to make the Creator the judge, you assume that part of man's actions are his own. Only on that showing can he have merit as against his Maker. Admitting this, and only if we admit this, we get a footing for the debtor and creditor theories of morality,—for the doctrine that man runs up a score with heaven in respect of that part of his conduct which is uncaused. Thus we have a ground for the various theories of merit by which priests have thriven and churches been corrupted; but it is at the cost of splitting human nature in two, and making happiness depend upon those acts which are not really part of our true selves.

It is not, however, my purpose to show the immorality or the unreasonableness of the doctrine. I shall only remark that it is essentially agnostic. Only in so far as phenomena embody fixed "laws" can we have any ground for inference in this world, and, *à fortiori*, from this world to the next. If happiness is the natural consequence of virtue, we may plausibly argue that the virtuous will be happy hereafter. If heaven be a bonus arbitrarily bestowed upon the exercise of an inscrutable power, all analogies break down. The merit of an action as between men depends upon the motives. The actions for which God rewards and punishes are the actions or

those parts of actions which are independent of motive. Punishment amongst men is regulated by some considerations of its utility to the criminal or his fellows. No conceivable measure of Divine punishment can even be suggested when once we distinguish between divine and natural; and the very essence of the theory is that such a distinction exists. For whatever may be true of the next world, we begin by assuming that new principles are to be called into play hereafter. The new world is summoned into being to redress the balance of the old. The fate which here too often makes the good miserable and the bad happy, which, still more strangely, fetters our wills, and forces the strong will into wickedness and strengthens the weak will to goodness, will then be suspended. The motive which induces us to believe in the good arrangement hereafter is precisely the badness of this. Such a motive to belief cannot itself be a reason for belief. We believe because it is unreasonable. This world, once more, is a chaos, in which the most conspicuous fact is the absence of the Creator. Nay, it is so chaotic that, according to theologians, infinite rewards and penalties are required to square the account and redress the injustice here accumulated. What is this, so far as the natural reason is concerned, but the very superlative of Agnosticism? The appeal to experience can lead to nothing, for our very object is to contradict experience. We appeal to facts to show that facts are illusory. The appeal to *a priori* reason is not more hopeful, for you begin by showing that reason on these matters is self-contradictory, and you insist that human nature is radically irregular, and therefore beyond the sphere of reason. If you could succeed in deducing any theory by reason, reason would, on your showing, be at hopeless issue with experience.

There are two questions, in short, about the universe which must be answered to escape from Agnosticism. The great fact which puzzles the mind is the vast amount of evil. It may be answered that evil is an illusion, because God is benevolent; or it may be answered that evil is deserved, because God is just. In one case the doubt is removed by denying the existence of the difficulty. In the other it is made tolerable by satisfying our consciences. We have seen what natural reason can do towards justifying these answers. To escape from Agnosticism we become Pantheists; then the divine reality must be the counterpart of phenomenal nature, and all the difficulties recur. We escape from Pantheism by the illogical device of free-will. Then God is indeed good and wise, but God is no longer omnipotent. By his side we erect a fetid call free-will, which is potent enough to defeat all God's good purposes, and to make his absence from his own universe the most conspicuous fact given by observation; and which, at the same time, is by its own nature intrinsically arbitrary in its action. Your Gnosticism tells us that an almighty benevolence is watching over everything, and bringing good out of all evil. Whence, then, comes the evil? By free-will; that is, by chance! It is an exception, an exception which covers, say, half the phenomena, and includes all that puzzle us. Say boldly at once no explanation can be given, and then proceed to denounce Agnosticism. If, again, we take the moral problem, the Pantheist view shows desert as before God to be a contradiction in terms. We are what he has made us; nay, we are but manifestations of himself—how can he complain? Escape from the dilemma by making us independent of God, and God, so far as the observed universe can tell us, becomes systematically unjust. He rewards the good and the bad, and gives equal reward to the free agent and the slave of fate. Where are we to turn for a solution?

Let us turn to revelation; that is the most obvious reply. By all means, though this is to admit that natural reason cannot help us; or, in other words, directly produces more Agnosticism, though indirectly it makes an opening for revelation. There is, indeed, a difficulty here. Pure theism, as we have observed, is in reality as vitally opposed to historical revelation as simple scepticism. The word God is used by the metaphysician and the savage. It may mean anything from "pure Being" down to the most degraded fetish. The "universal consent" is a consent to use the same phrase for antagonistic conceptions, for order and chaos, for absolute unity or utter heterogeneity, for a universe governed by a human will or by a will of which man cannot form the slightest conception. This is of course a difficulty which runs off the Orthodox disputant like water from a duck's back. He appeals to his conscience, and his conscience tells him just what he wants. It reveals a Being just at that point in the scale between the two extremes which is convenient for his purposes. I open, for example, a harmless little treatise by a divine who need not be named. He knows intuitively, so he says, that there is a God who is benevolent and wise, and endowed with personality; that is to say, conceived anthropomorphically enough to be capable of acting upon the universe, and yet so far different from man as to be able to throw a decent veil of mystery over his more questionable actions. Well, I reply, my intuition tells me of no such being. Then, says the divine, I can't prove my statements, but you would recognize their truth if your heart or your intellect were not corrupted; that is, you must be a knave or a fool. This is a kind of argument to which one is perfectly accustomed in theology. I am right, and you are wrong; and I am right because I am good and wise. By all means; and now let us see what your wisdom and goodness can tell us.

The Christian revelation makes statements which, if true, are undoubtedly of the very highest importance. God is angry with man. Unless we believe and repent we shall all be damned. It is impossible, indeed, for its advocates even to say this without instantly contradicting themselves. Their doctrine

frightens them. They explain in various ways that a great many people will be saved without believing, and that eternal damnation is not eternal nor damnation. It is only the vulgar who hold such views, and who, of course, must not be disturbed in them; but they are not for the intelligent. God grants "uncovered mercies"; that is, he sometimes lets a sinner off, though he has not made a legal bargain about it,—an explanation calculated to exalt our conceptions of the Deity! But let us pass over these endless shufflings from the horrible to the meaningless. Christianity tells us in various ways how the wrath of the Creator may be appeased, and his good-will insured. The doctrine is manifestly important to believers; but does it give us a clearer or happier view of the universe? That is what is required for the confusion of Agnostics; and if the mystery were in part solved, or the clouds thinned in the slightest degree, Christianity would triumph by its inherent merits. Let us, then, ask once more, Does Christianity exhibit the Ruler of their universe as benevolent or as just?

If I were to assert that of every ten beings born into this world nine would be damned, that all who refused to believe what they did not hold to be proved, and all who sinned from overwhelming temptation, and all who had not had the good fortune to be the subjects of a miraculous conversion or the recipients of a grace conveyed by a magical charm, would be tortured to all eternity, what would an Orthodox theologian reply? He could not say, "That is false"; I might appeal to the highest authorities for my justification, nor, in fact, could he on his own showing deny the possibility. Hell, he says, exists; he does not know who will be damned, though he does know that all men are by nature corrupt and liable to be damned if not saved by supernatural grace. He might, and probably would, now say, "That is rash. You have no authority for saying how many will be lost and how many saved; you cannot even say what is meant by hell or heaven; you cannot tell how far God may be better than his word, though you may be sure that he won't be worse than his word." And what is all this but to say, We know nothing about it? In other words, to fall back on Agnosticism? The difficulty, as theologians truly say, is not so much that evil is eternal as that evil exists. That is, in substance, a frank admission that, as nobody can explain evil, nobody can explain anything. Your revelation, which was to prove the benevolence of God, has proved only that God's benevolence may be consistent with the eternal and infinite misery of most of his creatures; you escape only by saying that it is also consistent with their not being eternally and infinitely miserable. That is, the revelation reveals nothing.

But the revelation shows God to be just. Now, if the free-will hypothesis be rejected—and it is rejected not only by infidels but by the most consistent theologians,—this question cannot really arise at all. Jonathan Edwards will prove that there cannot be a question of justice as between man and God. The creature has no rights against his Creator. The question of justice merges in the question of benevolence; and Edwards will go on to say that most men are damned, and that the blessed will thank God for their tortures. That is logical, but not consoling. Passing this over, can revelation prove that God is just, assuming that justice is a word applicable to dealings between the potter and the pot?

And here we are sent to the "great argument of Butler." Like some other theological arguments already noticed, that great argument is to many minds—that of James Mill, for example—a direct assault upon Theism, or, in other words, an argument for Agnosticism. Briefly stated, it comes to this: the God of revelation cannot be the God of Nature, said the Deists, because the God of revelation is unjust. The God of revelation, replied Butler, may be the God of Nature, for the God of Nature is unjust. Stripped of its various involutions, that is the sum and substance of this celebrated piece of reasoning. Butler, I must say in passing, deserves high credit for two things: the first is, that he is the only theologian who has ever had the courage to admit that any difficulty existed, when he was struggling most desperately to meet the difficulty; though even Butler could not admit that such a difficulty should affect a man's conduct. Secondly, Butler's argument really rests upon a moral theory, mistaken indeed, in some senses, but possessing a stoical grandeur. To admit, however, that Butler was a noble and a comparatively candid thinker is not to admit that he ever faced the real difficulty. It need not be asked here by what means he evaded it. His position is in any case plain. Christianity tells us, as he thinks, that God damns men for being bad, whether they could help it or not, and that he lets them off, or lets some of them off, for the sufferings of others. He damns the helpless and punishes the innocent. Horrible! exclaims the infidel. Possibly, replies Butler, but Nature is just as bad. All suffering is punishment. It strikes the good as well as the wicked. The father sins and the son suffers. I drink too much and my son has the gout. In another world, we may suppose that the same system will be carried out more thoroughly. God will pardon some sinners because he punished Christ, and he will damn others everlastingly. That is his way. A certain degree of wrong-doing here leads to irremediable suffering, or rather to suffering remediable by death alone. In the next world there is no death; therefore the suffering won't be remediable at all. The world is a scene of probation, destined to fit us for a better life. As a matter of fact, most men make it a discipline of vice instead of a discipline of virtue; and most men, therefore, will presumably be damned. We see the same thing in the waste of seeds and animal life, and may suppose, therefore, that it is part of the general scheme of Providence.

This is the Christian revelation according to Butler. Does it make the world better? Does it not rather add indefinitely to the terror produced by the sight of all its miseries, and justify James Mill for feeling that rather than such a God he would have no God? What escape can be suggested? The obvious one: it is all a mystery; and what is mystery but the theological phrase for Agnosticism? God has spoken and endorsed all our most hideous doubts. He has said, Let there be light, and there is no light,—no light but rather darkness visible, serving only to discover sights of woe.

The believers who desire to soften away the old dogmas—in other words, to take refuge from the unpleasant results of their doctrine with the Agnostics, and to retain the pleasant results with the Gnostics—have a different mode of escape. They know that God is good and just; that evil will somehow disappear, and apparent injustice be somehow redressed. The practical objection to this amiable creed suggests a sad comment upon the whole controversy. We fly to religion to escape from our dark forebodings. But a religion which stifles those forebodings always fails to satisfy us. We long to hear that they are groundless. Directly we are told that they are groundless, we distrust our authority. No poetry lives which reflects only the cheerful emotions. Our sweetest songs are those which tell of saddest thought. We can bring harmony out of melancholy; we cannot banish melancholy from the world. And the religious utterances, which are the highest form of poetry, are bound by the same law. There is a deep sadness in the world. Turn and twist the thought as you may, there is no escape. Optimism would be soothing if it were possible; in fact, it is impossible, and therefore a constant mockery; and of all dogmas that ever were invented, that which has least vitality is the dogma that whatever is, is right.

Let us, however, consider for a moment what is the net result of this pleasant creed. Its philosophical basis may be sought in pure reason or in experience; but, as a rule, its adherents are ready to admit that the pure reason requires the support of the emotions before such a doctrine can be established, and are therefore marked by a certain tinge of mysticism. They feel rather than know. The awe with which they regard the universe, the tender glow of reverence and love with which the bare sight of Nature affects them, is to them the ultimate guarantee of their beliefs. Happy those who feel such emotions! Only when they try to extract definite statements of fact from these impalpable sentiments they should beware how far such statements are apt to come into terrible collision with reality. And, meanwhile, those who have been disabused with Candide, who have felt the weariness and pain of all "this unintelligible world," and have not been able to escape into any mystic rapture, have as much to say for their own version of the facts. Is happiness a dream? or misery? or is it all a dream? Does not our answer vary with our health and with our condition? When, rapt in the security of a happy life, we cannot even conceive that our happiness will fail, we are practical optimists. When some random blow out of the dark crushes the pillars round which our life has been entwined as recklessly as a boy sweeps away a cobweb, when at a single step we plunge through the flimsy crust of happiness into the deep gulfs beneath, we are tempted to turn to pessimism. Who shall decide, and how? Of all questions that can be asked, the most important is surely this: Is the tangled web of this world composed chiefly of happiness or of misery? and of all questions that can be asked, it is surely the most unanswerable. For in no other problem is the difficulty of discarding the illusions arising from our own experience, of eliminating "the personal error" and gaining an outside standing-point, so hopeless.

In any case, the real appeal must be to experience. Ontologists may manufacture libraries of jargon without touching the point. They have never made or suggested the barest possibility of making a bridge from the world of pure reason to the contingent world in which we live. To the thinker who tries to construct the universe out of pure reason, the actual existence of error in our minds and disorder in the outside world presents a difficulty as hopeless as that which the existence of vice and misery presents to the optimist who tries to construct the universe out of pure goodness. To say that misery does not exist is to contradict the primary testimony of consciousness; to argue on *a priori* grounds that misery or happiness predominates is as hopeless a task as to deduce from the principle of the excluded middle the distance from St. Paul's to Westminster Abbey. Questions of fact can only be solved by examining facts. Perhaps such evidence would show, and if a guess were worth anything, I should add that I guess that it would show, that happiness predominates over misery in the composition of the known world. I am, therefore, not prejudiced against the Gnostic's conclusion; but I add that the evidence is just as open to me as to him. The whole world in which we live may be an illusion—a veil to be withdrawn in some higher state of being. But be it what it may, it supplies all the evidence upon which we can rely. If evil predominates here, we have no reason to suppose that good predominates elsewhere. All the ingenuity of theologians can never shake our conviction that facts are what we feel them to be, nor invert the plain inference from facts; and facts are just as open to one school of thought as to another.

What, then, is the net result? One insoluble doubt has haunted men's minds since thought began in the world. No answer has ever been suggested. One school of philosophers hands it to the next. It is denied in one form only to reappear in another. The question is not which system excludes the doubt, but how it expresses the doubt. Admit or deny the competence of reason in theory, we all agree that it

fails in practice. Theologians revile reason as much as Agnostics; they then appeal to it and it decides against them. They amend their plea by excluding certain questions from its jurisdiction, and those questions include the whole difficulty. They go to revelation, and revelation replies by calling doubt mystery. They declare that their consciousness declares just what they want it to declare. Ours declares something else. Who is to decide? The only appeal is to experience, and to appeal to experience is to admit the fundamental dogma of Agnosticism.

Is it not, then, the very height of audacity, in face of a difficulty which meets us at every turn, which has perplexed all the ablest thinkers in proportion to their ability, which vanishes in one shape only to show itself in another, to declare roundly, not only that the difficulty can be solved, but that it does not exist? Why, when no honest man will deny in private that every ultimate problem is wrapped in the profoundest mystery, do honest men proclaim in pulpits that unhesitating certainty is the duty of the most foolish and ignorant? Is it not a spectacle to make the angels laugh? We are a company of ignorant beings, feeling our way through mists and darkness, learning only by incessantly repeated blunders, obtaining a glimmering of truth by falling into every conceivable error, dimly discerning light enough for our daily needs, but hopelessly differing whenever we attempt to describe the ultimate origin or end of our paths; and yet, when one of us ventures to declare that we don't know the map of the universe as well as the map of our infinitesimal parish, he is hooted, reviled, and perhaps told that he will be damned to all eternity for his faithlessness. Amidst all the endless and hopeless controversies which have left nothing but bare husks of meaningless words, we have been able to discover certain reliable truths. They don't take us very far, and the condition of discovering them has been distrust of *a priori* guesses, and the systematic interrogation of experience. Let us, say some of us, follow at least this clue. Here we shall find sufficient guidance for the needs of life, though we renounce forever the attempt to get behind the veil which no one has succeeded in raising,—if, indeed, there be anything behind. You miserable Agnostics! is the retort; throw aside such rubbish, and cling to the old husks. Stick to the words which profess to explain everything; call your doubts mysteries, and they won't disturb you any longer; and believe in those necessary truths of which no two philosophers have ever succeeded in giving the same version.

Gentlemen, we can only reply, Wait till you have some show of agreement amongst yourselves. Wait till you can give some answer, not palpably a verbal answer, to some one of the doubts which oppress us as they oppress you. Wait till you can point to some single truth, however trifling, which has been discovered by your method, and will stand the test of discussion and verification. Wait till you can appeal to reason without in the same breath vilifying reason. Wait till your divine revelations have something more to reveal than the hope that the hideous doubts which they suggest may possibly be without foundation. Till then, we shall be content to admit openly what you whisper under your breath or hide in technical jargon, that the ancient secret is a secret still; that man knows nothing of the Infinite and Absolute; and that, knowing nothing, he had better not be dogmatic about his ignorance. And, meanwhile, we will endeavor to be as charitable as possible, and whilst you trumpet forth officially your contempt for our scepticism, we will at least try to believe that you are imposed upon by your own bluster.

SOLUTION OF A PARADOX.

BY CHARLES K. WHIPPLE.

When examination had assured me that certain assumptions of the "Orthodox" faith which I had received from childhood as true were untrue—and when, on further examination, I found that the treatises confidently quoted as proving the doctrines in question failed to give such proof, and even seemed to give it only by the use of unsound premises or unauthorized conclusions,—I naturally presented those facts to my more intimate brethren of that faith, expecting of course that they would either fairly refute me or agree with me. To my astonishment, they did neither; to my further and greater astonishment, not one of them seemed surprised or disturbed at the proof I presented of the unsoundness of any one of their cherished doctrines, even when the Bible, the rule to which they appealed as inspired and infallible, testified for me and against them. To my utter amazement, continued and repeated trials showed me that these pious people were determined to hold by the Church, with its customs and traditions, even when these were in conflict with the Bible. As one specimen of the many cases under this head, I will mention their doctrine that the Bible requires, and that Christianity includes, the observance of Sunday as a Sabbath.

So clear to my own mind was the proof of the matters thus ignored and set at naught by my pious friends, that I seemed forced to the conclusion that they were indifferent to truth, and willing to disregard and oppose it in maintenance of the doctrines and customs of their sect, or of that group of sects for which they claim the name "evangelical." It was not until long afterwards that I saw my way to a more charitable conclusion, vindicating the hearts of my friends, though inevitably at the expense of their heads.

The key to this more charitable conclusion is to be sons ill who reason with a bad reasoner." Or, as it found in Bacon's *Essays*, where it is said—"He has been more clearly stated by a later writer—"Argument avails nothing against the persuasions which belong to a man's mental condition."

When you present to a Buddhist, or a Mussulman,

or a Roman Catholic of average intelligence, your really good and sound reasons for not accepting the dogmas of his faith, you make not the slightest impression upon him. Will you assume this to be owing to his ignorance? Then consider these further facts:

Among Buddhists, Mussulmans and Roman Catholics are persons of the highest mental culture, quick in the perception of truth, skilled in reasoning, mighty and keen in argument. Archbishop Manning and John H. Newman in England represent the very highest intellectual training. Read *Bishop Blougram's Apology*, as Browning gives it, and see how very much is to be said upon the other side. You may suppose of the fictitious person last named, and of some real persons of that class, that they are selfish and not honest; bent only upon getting what they can and keeping what they get; but it will not do at all to charge the whole class with dishonesty. And yet, if you give to any one of this class your good and sound reasons for dissenting from his theological position, the result will be the same; you will make not the slightest impression on him. Must we necessarily think, then, that he is indifferent to truth, or regardless of it? No! there is a juster and better explanation.

The well-educated Roman Catholic is quite competent to appreciate the force of reasoning, and also to decide by the preponderance of reason, in any department in which he understands reason to be appropriately a judge, and so to have the right of decision. But his religion is not in that category. His religion, from the beginning, was accepted, not on grounds of reason, but of authority. He must believe (or, at the very least, accept without question) whatever "the Church" decides for him in that department, on penalty of losing his soul; of sacrificing, hopelessly, his eternal welfare. To raise the question how the latter of these depends upon the former—to inquire, with earnestness however serious, how perdition can be divinely appointed as the necessary consequence of disbelief in dogmas having neither reason nor evidence to back them,—this, "the Church" assures him, is one of the greatest of sins. He must believe, or must perish. When "the Church" which thus teaches represents a preponderance of the weight, influence, power, wealth and respectability of the community, very few will be found to stand out against her. The unquestioning acceptance which she requires will be given by a great majority of the population; and to that majority the name "heretic" will come to signify something worse than thief or drunkard, while the demand of reason or evidence for any of the Church's dogmas will be set down as decided proof of heresy.

The habit thus formed under the guidance of "the Church," of accepting religion as something out of the sphere of reason, something quite apart from reason and independent of it, shows me how Roman Catholics can honestly hold a faith utterly destitute of reason and evidence. But do not the great majority of Protestants hold their faith on precisely the same footing? I mean the same in kind, authority instead of reason or evidence.

When a young man, living under the teaching called "evangelical," becomes "pious" (either in or out of the excitement of a "revival"), he is told, and believes, that it is his duty to join the Church. He accordingly joins that one of the four or five sects self-styled "evangelical" to which his associations or connections most naturally tend, and thenceforward he looks to the leaders and teachers of that sect for spiritual guidance. To his mind they represent wisdom in spiritual things, as well as piety and goodness; and so, unless he has an exceptional amount of youthful presumption, he at once accepts their customs and usages as settling whatever to his inexperience seems doubtful or questionable. If, however, he is disposed to question and argue, and maintain an opinion of his own, the right is freely accorded him. He is even encouraged to refer any doubtful matter to the decision of Scripture, and to judge for himself what the words of Scripture mean; so that, contrasting his position with that of the Roman Catholic layman, he feels a comfortable sense of spiritual freedom. The barriers which surround him are so elastic that he seems to himself able to move freely in any direction. It is only after repeated and persistent trial that he finds these barriers as effective as if they were unyielding. If, in any one of many existing cases, the young convert has ventured to point out that the custom and usage of the Church violates that Scripture rule which she herself declares to be inspired, infallible, and obligatory, he finds his dissent met by a steady and cumulative opposition. The pastor thinks differently respecting the matter in question, and courteously refers the doubter (still allowing him entire freedom of opinion) to the approved commentators belonging to the sect. If to the doubter these commentators seem to explain away or to pervert the scriptural meaning, and if he ventures (a rarely exceptional case) to express his dissent in a church-meeting, he finds the deacons, the prominent brethren, and "the weight of the meeting" against him; and finds moreover that such scrutiny of the accepted usages of the sect is looked upon as dangerous and suspicious, as well as concealed, by the great majority of his new associates. The pressure is strong upon him to fall back upon this position: after all, he is young, fallible, inexperienced in spiritual things; modesty and humility are certainly among his duties; the people who differ with him in this matter are certainly good and wise, and are certainly representatives not only of the Church of Christ, but of the purest form of the Christian faith; ought he to stand out against the united judgment of elder, wiser, and better men than himself? and would not the introduction of discord into the Church be a worse evil than that which he had originally undertaken to combat?

In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, thoughts

and feelings like these suffice to restrain a new member from controversy with the fathers and brethren of his Church; and after a short period of acquiescence in its customs and usages (that is to say, its traditions), these will practically control and regulate his conduct not less than tradition, openly claimed as authoritative, in the Roman Catholic Church rules the lives of its members. Habit misleads and perverts as often in churchliness as in worldliness.

But if the weight of church-tradition has this power to keep down dissent among the brethren, still more effective is it in the conservative direction, when doubt or criticism is suggested by one of "them that are without." Against such an one the church-member, young or old, is always on his guard. How (he thinks) is an unregenerate person competent to explain or to criticize the Bible? Spiritual things must be spiritually discerned; how should a "worldly" man undertake to discuss them? The converted is, by his position, spiritual; the unconverted is, as a matter of course, carnal. The appeal to reason, where faith is in question, shows that the speaker does not understand religion, and is incompetent to talk about it. The worldly man may have worldly knowledge and skill enough to silence the regenerate person, but he does not convince him.

The influence here described leads the Orthodox church-member to ignore and disregard fact not less than reason. He reads the Bible after a mechanical and formal fashion, because, a supposed duty requiring him to read it daily, he takes it up when the customary hour has come, instead of at the times when he feels like reading it, or when he seeks some definite information from it. An approved "commentary" is of course suggested to him by his pastor or some pious friend; and in this he finds a vindication, more or less plausible, but bearing an aspect of authority, through the presumed wisdom and piety of its author, of each of the many cases where the Church has chosen to disregard the teachings of its "Lord and Master," and to pervert or explain away the statements of that book which it accepts as inspired and infallible, the authoritative and sufficient rule of life.

The ignorance of pious people generally respecting the contents and purport of this so much venerated book seems amazing to the intelligent student of it, until he looks at the causes of this ignorance and the mode of its perpetuation. Let me first give some specifications of the ignorance in question.

Among the "Demands of Liberalism," generally considered by Orthodox Christians as an attempt to graft "infidelity" upon our national government, are the three following, namely:—

Discontinuance of the employment of chaplains in Congress and State Legislatures:

Discontinuance of the judicial oath in the courts and all other departments of the government, and the establishment, in its stead, of simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury:

Repeal of all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath.

These three points are demands of Christianity not less than of Liberalism, if the precepts of Jesus and his apostles are Christianity, or a constituent part of it. Chaplains in Congress and the Legislatures are appointed for the express purpose of making public prayers, a practice opposed both by the precept and example of Jesus. No language could be more distinct or emphatic than that in which Jesus and the apostle James forbid the taking of oaths. And the claim of sabbatical observance as a part of Christianity was resisted in the strongest terms by Paul in his epistles, following the lead of Jesus, whose language and conduct caused him to be stigmatized by pious Jews as a Sabbath-breaker.

Nevertheless, not one Orthodox church-member in a hundred knows that his New Testament contains these three things, or that these are constituent parts of the doctrine taught by Jesus. They know not that they are opposing, as infidel ideas, the reforms specially insisted on by him whom they call Master and Lord.

When pious people insist on the inspiration and infallible correctness of the Old Testament, and call the Hebrew decalogue "the moral law," as if it were permanent and universal in obligation, they are blissfully ignorant that Jesus took a stand independent of that whole system, criticizing its contents and its authors, pointing out some of its precepts as insufficient and others as erroneous.

When they read and sing Dr. Watts' "Psalms of David," filled with allusions to Christ, to Jesus, to the cross, to the Christian Church, and to various other incidents and phrases of New Testament history, not one in a hundred of them recognizes the fact that all this is utter misrepresentation, both of the language and meaning of David, and that not one of these matters is ever alluded to in his book of Psalms.

When they talk triumphantly of a fulfillment of "the Messianic prophecies" in Jesus of Nazareth, they show themselves ignorant, not only that Jesus did not fulfil those prophecies—not only that there is no reason to suppose that any one of them was ever spoken of Jesus—not only that they have never been fulfilled at all,—but that, if they had been fulfilled, what is now called Christianity would have had no existence; since those prophecies assumed a permanent continuance of Judaism in its native land, with its king sitting on the throne of David and ruling by the sword, as David did, with a permanent continuance of its Temple, and its priestly, levitical, and sacrificial system. The Messianic prophecies assumed not only the continuance of Judaism, but its predominance, the subjugation of all nations to its king, the extinguishment of all other religions before its faith, which included the daily sacrifice in the Temple on Mount Zion, and an observance among all nations of the day of the new moon and of the Saturday-Sabbath.

These are a few specimens among many of the

ignorance of Orthodox church-members of the contents and purport of that very Bible whose infallibility, both in doctrine and fact, is one of their most cherished assumptions. Familiar with much of its language, they are ludicrously unconscious of the meaning of its most important portions. They quote the fourth commandment of the code they eulogize as "the moral law," without the slightest suspicion that it proves them to be Sabbath-breakers. They quote the saying of Jesus, "The Sabbath was made for man," without suspecting for a moment that it is a confutation of sabbatarians of their own sort, and a protest against the kind of sabbatism which their church enjoins as a duty. They read that other saying of Jesus, "My Father worketh hitherto," without understanding that it flatly contradicts the notions of the writer of Genesis that God "rested," and of the writer of Exodus that he "rested and was refreshed." They point to the genealogies in Matthew and Luke as proving Jesus a son of David, quite unaware that they prove no such thing unless he was also the son of Joseph.

The explanation of this blindness is not difficult. Just as everything looks green to him who wears green spectacles, just so the man of average mind will of course adopt the views in religion or philosophy taught him from childhood by really respected and venerated teachers. Temptation will no doubt swerve him more or less from the practice they enjoin, but their theory still holds dominion over him, not only by possession and habit, but because he has never undertaken independent examination of the matter. Thus he will, more or less, think his own thoughts and do his own pleasure on the church's Sunday-Sabbath; but it never enters his mind to question that Sunday is scripturally and rightfully the Sabbath. He would find it a bore to read the elaborate disproof of this notion, on scriptural grounds, in the *Essays* of Archbishop Whateley, or the *Bampton Lectures* of Rev. Dr. Hessey; yet, although individually he takes whatever risk there may be in riding, rowing, swimming, or sailing on Sunday, he will sign the petition for closing the Centennial buildings and grounds on that day; and will refuse to sign the counter petition for opening them. The superstition which was fastened upon his unconscionable childhood, and which he has ever since heard assumed as certainly true, in the pulpit and by all the pious people of his acquaintance, still sticks in his mind, and influences more or less of his life; and, though his practice contradicts his theory in some particulars, he is really more honest in the latter than in the former. His mind has become habituated, through assiduous early training, to receive superstition as religious truth, and to look at evidence (when he looks at it at all) through the spectacles of superstition.

In the epistle to the Ephesians, that church is enjoined to put on the whole armor of God, but "above all" to take the shield of faith. No doubt it is by using this "shield of faith" that the new convert, now as well as in ancient times, is able to shelter himself from all questionings, all reasonings, all reasons, and all facts. By holding up the shield firmly between himself and such truth or justice as there may be on the other side, he remains insensible to the force of the latter, and does not even know when he is conquered. To himself, his pastor, and his church-brethren it will even appear that he has gained the victory, and they will thence infer the efficacy of faith, and the soundness of the scriptural direction.

But, unfortunately, the faith here exercised is trust not in God, but in the Church; not even in the book claimed by the Church as "God's word," but in that version of, or variation from, it which the Church's traditions and usages have authorized. The "faith" thus held up as a shield against reason by the young Protestant is precisely the same, both in kind and degree, with that exercised by the Roman Catholic, the Moslem, and the Buddhist. Each of these shields himself against reason by dogged persistence in looking at and holding to that which he has been taught, irrespective of reason. Ignorantly assuming and ignorantly believing that truth is, of course, with their sect, and so against its opponents, they really and sincerely think those opponents defeated when they have kept their own eyes and ears thoroughly closed against all presentation of fact and reason. It was trust in this method of operation which caused an ingenious revivalist to counsel the "Young Men's Christian Associations," in one of their annual conventions—"Talk kindly [to doubters and opponents], but avoid argument."

No doubt, in the avoidance of argument lies their only safety; but my point here is, that with the majority, not merely of such people as Moody and his employers draw into their net, but of the members, old and young, of the churches calling themselves "evangelical," the stupidity above described is honest stupidity. They don't know any better. Assuming the usages of their church to be their safest rule of life, they satisfy themselves, as the Roman Catholics do, with the ease and comfort of living under such guardianship. It certainly is easier and more comfortable to agree with the established respectabilities around you than to maintain, in free discussion, an indefensible position. To "take up the cross and follow Jesus" was a hard thing, no doubt, to the first disciples of the despised and rejected teacher; but, when church usage has decided that the stand in question may now be taken by rising in an assembly of pious or "inquiring" people to say—"I am not ashamed of Jesus," getting thereby, moreover, fraternal greeting and approval from the best portion of the community, young and old, the cross is, perhaps, not quite so heavy, especially when this position enables you to dispense with argument, and to patronize an antagonist with "kind" talk instead of replying to him.

However we may deplore the abnegation, by so large and so worthy a portion of our population, of

the divinely appointed guide, reason, there seems no immediate remedy for this evil. Only the slow process of general enlightenment will help those who dread new knowledge, and prefer to keep their eyes closed. But (praise the Lord!) this process of general enlightenment is going on far more rapidly than ever before. Not only does the earth move; its people, even its common people, are moving.

DEFEAT OF THE SCHOOL AMENDMENT IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE.

WASHINGTON, Thursday, Aug. 10.

The Senate Judiciary Committee have agreed upon and reported the following as a substitute for the House joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution concerning religion and common schools:—

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as a part of the said Constitution, namely:

ARTICLE XVI.

SEC. 1. No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, and no religious test shall be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under any State. No public property, and no public revenue of, nor any loan of credit by or under the authority of, the United States, or any State, Territory, district, or municipal corporation, shall be appropriated to, or made or used for, the support of any school, educational or other institution under the control of any religious or anti-religious sect, organization, or denomination, or wherein the particular creed or tenets shall be read or taught in any school or institution supported in whole, or in part, by such revenue or loan of credit, and no such appropriation or loan of credit shall be made to any religious or anti-religious sect, organization, or denomination, or to promote its interests or tenets. This article shall not be construed to prohibit the reading of the Bible in any school or institution, and it shall not have the effect to impair the rights of property already vested.

SEC. 2. Congress shall have power by appropriate legislation to provide for the prevention and punishment of violations of this article.

WASHINGTON, Friday, Aug. 11.

Mr. Edmunds called for the regular order of business, and the Senate resumed the consideration of the proposed constitutional amendment in regard to a division of the school fund. The amendment, as passed by the House of Representatives, provided that no State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; and no money raised by taxation in any State, for the support of public schools, or derived from any public fund therefor, nor any public lands devoted thereto, shall ever be under the control of any religious sect or denomination. Nor shall any money so raised, or lands so devoted, be divided between religious sects or denominations. This article shall not vest, enlarge or diminish legislative power in Congress.

The Senate Committee on the Judiciary reported an amendment to strike out the House proposition, and insert in lieu thereof as follows:—

[See above.]

Mr. Randolph (Dem., N. J.) favored the adoption of the amendment as it came from the House of Representatives, and argued that it had been indorsed by the press and the people everywhere, and, if adopted, would silence forever a dangerous question. The amendment proposed by the Judiciary Committee opened grave questions; and it seemed to him, instead of disposing of the vexed question, it would only arouse a new and unnecessary element of discord. He had no doubt as to the righteousness of the amendment proposed by the House, and would support that. There had grown to be zeal without judgment in regard to popular education, which challenged the attention of Congress, and he thought it time to stop and inquire what valuable lessons are taught by example. What would be said in the future of the Congress which passed such an amendment as this, and the same year defaulted in the payment of the public indebtedness? As a Protestant he desired to enter his protest against this amendment, which was a flat contradiction of itself, as it provided that no particular creed or tenets should be taught in any school, and then declared that it should not be construed to prevent the reading of the Bible in any school or institution. Had the Bible become a non-religious book?

The question being on the amendment of the Judiciary Committee, it was agreed to—yeas 27, nays 15 as follows—[Republicans in Roman, Democrats in Italics, Independents in small capitals]:—

YEAS.			
Albee,	Conkling,	Howe,	Paddock,
Anthony,	Cragin,	Inglis,	Patterson,
Booth,	Edmunds,	Logan,	Sargent,
Boutwell,	Ferry,	McMillan,	Spencer,
Burnside,	Frelinghuysen,	Mitchell,	Wadleigh,
Cameron (Wis.),	Harvey,	Morrill,	West—27.
Christianscy,	Hitchcock,	Oglesby,	
NAYS.			
Bogy,	Eaton,	Key,	Randolph,
Cockrell,	Gordon,	McCreery,	Ransom,
Cooper,	Kelly,	Macey,	Steensons—15.
Davis,	Kernan,	Norwood,	

Messrs. Clayton, Wright, Morton, Robertson, Cameron, of Pennsylvania, Sherman, and Windom, who would have voted in the affirmative, were paired with Messrs. Merrimon, Dennis, McDonald, Wallace, Saulsbury, Thurman, and Bayard, who would have voted in the negative. The question then being on ordering the joint resolution, as amended, to a third reading, it was agreed to by a vote of 27 yeas to 15 nays.

Mr. Edmunds then moved that the third reading of the joint resolution take place to-morrow at one o'clock, and said he was frank to say that he made the motion on account of the Senate not being full, and he feared to-night it might be lost on account of not having the necessary two-thirds vote. After a long discussion it was ordered that the joint resolution be read a third time at one o'clock to-morrow.

Mr. Conkling announced that he might not be able to be in the Senate at that hour to-morrow, and, to make the pair even, the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. Boutwell) had joined him in pairing with the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. McCreery) on the joint resolution; that Senator would vote against the resolution, while Mr. Boutwell and himself would vote for it.

WASHINGTON, Saturday, Aug. 12.

At one o'clock the joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, prohibiting appropriations for sectarian schools, was read a third time, in accordance with the order of the Senate of last evening. The presiding officer then announced that it would take its place on the calendar, the order of the Senate directing its third reading having been executed.

The question now is, Shall the joint resolution pass? A two-thirds vote will be necessary to pass it.

WASHINGTON, Monday, Aug. 14.

Mr. Edmunds moved to take up the proposed constitutional amendment prohibiting the appropriation of money for the support of sectarian schools. Agreed to—yeas 25, nays 13.

The question being on the passage of the proposed amendment, Mr. Frelinghuysen (Rep., N. J.) reviewed the provisions thereof, and argued that it was manifest that the people of this country called for an amendment to the Constitution covering the principles involved in this. There was no room for two opinions on the questions that religion and conscience should be free, and the people should not be taxed for the support of sectarian schools. These fundamental rights should be secured by the Constitution. Unfortunately, the amendment passed by the House was defective, and there were omissions in it. Should it be passed by the Senate in that shape, it would be null and void. He thought the House of Representatives should be gratified that the defects had been discovered, and should be willing to concur in the amendment proposed by the Senate at once. He denied that the proposed amendment would prevent religious instruction in prisons and reformatory institutions, and, referring to the reading of the Bible in public schools, said the Constitution of the United States should never treat that book with disrespect. He denied that anybody wanted the Bible excluded from the schools. It was said there were different translations of the Bible. That was true; but the excellence of this amendment was that it did not prohibit the reading of any of them. There was nothing in it which provided that the Douay or King James Bibles should be excluded.

Evening Session.

Mr. Edmunds moved to take up the House joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, prohibiting the appropriation of money for the support of sectarian schools.

Mr. Kernan, of New York, said the proposed amendment, which passed the House of Representatives after having been introduced by a gentleman of prominence (Mr. Blaine), met the approval of the people of the country, and in his opinion it was the proper measure to pass. To that he had no objection, but with his views of what was right, either for the Federal government or for the people of the respective States, he could not vote for the substitute proposed by the Senate Committee on the Judiciary. Congress had the power only over those matters where there was a general interest, and where the people of the States could not act for themselves. This was a violation of that very principle.

Mr. Morton asked if the amendment as passed by the House did not violate that principle?

Mr. Kernan said that it did to a certain extent. He believed that the mode of educating children might wisely be left to the people of each State. It was a home right. In his judgment this substitute proposed by the Judiciary Committee instead of allaying strife and dissension would aggravate it and transfer it to the political arena. While the American Congress could vote away any amount of public lands to corporations for railroad jobs, it could not under this amendment give Bishop Whipple, of Minnesota, who had done so much to civilize the Indians, a little piece of land to build his church or school-house upon. He argued that the substitute of the Judiciary Committee, if adopted, would prevent any religious teachings in prisons or hospitals. In his own city there were two large orphan asylums which had been going on side by side in harmony for years. One was under the control of Protestant ladies, and the other under the Sisters of Charity. There was no jealousy between them. Under this proposed amendment the country could not make provision for the care of any pauper orphans there, although, all admitted, it was much better to put them into one of those institutions than to let them grow up in vice and finally go to prison. This amendment was not wise. It was not in accordance with the spirit of Christian charity which should exist in every creed.

Mr. Whyte, of Maryland, said, Protestant as he was, and having sprung from ancestors who belonged to the strictest sect of Irish Presbyterians, with all their teachings, he failed not to remember that he was born in a State settled by the Roman Catholics, and on whose soil the banner of religious liberty was first planted on the American continent by them. The Catholics of Maryland, pledged by Carroll of Carrollton, risked their lives, their liberty, and their property in the struggle for American liberty. Should he vote for this amendment, he would be faithless to his State. It seems to me, to use plain words, merely an accusation against a large body of our fellow-citizens of not being as loyal to republican liberty as we proclaim ourselves to be.

Mr. Edmunds said there was no present danger of that kind, but he would like to know if the Senator

(Mr. Whyte) had read the syllabus promulgated by the Holy Pontiff in 1864 on this very subject of schools.

Mr. Whyte said 1864 was not 1876 by a good deal. A good many people said and did things in 1864 which they would not do now.

Mr. Edmunds asked if the Senator meant to say the syllabus had been changed.

Mr. Whyte replied in the affirmative, and asked if the Senator from Vermont had read the recent letter of Archbishop Purcell on the subject.

Mr. Edmunds—Archbishop Purcell is not the Pope.

Mr. Whyte—Archbishop Purcell would not speak in opposition to the will of the Pope, any more than some gentlemen would speak in opposition to the will of the Republican Party.

Mr. Christianscy, of Michigan, spoke of the House amendment, and argued that it was defective. He favored the substitute reported by the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, and said he could see no reason why it should not be supported in preference to the House proposition.

Mr. Morton, of Indiana, also spoke of the proposition of the House of Representatives as being defective, though he presumed it was imperfect by inadvertence. If agreed upon it would amount to very little. It simply protects a State from diverting a part of the fund set apart for public schools to the support of sectarian schools. But it did not prevent the State from levying a special tax for that purpose. If it was proper to prevent the State from diverting the fund raised for public schools, was it not proper to prevent the State from levying special taxes for the support of sectarian schools? He then referred to the argument of Mr. Kernan, and asked if there had not been abuses in that State. Had not large amounts of money been given to sectarian schools out of the public Treasury of the State?

Mr. Kernan replied that money had been given to hospitals and orphan asylums, but in his judgment there had never been any abuses.

Mr. Morton (resuming) argued that if a State should be allowed to establish denominational schools the perpetuity of the nation would be endangered. For a State to support Catholic schools would be the same as the State supporting the Catholic Church, or the support of Protestant schools would be the same as supporting the Protestant Church. There could not be perfect equality and perfect liberty except upon the principle that religion should not be maintained at the public expense. In reply to the argument of Mr. Whyte, he said that the Catholics of Maryland would not be interfered with by the passage of this amendment. They would be left as free as the Protestants, and the spirit of religious toleration would not be violated there. This matter had been in the minds of the people of this country for years, but in the last fifteen years circumstances showing that there was danger had transpired, and the people now demanded that it be made a part of the fundamental law of the land.

Mr. Eaton said the Senator [Mr. Morton] spoke of a circumstance having transpired which showed danger. Would he be kind enough to mention in what that danger consisted?

Mr. Morton said the Senator could not deny that there was a large body of people in this country who believed the public schools were infidel and wicked. Those people were not in favor of any schools where their religion was not taught.

Mr. Edmunds reviewed the House proposition, and argued that the logic of it was that only special money raised for a special purpose should not be diverted from the purpose for which it was raised.

Mr. Stevenson, of Kentucky, said, as a member of the Committee on the Judiciary, he did not concur in this proposed Constitutional amendment.

The Senate at one o'clock voted on the proposed constitutional amendment, and it was rejected—yeas 28, nays 16, not two-thirds voting in the affirmative. It was defeated by a strict party vote.

AT A RECENT prayer-meeting in Louisiana the following unique explanation was given by the colored preacher as to the origin of the white race: "When Cain killed his brudder Abel, the Lord, missing him, axed Cain: 'Whar's your brudder Abel?' Cain answered: 'I don't know, massa. I didn't seed him.' Then the Lord hunted around the corn-field, and by and by he come back and looked ober de fence, and again axed him: 'Whar's your brudder Abel, you grand-rascal nigger, you?' Then Cain he git skeered, and if it hadn't been for that nigger turning so white we nebber would have been troubled with this sassy set of white trash."—*Independent*.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING AUGUST 19.

E. Schler, \$3.20; C. Wellington, \$3.20; L. Prang, \$3.20; F. Clement, 35 cents; Kirk Himrod, \$1; P. S. Crowell, \$3.20; C. H. Preston, \$5; C. W. Fillmore, \$3.20; C. M. Denison, \$3.50; Mrs. E. J. Harker, \$5; David Branson, \$6; H. T. Marshall, \$3.20; G. F. Lapham, \$5; W. C. Fuller, \$3.20; D. M. Dickinson, \$3.20; John Scott, \$3.20; N. M. Mann, \$5; A. Aborne, \$4.50; Chas. S. Hamilton, \$9; H. H. Hatch, \$3.20; O. N. Bancroft, 80 cents; F. N. Williams, 75 cents; E. F. Robeson, \$3.20; H. H. Everts, \$1.50; Geo. Allen, \$2; H. S. Glover, \$3; G. D. Henck, 80 cents; C. A. Gurley, \$3.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are not on hand will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, AUGUST 24, 1876.

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tributors.

THE DEFEATED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

Senator Stewart, of Nevada, on December 19, 1871, introduced a resolution in the United States Senate containing the following language:—

Neither the United States nor any State, Territory, county, or municipal corporation shall aid in the support of any school wherein the peculiar tenets of any religious denomination are taught.

Hon. J. G. Blaine, of Maine, on December 13, 1875, proposed in the House of Representatives an amendment to the Constitution couched in these terms:—

No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; and no money raised by taxation in any State for the support of public schools, or derived from any public fund therefor, nor any public lands devoted thereto, shall ever be under the control of any religious sect; and no money so raised or lands so devoted shall be divided among religious sects or denominations.

The Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, to whom Mr. Blaine's amendment had been referred, after voting on June 2 not to report at this session, reported the following on August 6, being Mr. Blaine's proposition with an amendment:—

No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; and no money raised by taxation in any State for the support of public schools, or derived from any public fund therefor, nor any public lands devoted thereto, shall ever be under the control of any religious sect or denomination; nor shall any money so raised or lands so devoted be divided between religious sects or denominations. This article shall not vest, enlarge, or diminish legislative power in the Congress.

This amendment passed the House by a vote of 166 to 5,—the concluding clause being evidently intended to deprive it of all practical effect and convert it into a meaningless piece of buncombe.

The Senate, however, took up the matter more in earnest.

The full text of the three substitutes there offered is given as follows in a general press dispatch dated Washington, August 7:—

WASHINGTON, Aug. 7.—The substitute offered by Mr. Sargent to-day for the non-sectarian school amendment to the Constitution is as follows:—

SECTION 1. There shall be maintained in each State and Territory a system of free common schools, but neither the United States nor any State or Territory, county or municipal corporation, shall aid in support of any school wherein the peculiar tenets of any religious denomination are taught.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Senator Frelinghuysen's substitute is in the following terms:—

No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. No public property and no money raised by taxation in any State, Territory, or district, or derived from public lands or other public source, shall be appropriated to any school, educational or other institution, that is under the control of any religious sect or denomination; and no such appropriation shall be made to any religious sect or denomination, or to promote its interests; nor shall any public money, land, or property be divided between religious sects or denominations.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this article.

The substitute proposed by Senator Christianity is as follows:—

No State shall make any law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; nor shall Congress nor any State raise by taxation, donate, or appropriate any money or property for the support of any church or religious society, nor for the support or in aid of any theological school or seminary, or of any school or seminary teaching the peculiar religious doctrines, or subject in any respect to the control or influence, of any church, religious society, sect, or denomination; and no special or

denominational system of religion or religious belief shall, in any State or Territory, or in the District of Columbia, constitute any part of the course of study or instruction in any school or institution of learning supported wholly or in part by taxation, or by donation of any money or property by any State or by the United States.

All these substitutes, together with the House resolution, were referred to the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, which on August 10 reported back the following form of amendment to the Constitution as a substitute for them all:—

Resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), that the following article be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as a part of the said Constitution, namely:—

Article 16. No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, and no religious test shall be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under any State. No public property and no public revenue, nor any loan of credit by or under the authority of the United States, or any State, Territory, district, or municipal corporation, shall be appropriated to or made or used for the support of any school, educational or other institution, under the control of any religious or anti-religious sect, organization, or denomination, or wherein the particular creeds or tenets shall be read or taught, in any school or institution supported in whole or in part by such revenue or loan of credit, and no such appropriation or loan of credit shall be made to any religious or anti-religious sect, organization, or denomination, or to promote its interests or tenets. This article shall not be construed to prohibit the reading of the Bible in any school or institution, and it shall not have the effect to impair the rights of property already vested.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have power by appropriate legislation to provide for the prevention and punishment of violations of this article.

At the evening session of the Senate on August 11, the above report of the Judiciary Committee was accepted as an amendment to the House resolution by a vote of 27 to 15—the Republicans all voting *yea*, and the Democrats all voting *nay*. The resolution thus amended was then ordered to a third reading at one o'clock on the next day by the same vote of 27 to 15—a vote which was published in some of the daily papers as the "adoption" of the amendment itself, and which was thus made the cause of misapprehension in last week's "Current Events." At the appointed hour, August 12, the amendment was read for the third time, and placed on the calendar to take its turn. It was reached on Monday, August 14, when Senator Edmunds moved to take it up. After an animated debate, the final vote was taken very late at the evening session of that day, and the amendment was rejected by a vote of 28 to 16, a two-thirds vote being necessary on its final passage. It was defeated by a "strict party vote."

Such a record of this debate in the Senate as we have been able to glean from the meagre accounts of it in the *New York Times*, *Tribune*, and *Sun*, will be found elsewhere in this issue; and we commend to the specially careful attention of our readers the remarks of Senators Randolph, Frelinghuysen, Kernan, and Morton.

Mr. Randolph, who (as we are privately informed) is a stiff Presbyterian, was keen enough to discern the "flat contradiction" between the first and last parts of the amendment; he saw clearly that the Bible is a "sectarian" book, and evidently supposed that sectarianism is an essential and proper constituent of "religion." Hence he protested against the amendment because the prohibition of sectarianism in the schools is really a prohibition of Bible-reading there, and because he wants neither to be prohibited. In this he is far more clear-sighted than those liberals who fancy that the State can prohibit sectarianism in the schools without also prohibiting Bible-reading in them; and we hope that no liberal will be above learning a useful lesson from an intelligent Orthodox opponent.

Mr. Frelinghuysen was actually so ignorant of public opinion as to be able to "deny that anybody wanted the Bible excluded from the schools"! There is something humiliating in the mere possibility of such a statement in the United States Senate. Thousands and thousands of our best citizens hold the opinion of which the enlightened Senator from New Jersey had never heard. What have they been about?

Mr. Kernan, a Catholic, was greatly grieved because this amendment would prevent Congress from giving to Protestant Bishop Whipple "a little piece of land to build his church or school-house upon." And this is the Catholic gentleman who has been lauded as a staunch friend to State Secularization!

Mr. Whyte, a Presbyterian and a Democrat,

thought it very unjust to insinuate that the Pope still stands by his own *Syllabus*, or that Archbishop Purcell can possibly have a mind of his own! He evidently believes that the Catholic Church is the grandmother of religious liberty in the United States.

Mr. Morton made an excellent statement of the secular principle: "For a State to support Catholic schools would be the same as the State supporting the Catholic Church, or the support of Protestant schools would be the same as supporting the Protestant Church. There could not be perfect equality and perfect liberty except upon the principle that religion should not be maintained at the public expense." Yet he could not perceive that the Constitutional amendment for which he voted would have the inevitable tendency to keep all the public schools of the country "Protestant" schools to the end of time.

Look now at the amendment itself. It contains, as Senator Randolph declared, a "flat contradiction." Its first section prohibits the support of sectarianism at the public expense, and then proceeds to prohibit this very prohibition! Bible-reading in the public schools is itself sectarianism supported at the public expense; yet this shall not be prohibited! What must be thought of the intelligence of the United States Senate, when almost two-thirds of its members can vote for such a self-contradictory measure as this?

The first part of the first section is very good, so far as it goes—though it does not by any means go far enough to secure the total separation of Church and State. But the last portion of it is contrived with a Machiavellian ingenuity to introduce into the United States Constitution, unsuspected, the very essence, pith, and fundamental principle of the Christian Amendment—an ingenuity so extraordinary that nobody as yet seems to comprehend the real meaning or bearing of the measure we have so narrowly escaped. The origin of that concluding clause of the first section—its evil purpose being cloaked with such preternatural cunning and plausibility—could not have been in the Judiciary Committee: the toad at Eve's ear in Paradise was no more Satan in disguise than was the Christian Amendment emissary who evidently suggested to some member of that Committee the insertion of this seemingly harmless clause. The moment we saw in the papers the Senate's substitute for the House resolution, there flashed across our mind what several persons had told us at the Centennial Congress of Liberals in Philadelphia,—namely, that at the convention of the National Reform Association, then just concluded, they had heard one of the speakers declare in substance: "We dare not tell you publicly what we are doing, but it is of vast consequence to our cause." The defeated Senate amendment would at least perfectly explain that declaration.

Supposing that this amendment had not been defeated, what would have been its practical effect?

1. To make it impossible henceforth either to secularize the public schools or to tax church property in any degree; it would practically prevent the total separation of Church and State.

2. To introduce into the Constitution of the United States a direct mention and reverential recognition of the Bible, and, by implication, a reverential recognition of the Christian God and Christ of whom the Bible treats; and thus to destroy that absolutely secular character of the Constitution which has been its chief glory and the great bulwark of all our religious liberty. This great victory once gained, the Christianizers of the Constitution would have stormed the citadel of religious freedom, and would not be slow to carry all its outworks.

3. To class the present practice of exempting church property from all taxation among the "rights of property already vested" (for this discreetly artful phrase was intended to include all church property and would be construed by the courts to include it in this connection); and thus to saddle the nation forever with a burden that is becoming more onerous every year.

4. To recognize, by natural and necessary implication, an inherent right in the Bible to be read in the public schools, rendering it sacred from exclusion even by public authority, and thereby treating it utterly unlike all other books—an inherent right which can only be conceded to the Bible on the admission of its supernatural origin—an inherent right which could not exist or be conceded at all except as the DIVINE AUTHORITY OF THE WORD OF GOD. This right of the Bible to be read in the public schools is implicitly but unmistakably recognized by the Senate amendment, just as much as the "rights

of property already vested" in the coordinate clause: the two are treated by it as preëxisting rights, superior to the Constitution itself. In other words, this amendment, recognizing covertly and by indirection, yet really and efficiently, the DIVINE AUTHORITY OF THE BIBLE, carries in itself the very worst virus of the Christian Amendment, and, if it had been adopted, would have ended by poisoning the entire national life. No words of ours could paint the magnitude of the disaster which the nation has so narrowly escaped, and which it could only have discovered when remedy had become well-nigh impossible. Never did we experience a greater sense of relief than when the first announcement that this misbegotten amendment was "adopted" was changed to the announcement that it was "rejected."

Escaped, did we say? Alas, let us not be too sure of that! Here was the Christian Amendment itself, in all its essential injustice and malignity, however artfully veiled; and it commanded the votes of nearly two-thirds of the United States Senate! Will any man after this be so idiotic as to despise the Christian Amendment movement or underrate its craftily hidden power? It has *proved* its power; it has almost succeeded; it will renew its accursed attempt. Next winter a religious Constitutional amendment of some sort will inevitably be sent out by Congress to the State Legislatures; shall it be the Christian Amendment, or the Religious Freedom Amendment? Liberty has a respite only; if you, liberals, slumber on in sluggishness this summer and autumn, you will find a worse yoke than that just escaped fastened hopelessly on the nation's neck,—aye, and on yours! There are a few months now before us in which we can make an effort to teach this half-instructed people wherein the safeguard of religious liberty consists, and how to protect it from its cunning and murderous foes; shall we hesitate? Unless we can forthwith make plain to our countrymen the real nature, force, justice, benevolence, and beauty of the secular principle, as set forth on the first page of THE INDEX, we shall see living Liberty slaughtered next winter under the very dome of the Capitol where her effigy stands mockingly in stone.

Is there no way to make it plain?

HOW TO DO IT.

In anticipation of some such action by Congress as is above recounted, we have prepared in season a campaign document which is admirably adapted for immediate use at this critical time. It is a cheap pamphlet or tract, of twenty-four pages, without covers, designed for gratuitous distribution by the brave and earnest friends of State Secularization. The title-page reads thus: "Patriotic Address to the People of the United States, adopted at Philadelphia on the Fourth of July, 1876, by the National Liberal League. Together with the Chief Resolutions of the League, its Constitution and List of Officers, and its Protest against the Shutting of the International Exhibition on Sundays. Boston, Mass.: Published by the National Liberal League, 1876." It also contains the "extracts from letters by distinguished citizens," as published in THE INDEX of July 13. Ten thousand copies are already printed, and, as the tract is stereotyped, as many more can be struck off at any time as can be used.

This is not the full Report of the Centennial Congress of Liberals, which has been delayed somewhat on account of it, and will be published in due time. But it is exactly what is wanted to circulate everywhere, in order to make the public understand the great principle of secular government whose fate in this country is now trembling in the balance. A Constitutional amendment involving our religious rights and liberties will certainly be passed at the next session of Congress; the country has only escaped as by a miracle from the passage of a most disastrous one; the Christian Amendment party, at once disappointed by their failure, yet flushed and stimulated to fresh exertions by their proved influence in Congress, will strive to make the impending measure still more stringent in its terms; and the people must be educated up to an intelligent comprehension of the situation in six months, or it will be too late. This is the naked truth. Are there no Minute-Men of 1876 ready for duty?

Liberals! We appealed to you for a thousand dollars last spring, to hold a Centennial Congress of Liberals and organize a National Liberal League at Philadelphia in July. With a generosity over which we have unspeakably rejoiced and exulted, you gave us more than two thousand. This tract, so timely, so precious now, has been printed with your money and for your use. We now appeal to you once more

to scatter this seed broadcast over the land, that our country may reap the golden harvest of your wise and noble action. The influence you may exert by means of this tract, which (if you choose) you can circulate by the hundred thousand, will be simply incalculable; for it only utters articulately the ruling spirit and purpose of American institutions, and will be recognized as doing this by every intelligent citizen who can be got to read it. For the sake of your own liberties, your own rights, your own self-respect,—for the sake of the liberties, rights, and self-respect of your own posterity and of all mankind—we entreat you now to perfect your own magnificent work, and prove yourselves worthy of this great opportunity. You will not fail your country at such an hour,—no, you will not, you cannot! Do not deceive yourselves now, or suffer yourselves to be deceived by the foolish-wise: you must act, and act promptly, or you will soon find yourselves under the iron heels of triumphant fanaticism. And this is the way to act.

1. Order as many of these tracts as you can afford, and put them into the hands of all who will read them. They will be mailed as promptly as possible on receipt of just enough money to defray the bare cost of paper, press-work, and postage, as explained in the advertisement on our last page. This work of distribution can be done by individuals, and at once.

2. Get your local paper, or any paper whose editor is a personal friend, to bring this tract to the notice of his readers, and, whether he approves it or not, to make its general arguments and tenor fairly known. If you succeed, please send us a marked copy of the paper.

3. Organize local Liberal Leagues temporarily, apply to the National League for charters to create a mutual bond of "cordial fellowship and cooperation" with all your brother liberals, and meanwhile hold public meetings to agitate for the Religious Freedom Amendment. You cannot make the secular principle respected by politicians unless you are thoroughly and widely organized; and you must make this principle respected by politicians, or your crafty opponents, who have great and powerful organizations at their back, will carry the day. There is no time to lose; take our word for granted this once, and if it does not turn out at last to be the wisest word of all, never trust us again.

4. Send to us without delay the name of every bold, thorough, active liberal, whose character commands the respect of your own community, and who possesses marked executive ability. These are the men and women for the hour, and these are the men and women with whom the Directors of the National Liberal League seek to be in communication. Nobody will get paid for this work, and nobody who is looking for pay is wanted; but every man and woman who is willing to labor for liberty out of sheer love for it can help in this great enterprise, and should come to the front. The bigots who would fain tyrannize over the consciences and intellects of freemen, and who seek to cram the "creed of Christendom" into the United States Constitution and down all our throats, will pay us well in abuse and malediction; but the knowledge that we are laboring for the good of all, including our would-be tyrants, is payment sure to be ours, and not to be stolen from us. Send on your lists of such names—on separate sheets that can be easily filed away together.

5. Make yourself either an Annual Member or a Life Member of the National Liberal League, as explained on our last page.

6. Give what you can to the treasury of the National Liberal League, to defray the heavy expenses involved in doing the all-essential work. The "Patriotic Address" should be mailed at once to every one of the six or seven thousand journals of the country; to every one of the eighty thousand office-holders of the country; to every one of the fifty or sixty thousand ministers of the country; in short, to every voter of the country, if possible. Every penny will be wisely used and duly accounted for. The Directors will give time, labor, strength; they would pay all the bills if they could; but they are dependent on the generosity and patriotism of the liberals for the necessary means to work with. And it is enough, we are sure, to quote here the resolution passed at the Centennial Congress of Liberals:—

"Resolved, That we hereby appeal to the country for funds to carry on the vitally important work for which we have organized; that we believe there is abundant wealth and abundant enthusiasm ready to aid us, just as soon as our objects are thoroughly understood and widely known; and that we rely confidently on the generosity of the patriotic public not to permit this great cause to languish for want of the all-essential means."

SELF-REFORMATION.

It is not uncommon for a person of high moral aspirations, who has advanced, through fidelity to his convictions and much sacrifice, it may be, to broader intellectual principles, to experience a sense of disappointment when brought into actual contact and intercourse with their representatives. It had been an unquestioned assurance that to renounce error, and move forward in the direction of ideas, of correcter and clearer mental perceptions, must necessarily be attended with a visible correspondent progress of character. This is doubtless the general tendency always, the ultimate result; but it does not follow in each instance, nor at once.

A valuable Western correspondent of THE INDEX (Mr. Neville, of Missouri), whose brief occasional notes in its columns indicate that his heart is in the right place, deplains in a late number the corruption of the times, and intimates that even radicals are no better than they ought to be. Indeed, he prescribes, as the great specific for existing evils, that they should suspend, for the present at least, all efforts to reform others, and concentrate their entire energies upon the reformation of themselves. The advice, with a certain degree of qualification, is seldom amiss at any time. It might be also extended, with equal application, to those whose pretensions to righteousness are greater than those of the class referred to. It has long been the habit of religious people to estimate the moral worth of radicalism at a very low figure,—to say very disparaging things of it. It was Mr. Murray, we believe, who affirmed a few years since that Free Religion goes to pieces in Ann Street, which was simply another way of saying that its prevailing tendency is toward the lowest moral degradation. It was but a reckless reiteration of the stale and unscrupulous vilification of honest intellectual dissent, to which the Church has ever been addicted; and Mr. Murray ought to have been ashamed of it, inasmuch as he knew better; and, unless he is a worse person than we are willing to think, no doubt he has been ere this.

There is no one, we presume, who will maintain that radicals have reached a point beyond which there is no improvement,—that they have attained perfection. It is a characteristic of human progress that, in passing from one state of development to another, one religious system or set of ideas to another, as Lecky has very clearly shown is the case in the sphere of morals, there is always some loss as well as gain. With the majority, in such transitions, negation precedes the affirmation of positive truth. With the renunciation of the old errors, or even its attendant somewhat clearer perceptions of truth, the incentives and restraints of the discarded faith are lost, and it requires some time before the real good which has been surrendered, under new influences and from other and superior motives, can be recovered.

It is thus that there is always a seeming, probably an actual, letting down of morals, an interim of more or less demoralization, in passing from one religious era or stage of civilization to another. It was witnessed in the scepticism which accompanied the extinction of the Greek and Roman faiths. We have seen it displayed in political changes in modern time, and in our own land in the immediate results consequent, to a large extent, in the life of a people in their passage from bondage to freedom. But these considerations offer no well-grounded or genuine argument against the value of the principle of progress, or the superior claim of the later evolution of truth. The consequences of the great intellectual changes in society that we have indicated correspond to the condition in which a large number of the American people, and of the foremost civilizations, are at the present time. Belief in the old religious ideas has very largely, and in many instances altogether, disappeared from the mind. Vast numbers of people, for one reason or another, are simply wearing the outward seeming of faith, conforming to perpetuated usages and dogmas secretly recognized as false and absurd, because of the want of the necessary courage and sincerity to cast them aside. There are also among radicals a great many who have not yet passed beyond, or far beyond, the stage of mere negation. They are ready and eager to demolish the temples of worship which they have outgrown, but have not acquired the art or apprehended the need of fairer and better. There are others belonging to the same general class, who, in their yearning for a substitute for the faith and devotion they have relinquished, through the influence of wayward and undisciplined tendencies of character or out of crude and visionary imaginations, have elaborated specula-

tive theories which have so little basis in the demonstrable facts of life, and are so poorly adapted to promote its higher culture, that it is difficult to conceive of them as destined, without essential modifications, to more than a transient existence. But with a due recognition of these factors in solving the problem of the moral worth of radicalism, we feel assured that its average effect upon the individual will lose nothing, but rather appear to the decided advantage of the old religious systems upon a comparison with them. There has been very conclusive evidence of this of late. It is a notorious fact that the larger proportion of the cases of distinguished rascality—various species of fraud, forgery, breaches of trust, violations of the principle of honor and honesty in public and private life, social scandals and instances of conspicuous individual demoralization in the so-called better classes of society, to which public attention has recently been directed—has been either in the Church or among those who sustain a nominal relation to it. And if we may credit the many reports of the result of inquiry in respect to the religious conceptions of those who belong to what is called the criminal class, or inmates of our various penal institutions, seven-tenths of these, so far as they have any thought upon this subject, entertain beliefs which are distinctive of Orthodox theology.

If among the ranks of radicalism, or those numbered in them, there are those who fall behind the standard of life which high moral aspiration demands, it is not because of its lack of a sufficiently exalted ideal, or the impossibility of its practical realization in conduct and character. It is a remarkable fact that the larger number of the most eminent philanthropists, reformers, original thinkers, and those whose services to mankind have been most valuable in modern time, have been confessedly infidel, or affected more or less with unsoundness of faith. This is the case with respect to the majority of most distinguished scientists, philosophers, and a considerable number of those who occupy the most honored places in other lines of literature. It is still further worthy of remembrance that, whatever may have been the charges preferred against the famous sceptics of the past, it is seldom they could justly be accused of an inappreciation of the worth of virtue, or of advocating a low ideal of morals. There are few whose names have been rendered more odious by the Church than Thomas Paine; yet he unhesitatingly declared, "I believe in the equality of man, and that religious duties consist in doing justice, loving mercy, and endeavoring to make our fellow-creatures happy." Said Theodore Parker in a letter to a friend, "You and I have been called infidels. We are so, tried by the common test. Our Christianity is not the common form; our form of religion is another gospel; our God is not the jealous God who subjects the soul of man to a law of sin and death, but makes it free by the great law of his spirit. Yet though we have been charged with this infidelity, while we are thus different from other sects, I believe we have not been charged with doubting the infinity of God, never with a disbelief in the power of truth, justice, love, holiness, to regenerate your heart and mine, and bless the world." "The religion of the day," says Mr. Frothingham, "prescribes a form of *cultus*; our religion prescribes a law of culture." "Religion," according to Mr. Abbot "is the effort of man, to perfect himself."

Thus if radicalism does not, in each instance, bring forth such fruit as might be desired or expected, it cannot be ascribed to any want of virtue in the tree itself, but rather to its immature condition, or circumstances that have not yet favored its best development. The great distinction of radicalism is the pursuit of truth, belief in its power to promote the growth of virtue, and ultimately redeem and save the world. But, supposing this faith in its inevitable results is erroneous, can we abandon its pursuit, if so moved, for an imagined more commanding object, even though it be virtue itself? Is not our first allegiance due to truth? Is it not the supreme authority? Nor, if such a transfer of interest and aim were legitimate and readily effected, would such a course be most likely to lead to the end in view,—the reformation or perfection of our characters? Seeking to be good, direct concentration of the mind upon the effort of moral attainment is not likely to prove the surest or most effectual means towards such realization. The kingdom of noble manhood and womanhood comes not by observation. By all means should radicals keep before them a high ideal of character. By all means should they seek to save the cause with which they are identified from dishonor, to exemplify in their lives its clearer and better per-

ceptions of moral excellence. But these things are to be accomplished, not so much through the direct seeking of them as that fidelity to, and appreciation of, the great aims and principles of radicalism through which all these at length are added.

D. H. C.

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY R. C.

Before adjournment, the Senate, on motion of Mr. Edmunds, reconsidered its action with reference to the proposed amendment to the Constitution; and on the taking of a second vote, the resolution failed to pass, two-thirds not voting for it, although it received 28 votes in the affirmative to 16 in the negative. The franking privilege was not voted upon in the House, but the Hawaiian treaty, which puts the products of the Sandwich Islands upon the free list, managed to get through the Senate. In signing the River and Harbor Bill, Grant sent a message to the House stating that he should not allow any of the money which it appropriated to be used unless convinced that the particular works specified would be of national benefit—a good enough message, in itself, but one which he should have learned how to write several years ago, when the Republicans were in a majority and were making appropriations of the same kind. He sent another message, also, with reference to the Consular and Diplomatic Bill, questioning the right of the House to abolish any foreign ministry, but admitting the right—which, practically, of course, amounts to the same thing—of refusal to appropriate money to pay a minister's salary.

The death of Speaker Kerr, which took place so soon after the adjournment of Congress, must occasion deep regret for several different reasons. Although not a brilliant presiding officer, he was, nevertheless, far preferable in this capacity to any of those who have occupied his place during his illness, and his presence in the House would have helped to check the wild legislation which there is too much reason to fear will be indulged in during the next session of Congress. But the chief reason for regret at the present time is to be found in the fact that Mr. Kerr was an uncompromising hard-money man, and that his party and his State, as well as his country, are just now in especial need of such men. That he was a man of integrity should be mentioned, also, in these days when even common honesty is not an unfailing characteristic of all leading members of Congress.

Had Mr. Kerr occupied his chair last week, we should have had, on the "gold and silver" commission, very different appointments at least so far as the House is concerned, from those with which we are now afflicted. The Commission is to consist of Messrs Jones, of Nevada (a gentleman who, on account of his pecuniary interest in the result, should not have been appointed, whatever his supposed qualifications for the position), Boutwell, of Massachusetts, and Bogy, of Missouri, on the part of the Senate, and, on the part of the House, Messrs Gibson, of Louisiana, Bland, of Indiana, and Willard, of Michigan. We are certainly within bounds in asserting that it would be an extremely difficult matter to make up a more wretched commission than the one thus constituted to gather information and concoct legislation upon the most important subject with which, as a nation, we have now to deal. Had its members been selected by lot or by "the wager of battle" or by some method of divination, we should have had a better commission than the one appointed by Saylor and Ferry. With the exception of Gibson, of whom we know nothing, and Boutwell, of whom we know too much, the men are all inflationists or "silver" men; and not one of the number, we are sure, is fully qualified for his important and delicate work. If, now, the Commission should select as the three experts whom it is authorized to choose, Butler and Bill Allen and Peter Cooper, we should have a body fitly completed; one, moreover, the report of which would be likely to astonish the natives of more than one country, and would present, to say the least, a very striking contrast to that which Mr. Goschen has just submitted to the English Parliament.

Grant appears to be indulging in a sort of rude and unseemly boy's play which, like all play of the kind, is likely to end in mischief if it be carried too far. He has taken advantage of the passage of Mr. Scott Lord's resolution, to which we referred last week, to order General Sherman to hold himself in readiness to send troops into the South in order to protect the negro, and to prevent fraud and intimidation at elections. If this be intended only as a joke at the expense of the Democrats, to offset the effect of Lord's resolution, it displays a sad lack of dignity in the President; but if it be intended as a threat against the Southerners, it must be deplored as not only uncalled for, but as calculated to stir up the very strife which every Northern man should be anxious to allay.

If anything more could have been required to convince the most incredulous person that our method of dealing with the Indians is an outrage against common sense, it may be found in the fact, recently ascertained, that, since the outbreak of the present war, government has actually permitted them to be supplied with arms and ammunition by the Indian traders. On one occasion, an army officer, who had stopped a wagon laden with ammunition on its way to an Indian camp, telegraphed to Washington for instructions with regard to it, and was at once directed to allow the wagon to proceed. The above is only one instance among many which equal it in wickedness and stupidity. Sitting Bull, notwithstanding his

known hostility to the whites, has been allowed to purchase supplies unchecked, and vessels on Western rivers, carrying soldiers to fight the Indians, have been allowed to carry to the Indians arms and ammunition with which to kill the soldiers.

Mr. Gamaliel Bradford contributes to the July number of the *North American Review* an article on the government of great cities, which reaches the conclusion already indicated by others who have given attention to the same subject, and is to be commended as a timely contribution to the study of a pressing and important topic. It has been evident for years that our large cities cannot be saved from the clutches of the scalawags who make up the lowest order of professional politicians, so long as there are so many officers to be chosen, such a division of responsibility among bureaus, boards, departments, and chiefs, and so little unity of system in the whole concern. The control of the caucuses, which in reality fill nearly all city offices, demands an amount of application and time and dirty work which business men cannot and should not afford. Facility in determining responsibility is absolutely essential to good city government, and this can be obtained only by greatly increasing the power of the mayor, giving to him the appointment of all inferior officers, and holding him strictly responsible for the correct fulfillment of all executive functions. City politics in this case would not need the study of a lifetime, and if a city were not well governed its voters and tax-payers would have only themselves to blame. There will be a big fight, of course, with the present generation of wire-pullers before this "one-man power" can be established, but established it will surely be, eventually, in every large city.

We mentioned, a few weeks ago, the fact that the American Philological Society appeared to be seriously interested in the subject of reforming the spelling of the English language, and that a committee appointed to consider the matter had reported a series of favorable resolutions which were well received by many of those in attendance at the annual meeting. A convention in furtherance of the same project has now been held at Philadelphia, and although a full account of the proceedings has not been received at the time of writing, it is evident that the scheme is seriously entertained by many leading educators—Mr. Northrop, and Professors, Haldeman, Beard, and March, for instance—and that its success is desired by many persons and for various reasons. Professor March asserts that children who inherit the English tongue lose an enormous amount of time in learning to spell. Mr. Gladstone, of England, is quoted as asserting that if he were a foreigner and had to learn English pronunciation from present orthography, he believes the task would drive him mad. Bishop Thirlwall, Mr. Hepworth Dixon, and others in England, are said to favor the proposed reform, and a phonetic system was advocated by a colored delegate from Virginia as an important aid in facilitating the education of colored children.

The Russian system of mechanical instruction has been adopted by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and we are likely soon to have an opportunity of determining the practical value of the system so enthusiastically advocated by Professor Runkle. A full course of instruction will be begun the coming autumn, and the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic's Association has already appropriated \$4,000 for the support of two scholarships in the course. The system, if successful, will have an important bearing upon matters connected with apprenticeship, trades-unions, labor-reform, and other vexed social questions, and this experiment, therefore, may well be watched with deep interest.

The performance of the first series of Wagner's works at Bayreuth has been received with unbounded enthusiasm, and Wagner, it must be admitted, has apparently succeeded in his desires to a degree never before achieved by a living composer. Of Wagner's writings—of which we admit we know but little—we have received a very unfavorable impression, and we do not feel competent to pronounce judgment upon his musical theories; but real genius only would merit his present unsurpassed success, and if he has indeed "broken with the modern theatre," and can manage to supplant with something better the "musical monster" known as modern opera, he will surely have accomplished enough to make him forever famous, whatever the character of his writings, or the fancifulness of his theories.

A queen who has been dethroned should certainly be satisfied, in these days, when a successful revolution restores her to her own land, and puts her son upon his country's throne; but Queen Isabella of Spain seems not to be satisfied with her portion of triumph, and is reported to be getting up considerable dissatisfaction by her imperiousness and meddlesomeness. Don Carlos, who is now quietly bathing at Newport, may yet have a chance to live in Madrid.—China is just now in considerable trouble, having upon her hands an unsettled quarrel with England, and a rebellion conducted by the Emperor's brother, while a terrible famine is desolating some of her Northern provinces.—The English Parliament has been prorogued, and Disraeli, hereafter, will relinquish its leadership, retiring from active life, in fact, and being raised to the peerage as Viscount Beaconsfield and Baron Disraeli. His career has been a brilliant and remarkable one, and whether he is liked or disliked his retirement will be attended by the regret which is inevitable at beholding the decay of the active powers of a really great man.

Servia is looking her reverses steadily in the face,

and appears determined to continue the conflict, although she would probably be glad to accept peace, if permitted by Turkey to resume her condition prior to the war. The Turks have not yet succeeded in penetrating far within Serbian territory, and upon several attempts to advance have been repulsed with considerable loss. The Montenegrins have again defeated a portion of the Turkish force in Herzegovina, are investing Trebinje, or Trebigne, and, it is reported, intend to invade Albania. Russia continues to manifest sympathy for Serbia, Russian officers and nurses being plentiful in Belgrade, a Serbian loan having been readily taken up by the Russian people, and the Czar promising to stand as godfather by proxy to the newly-born son of Prince Milan.

Communications.

SIDING WITH THE OPPRESSOR.

MR. F. E. ABBOT:

My Dear Sir,—At this late day, I hasten to acknowledge the receipt of THE INDEX circular, entitled "Centennial Congress of Liberals," and to thank you in behalf of many friends for your untiring efforts in the cause.

The movement for a meeting of Liberals at the Centennial is a good one, and one that the needs of the time demand, and should receive the cooperation of all liberal-minded people.

THE INDEX is doing a glorious work that will last throughout all time. Long may it live, and continue to break down the barriers to progression that are reared by bigotry and superstition, whose blighting effects are seen and felt on every hand!

The meeting of Liberals in Philadelphia will no doubt result in great good. It will tend to organize and consolidate the liberal sentiment of the country, and the friends of freedom will better understand their real strength. There is certainly need of organization, or something whereby the Liberals may know their power. At present, they are like a great, disorganized army, scattered all over the country, from which there could scarcely be gathered a corporal's guard. We all know that the liberal sentiment is powerful, and embraces the finest intellects of the age; yet for lack of organization it does not wield the influence it might. For instance, no liberal journal, however ably it is edited, receives the support it deserves, simply for the reason that there is no system of organization among those who are anxious for the advancement of progressive ideas. The success of the evangelical church is owing to its thorough organization. Surely the Liberals can organize without becoming sectarianized! When they make an earnest move in this direction, their organs will not succumb for want of means, and a Paine monument can be raised with but little effort, or an edifice can be reared in the interest of freethought quite as readily as an Orthodox church can be built now. Whenever the Liberal movement becomes systematized, there will be a more rapid growth of liberal sentiment, for the very reason that it will become more popular and influential.

My dear sir, laying the question of organization aside for the present, upon which there has been so much controversy, there is another question to which I wish to call your attention before I close,—the question of finance, the great question of the day, that is attracting more attention than any other that is now before the American people. Many readers of THE INDEX are astonished at the position it seems to occupy on this question. On this great issue, you seem to have taken sides with the oppressors against the oppressed, which is certainly a very strange position for Francis E. Abbot to occupy, in the estimation of those who have regarded him as a champion of justice and right. I have read letters in THE INDEX from some of its patrons, in which their views in reference to this matter were set forth; but if all who regret your course have written, you must think your regretful friends are numerous.

We all know that the question of finance in any form was a subject entirely outside of your former line of thought and duty, and consequently we can make great allowance for your seeming indifference to this question that has assumed such gigantic proportions. We are glad to think that, so far as you have committed yourself, you have been unconsciously governed by the money power that rules the great Eastern dailies and Wall Street organs with an iron will, giving tone and color to public opinion, irrespective of the views of the people. We cannot believe that you have spoken from earnest convictions, formed by thorough investigation into the present atrocious system of finance, that has reduced thousands of honest, industrious people to the very verge of starvation, and driven hundreds of others to the insane asylum or a suicide's grave.

On one side of this great financial issue are to be found the masses, the wronged and suffering people; while on the other side are the monopolists and ring-brokers, whose corruptions and rascality have disgraced our national capital, and so demoralized the Republican party that it is no longer fit to rule the land.

Yours for justice and progression,

S. M. CARROLL.

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio, July 3.

[We do not understand the exact nature of the wrong so vigorously yet so kindly charged upon us; the indictment is not clear as to its meaning. But it is proper to state that we always express our own views alone, and speak only for what we believe to be just, honest, and true. If we make mistakes sometimes, that is the common lot of man; and we are

always ready to give the fairest hearing to those who oppose anything we have said. When it is made plain that we have unconsciously sided with oppression, we shall not be slow to change our position.—Ed.]

SILVER AS LEGAL TENDER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

In THE INDEX of August 3d is the following: "Some recent votes seem to prove that a majority of the House of Representatives are willing to vote in favor of making silver, as valued in 1861, a legal tender for all purposes, and in any amount. It has been discovered that some, at least, of the bonds of the United States declare that they are payable in coin; gold of course was understood, but is not specified; and some persons, it is said, who were shocked at the suggestion of paying them in greenbacks, are actually in favor of taking advantage of this omission, and paying them in a currency of less value than the greenback. The dishonor as well as the dishonesty of this proceeding must be apparent to all simple-minded people whose moral principles remain undisturbed by recent Congressional speeches or the teachings of Professor Seelye; and in addition to dishonor, the commercial difficulties that would ensue, when our gold had fled the country, and we had been swamped with the surplus silver of the world, present a horrible prospect for a sane man who knows anything of the facts of history."

When our public debt was created, the legal tender money of this country, as everybody knew, consisted of two metals, at the rate of 371.25 grains of one (pure metal) and 23.22 grains of the other, to the dollar.

In 1873, without the knowledge of the people, and, it is safe to say, without the knowledge of very many of the members of either House of Congress, through the adoption of the Revised Statutes, one of these metals was dropped out of use as money.

Now the value of money is determined by its quantity as compared with commodities, and the transactions performed by its use.

If one metal, therefore, is taken away—the other not being increased in quantity,—its value will necessarily be enhanced. Take the public debts of the world, which are not much less than twenty thousand millions, and then throughout the world demonetize silver, that is, take away the most abundant of the two metals in use as money, and the entire indebtedness of the world would be more than doubled by the elevation of the standard that measures them.

Suppose, instead of being payable in silver at the rate of 371½ grains, or gold at the rate of 23.22 grains to the dollar, our debt had been made payable in cotton at ten cents a pound or wool at fifty cents, and it was found that we could produce cotton at ten cents per pound more easily than wool at fifty cents, and should propose to pay more of the debt in cotton than in wool, could the creditor come in and claim that because wool was the more valuable, we should pay in wool alone,—should, indeed, give up the cotton and induce other people also to give it up, and use wool only, so that the commodity he received should be vastly increased in value? Would THE INDEX join the clamor of the creditor, and say of those who should insist upon payment according to the contract that—"The dishonor as well as the dishonesty of this proceeding must be apparent to all simple-minded people"?

Those people must be very simple-minded indeed to whom such a proceeding would appear dishonest.

The tone of the religious press of the country in upholding the policy of changing the value of money, by appreciating it, to the great wrong of all debtors, is inexplicable, and if not done so blindly might justly be characterized as shameful. It reminds one of the tone of the same press generally, twenty-five years ago, on the slavery question.

The terrible consequences that are to follow when "gold has fled the country," and we are "swamped" with silver, is good imagination, but not so good political economy.

A. J. W.

MARIETTA, O., Aug. 5, 1876.

"TENDERNESS OF HARD THEOLOGY."

This is the title of an article written by Professor George N. Boardman, and printed in the *Independent* a year or two since. The following quotation from an advocate of the dogma of limited atonement, written a hundred years ago, is adduced in evidence of the "tenderness" which Professor Boardman claims for what he very justly denominates "hard theology": "Why are Calvin's notions gloomy? Is it gloomy to believe that the greater part of the human race are made for endless happiness? There can, I think, be no reasonable doubt of the salvation of very young persons. If, as some who have versed themselves in this sort of speculations affirm, about one half of mankind die in infancy; and if, as indubitable evidence proves, a very considerable portion of the remaining half die in childhood; and if, as there is the strongest reason to think, many millions of those who live to maturer years in every successive generation have their names written in the Book of Life,—what a small portion, comparatively, of the human species falls under the decree of preterition or non-redemption."

What "tenderness" is here indeed! The author, having proved to his own satisfaction that the greater part of the human family are to enjoy "eternal happiness," thinks that there is nothing "gloomy" in the fact that the large portion of the human family not embraced in his "many millions in each successive generation" are to endure eternal misery. This is as though, having five brothers, four of whom had escaped from a burning building, he should illustrate his tenderness by shouting hallelujahs over

the four who were saved, and feeling no throbs of pity at the agonizing cries of the fifth perishing in the flames. What a sublime conception of the personal God whom he worships does this writer display! How the noble soul is moved to bow in adoring reverence before the Almighty Being whose best plan for saving his sentient creatures is to kill them off in infancy! Past human conception is the "ineffable glory" of that "plan of salvation" which involves all the sorrow of this great fact of death in infancy for half the human race! Away with such gross irreverence! Let us know that premature death is unnatural, not natural, the consequence of violating Nature's laws, not the result of a Divine decree.

That a man of thought and erudition should quote with approval such a passage as this, or that he should fail to detect the wretched want of "tenderness" in all systems of "hard theology," is another illustration of how those who are bound in the vale of superstition by the chains of creed, and shrouded in the mist and fog of an "infallible authority," can only see as "through a glass, darkly." O Religion, Religion, how many crimes against reason are committed in thy name!

B. F. HUGHES.

PHILADELPHIA.

CHRISTIAN MORALITY.

EDITOR INDEX:—

The subject of which I wish to treat has sufficient magnitude for volumes, but I intend extreme brevity. I have always been on the liberal side or in opposition to Orthodox Christianity, and have been badly worsted in argument by the assumption that Christianity is the parent of all civilization, including arts, sciences, manufactures, and especially education for the common people and Christian morality; which all well-informed persons know is not true, but which, so far as my knowledge extends, is generally believed by the uncultured. A neighbor of mine remarked to me that he did not wish to unite himself with a church, but he wished to practise Christian morality. I asked him for his definition of Christian morality. He replied, "To live a sober, industrious, orderly life, and do as I would be done by."

This is the popular idea that gives the Orthodox Church more power than all other causes combined. The belief that there is no morality excepting what Jesus invented, and that the Bible is the only original exponent of morals, monopolizes the whole field, and leaves all liberals or infidels with the vile, supposed to be as immoral as they.

But the opposite is the fact. Christians as such have no more morality than have Free Masons, or Odd Fellows. Each class has its own code; so have Buddhists, Pagans, Mohammedans, and every other sect. The world has already suffered intensely from the effect of arbitrary codes of morality, much of which is superstition, though it may be called Christian. We seldom find the word morality used by the religious press without the prefix "Christian": a fact which all liberals should note and rebuke on all suitable occasions. True morality is living or acting in harmony with Nature's laws, of whatever description they may be. Christians have condemned astronomy, geology, and almost every other revelation of Nature's laws since the Christian Era. This cry of "Christian Morality" is raised for effect, and the wonder with me is that the liberal press says not a word in rebuke.

Yours truly,
MONTPELIER, Ind.

WILLIAM ALLEN.

THE FATE IN STORE.

"Our patriot fathers were Christian men. They were followers of the meek and lowly Jesus," said the chaplain of Auburn Prison, at our village celebration. A man in the crowd remarked to those near him that he had never heard before that Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, and Paine were so remarkably pious. What a comfort it is to reflect that men like F. E. Abbot or B. F. Underwood, should they render the country service, will be consigned to the affectionate remembrance of posterity as eminent Christians of the most approved pattern!

E. M.

SOME NEGROES were listening to one of their color, as he read to them the proceedings of the Legislature from the *Constitution* yesterday. When he got down to the bill "to protect and preserve unimpaired the right of trial by jury," old Si spoke up and said:—

"What's dat mean? Who's agwine to hurt de jury?"

"Dat means a heap, I'm a tallin' yer! Dat's a good thing!" replied Pete.

"Splane it, den! Whar's de neessaryness fur it?" urged Si.

"W'y, dis way," said Pete. "Dar's a gemman down dar at de depo' what was on de jury de odder day, an' I hear him tellin' how dat he didn't want ter 'gree wid de rest ob 'em, when a big feller came up and tole him ef he didn't 'gree in 'bout two secons' dat he bust him wide open! what you tink ob dat?"

The bill then received unanimous approval.—*Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution*.

A HATER OF TOBACCO asked an old negro woman, the fumes of whose pipe were annoying to him, if she thought she was a Christian. "Yes, brudder, I spects I is." "Do you believe in the Bible?" "Yes, brudder." "Do you know that there is a passage in the Scriptures which says that nothing unclean shall enter the kingdom of heaven?" "Yes, I've heard of it." "Well, Chloe, you smoke, and you cannot enter the kingdom of heaven, because there is nothing so unclean as the breath of a smoker. What do you say to that?" "Why, I spects to leave my breff behind when I go dar."

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1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

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PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

LAST SUNDAY, the thirty-eighth anniversary of the liberation of Abner Kneeland from the Boston jail, where he had been confined sixty days for "blasphemy," was celebrated at Investigator Hall, in the Paine Memorial Building. Mr. Seaver delivered the opening address.

FOR THE INSTRUCTION of those shallow observers of the time who think the school question is merely got up as a "good political cry," we reprint this week three late extracts from the *Tribune* on the educational question in England, France, and this country. The school is to be the great battle-field for the decision of a controversy infinitely more important, with respect to the permanence and magnitude of the interests involved, than whether Hayes or Tilden is to be the next President of the United States. We are by no means indifferent to the issues involved in this latter question; but the issue involved in the former is whether American institutions are to be healthfully developed or to fall into gradual decay and death.

MR. WILLIAM LITTLE, of Manchester, New Hampshire, who represents that State on the Executive Committee of the National Liberal League, is a member of the Manchester School Board, and has more than once made a spirited attempt to secure the discontinuance of Bible-reading in the public schools. The *Mirror and American* of August 19, reports a meeting of the Board at which a disgraceful attempt was made to cut off free discussion on this subject. Mr. Hall declared that "he did not wish to discuss the question, and that the people did not wish it discussed." The result was an adjournment of the Board. We hope the matter will not be allowed to rest. Mr. Little commands our admiration by his pluck and persistency, and we hope yet to record the triumph of his just cause.

THE RIVALRIES among the great Evangelical sects are yielding to the demands of self-interest, and consolidation is the order of the day. The *Tribune* of August 24 publishes the joint announcement of the two Boards of Commissioners, appointed by the "Methodist Episcopal Church" (North) and the "Methodist Episcopal Church South" that the breach between these two immense organizations is healed, and that they will henceforth be one. This the Orthodox *Tribune* styles "the crowning religious event of the Centennial year." What does it portend for

the liberals? Exactly what the junction between Gen. Crook and Gen. Terry portends for Sitting Bull. The Church Militant knows enough to learn the art of scientific warfare—concentration and victory; the liberals still practise the method of savages—isolation and defeat. In this the Church shows the superior brains; and brains win in this world.

HERE IS AN amusing case of litigation: "Judge and jury have been worrying over a dog-case in Memphis, Tenn. Nothing could have been simpler than the issue of fact. A negro stole a Newfoundland dog; but the law in regard to property in dogs always has been past finding out. The prisoner's counsel argued that, under the common law, dog-stealing was not a crime or an indictable offence, and that no statute exists in Tennessee making dog-stealing a punishable offence, such as larceny. Judge Adams held that the stealing of a dog was not a larceny or an indictable offence, and that the demurrer of the defendant to the indictment on this ground was good. The Attorney-General then raised the point that the collar on the dog was personal property, and the defendant could be held to answer for theft; but the adroit attorney on the other side retorted that the negro took the dog, and that it was the dog, and not the negro, that was responsible for the collar. The prisoner was finally discharged. Now, the old question comes up, If a dog is not property, is the dog-tax constitutional?" Why did not the Attorney-General concede at once to the "adroit attorney on the other side" that the dog was indeed responsible for the collar; that the dog and this responsibility were absolutely inseparable; that, when the negro took the dog, he also "took the responsibility" which was inseparable from the dog; and that therefore the negro was "responsible for the collar"? Why don't they appoint a more quick-witted Attorney-General in Memphis?

THE NEW YORK STATE Republican Convention adopted a platform at Saratoga, on August 23, which declared that "the Democratic party is false on the question of the safety of the schools, for the solid Democratic vote in the United States Senate defeated an adequate amendment to protect the school system from sectarian attack." Is the Republican party about to take up that Protestant Evangelical amendment, Bible clause and all, as a party measure? If so, we can promise the Republican party the loss of every liberal voter who comprehends the perilous situation. The Democrats in the Senate doubtless voted as they did to conciliate the Catholics; and the Republicans, doubtless, to conciliate the Protestants. Neither party regards the Liberals, because they are unorganized. But the Democrats voted right on that amendment, saving the country from inconceivable disaster at least for a while; and the Republicans voted wrong. Our advice to every man who prizes his religious liberty, and knows that it depends on completing the separation of Church and State, is to watch the two great parties keenly as to the attitude they take towards that Bible-worshipping amendment, and to vote against any party which favors it. We know the great importance of the issues confusedly involved in the Presidential election of this autumn; but we cast no vote for any party which strikes a deadly blow at the very heart of the Constitution. Put the above declaration of the New York Republicans side by side with the passage we quote in this week's editorial from the *Christian Statesman*: note their sympathetic joy in this "adequate amendment." Is THE INDEX alone to raise an indignant voice against the half-cunning, half-stupid assassination of the Constitution? Is nobody else astute enough to see that this "adequate amendment" is nothing but the *Christian Amendment behind a mask*? Then may the great god Luck save the liberties of the American people; for it has not wit enough to save its own!

The Index.

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TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

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OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, GEORGE JACOB
HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, Editorial Con-
tributors.

F. E. A. ANNUAL REPORT.

The report of the annual meeting of the Free Religious Association for 1876 is published in pamphlet form.

It contains a full abstract of the discussion at the business meeting; the annual report of the executive committee; address by the president, O. B. Frothingham; essay, by James Parton, on "The Relation of Religion to the State" (or, as he styles it, "Cathedrals and Beer"), with addresses on the subject by Miss Susan H. Wixon and Rev. M. J. Savage; also essay by Samuel Longfellow, on "The Relation of Free Religion to Churches;" with the addresses that followed it, by Prof. Felix Adler, Rev. Henry Blanchard, Rev. Brooke Herford, and John Weiss.

Price, single copy, 40 cents; package of three, \$1; postage paid. Address Free Religious Association, No. 1 Tremont Place, Boston, Mass.

W. J. POTTER, Secretary.

SAYS THE New York Sun, referring to former statements it had made on the school question: "The little cloud, at that time not bigger than a man's hand, now begins to cast its dark and threatening shadow over the land." THE INDEX pointed out this cloud when it was not so big as a man's finger, and is still supposed by some to have invented the cloud altogether. They think there is "not going to be much of a shower."

THE FINANCIAL LOSS in which the bigoted Sabbatarianism of the United States Centennial Commission has involved the country ought to be well understood. It costs something to be fanatical in this case; the gross receipts have been diminished one-seventh at least, probably one fourth, by shutting the Exhibition to the common people on Sundays. Says the New York Sun: "The Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia is half over, and the total receipts so far fail to reach one million dollars. The capital invested in the enterprise is \$8,500,000. The running expenses for the one hundred and fifty-nine days are estimated by competent judges to be about \$1,500,000. Therefore, to pay for itself and return the money advanced by the Government and by private subscribers to the stock, the gross receipts must be \$10,000,000. In other words, the daily attendance during the remaining half of the Exhibition must be nine times as great as it was during the first half. We do not know how to express our admiration for the hopeful cheerfulness with which our Philadelphia friends continue to speak of the enterprise as a financial success."

THE FOLLOWING paragraph from the Sun respecting Mr. Kerr, the late Speaker of the House of Representatives, may be of interest: "In religious matters Mr. Kerr was a liberal thinker. He might be said to have been a rationalist, accepting nothing which did not bear the impress of probability. Without admitting the divinity of Jesus Christ, he was an advocate of his code of morals. To be honest and true and just was in his belief to be a good Christian. A short time before his death he was visited by Rev. Mr. Harris, president of the female seminary at Staunton, who, with a view to sounding him as to his religious views, asked, 'I hope you are prepared for a better life hereafter, Mr. Kerr?' The reply was a prompt inclination of the head in the affirmative. Again the minister asked, 'I trust you have a firm faith in the merits of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ?' After a moment's hesitation in which he seemed to be carefully weighing the question, Mr. Kerr shook his head slowly. Finding that Speaker Kerr could not carry on a conversation, Mr. Harris promised to pray for him, to which Mr. Kerr whispered, 'I thank you.' To Mr. Cox's inquiry whether he was content to die, he nodded a tranquil assent."

NOTICE.

On receipt of \$3.20, THE INDEX will be sent to any name not already on its mail-list, from the present time until January 1, 1878. This is an excellent opportunity for friends of the paper to increase its circulation among their acquaintances; and it is hoped that they will not neglect to render in this way some greatly-needed assistance to the important cause it represents.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND THE SCHOOL QUESTION.

It is high time to look sharply at the record of the Republican party with reference to the school question, to the end that their probable action next winter, in case they carry the November election, may be comprehended by the really liberal voters of the United States. We wish to be distinctly understood: by "really liberal voters" we mean those who will vote, under any and all circumstances, for secular schools in a secular State—for the prohibition of all Bible-reading and religious worship by song or prayer in schools sustained by general taxation. All other voters are illiberal and sectarian, since they would give to Evangelical Protestants or to Catholics an unjust superiority in civil affairs over Jews, free-thinkers, and all non-Christians, whose equal rights they would thus unhesitatingly trample under foot.

This school issue is of supreme importance in the eyes of every long-headed citizen who can discern the ultimate results of such a vicious public policy, and will determine the November votes of thousands. An intelligent physician in Maine writes to us thus under date of August 30:—

"The liberals should organize in such a manner as to constitute a *corps de reserve*, and determine to cast their votes only for the candidates of either party that will promise to advocate impartial justice to all classes, and to vote for no man that is in favor of special privileges to any class, sect, or opinion. The liberals are supposed to be too weak to cause their rights to be respected; but let them show that a few votes in a town throughout the whole country may decide an election, and we shall see a change. The Democrats in the Senate voted in favor of the Catholic interest because the Papists are their constituents. I never carried a Democratic vote in my life, but will hereafter vote for no Republican that will not advocate a secular amendment or leave the Constitution as it is."

That subscriber has a clear head and a brave heart, and gives advice which we commend to the most serious consideration of our readers. Another wrote to us thus from Connecticut on the very same day:—

"I have stolen the thunder from your editorial on 'The Defeated Amendment,' and written an article to be published in our village paper. The editor has promised to print it next week, as I desired."

Let every liberal who is in earnest in this momentous cause do something as practical and wise on its behalf!

Now we have always voted the Republican ticket, though we have freely "scratched" it as we pleased. On the financial, the civil service, and the Southern questions, we still sympathize with the Republican party in the main; but we mean to scrutinize its position most keenly on the school issue, and shall refuse to vote for Hayes and Wheeler, unless convinced that the Republican party will prove sound on that. And the signs so far are not favorable to an expectation of such soundness.

1. The seventh plank of the platform adopted by the National Republican Convention at Cincinnati, on June 15, was as follows:—

"The public school system of the several States is the bulwark of the American Republic; and with a view to its security and permanence we recommend an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, forbidding the application of any public funds or property for the benefit of any school or institution under sectarian control. [Great cheering, continuing several minutes.]"

For "sectarian" read "Catholic," and you probably have the full meaning of that ambiguous seventh plank, which is so worded as to catch (if possible) the Evangelical and the Liberal votes at the same time. We do not propose to take a ride on any elephant whose trunk cannot be distinguished from its tail. We intend to know in which direction the animal is to move, before we take our seat on its back.

2. The New York State Republican Convention declared at Saratoga, on August 23, that "the Democratic party is false on the question of the safety of the schools, for the solid Democratic vote in the

United States Senate defeated an adequate amendment to protect the school system from sectarian attack."

Mark that word *adequate*—do not forget it! An "adequate amendment," forsooth, which covertly recognizes the DIVINE AUTHORITY OF THE BIBLE, and thus overthrows the grand secularism of the United States Constitution, by which alone your religious liberty is guaranteed and protected, in order to give to the Orthodox Protestant party supreme and permanent control of the whole public school system!

3. In the Ohio campaign of 1875, Governor Hayes, now the candidate of the Republican party for President of the United States, made this emphatic declaration in a public speech:—

"The State must support or 'encourage schools,' and schools are manifestly a means to promote a more important end. That end is 'religion, morality, and knowledge' (as declared in the great fundamental law for the North-Western Territory, enacted by Congress in 1787), the equivalent of 'good government.' Now the proposition to banish the Bible from the schools is a blow at this end—really discards the end, so far as 'religion and morality' are concerned, while the means—the schools—are maintained. It is idle to urge that there will be 'religion and morality' without the Bible. That was not the intention of the original parties to the compact. They understood too well the true foundation of the State. They were skilled workmen, and fresh from similar tasks. They intended that personal and property rights should be secured and made forever safe by the great triangular basis laid down in the Ordinance.

"As a citizen, I have a right to insist that that basis and pledge shall be respected and preserved. All that is asked is that the Bible may be read in the schools. It can and will explain its own precepts. Comment is not needed to make it the standard and umpire of the popular conscience. To drive it out of the school-house is a stigma and an insult.

"What is the witness-stand, the jury-room, or the judicial bench worth without the sanction of the Bible operating on the public conscience? Degrade the book as unfit for our children to read in school, and its AUTHORITY over the conscience is gone. This destroys the very foundations so carefully laid—the ORGANIC LAW. A single generation thus trained will be enough to accomplish that result. As a citizen, I demand a faithful observance and respect for the organic principles which gave the State of Ohio her birth. If these principles don't suit other people, let them remain East of the Ohio River, or 'go West.' They knew what our organic law was before they came here—or might have known it upon proper inquiry. I don't propose to have them undermine the foundations and pull the house down around our ears without at least a protest."

To those liberals who see no danger at all in permitting the defeated Constitutional amendment of the Senate to be revived and adopted next winter, we put this one pertinent question: if Governor Hayes could conjure all this Orthodox and anti-republican doctrine out of the vague and abstract word "religion," as used in the Ordinance of 1787, how much more of the same sort, and worse, would not his party conjure out of the definite and concrete word "Bible," if used in the Constitution of the United States? You perceive that, if you give the inch, Governor Hayes is swift to seize the ell. And he is the elected representative of the Republican party! Are we so "childlike and bland" as to let the word "Bible" into the Constitution, and then trust our religious liberties and rights to such interpreters as these? If the bare word "religion" can be puffed out into an explicit and solemn ordinance that "good government" is impossible without Bible-reading in the public schools—that the "authority" of the Bible is the "very foundation" of the "organic law"—that "morality" is destroyed, if the Bible is not legally made the "standard and umpire of the popular conscience,"—can you not see that the word "Bible," if once permitted to be smuggled into the Constitution, will be construed to ordain the entire creed of Evangelical Protestantism? Do you not see that the Senate amendment, with its artful and sinister Bible-clause, was the Christian Amendment itself in a cunning disguise? And yet here is Governor Hayes all ready to help make it an irrevocable part of the Constitution! For in the light of the above extract must we read this passage in his letter of acceptance:—

"The resolution with respect to the public school system [i. e., the seventh plank of the Cincinnati platform] is one which should receive the hearty support of the American people. Agitation upon this subject is to be apprehended until by Constitutional amendment the schools are placed at bay [sic], and all danger of sectarian control or interference is passed. The Republican party is pledged to secure such an amendment."

That is, pledged to a Bible amendment!

4. The Hon. William A. Wheeler, candidate of the Republican party for Vice-President of the United States, delivered a public speech at St. Albans, Ver-

ment, on August 25, in which he made the following startling avowal:—

"Republicans of St. Albans, you honor the cause of which I am just now a prominent representative. I was placed in nomination as the Republican nominee for Vice-President, in the National Convention, by the action of the States of Vermont and Massachusetts. It is the greatest honor of my life that the Republicans of these States deem me sufficiently grounded in the New England faith to be one of the representatives of their ideas in the pending canvass. [Applause.] In the matter of my faith they have made no mistake. [Applause.] I believe in New England, I believe in Plymouth Rock, for they are convertible terms. One of the most gifted of New England women has said that Plymouth Rock is no quartz; it is a perfect stone cut out of the mountain without hands, and hands cannot prevent it from becoming a great mountain, filling the whole earth. Every church, every school-house, every town-house, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, has Plymouth Rock for its foundation stone. Wherever freedom aims a musket, or raises a standard, or sings a song, or makes a protest, there is Plymouth Rock. Freedom, the Church, the school house, the town-house—these, my friends, form the very cardinal principles of the Republican party."

The "Church," then, is one of the "very cardinal principles of the Republican party"! And it is this party's candidate for the Vice-Presidency who deliberately avows it, in a careful electioneering speech!

Ponder all these things long and well, you who perceive the multiplying and ominous signs that the Republican party is identifying itself with ORTHODOX CHRISTIANITY IN POLITICS, and who know that "the end of these things is death" to all religious liberty. Do not rashly rush to the Democratic party; that would be leaping out of the frying-pan into the fire. Distrust both parties, and make it known in every way that, come what may, you will cast your votes for no candidate for any office who is wavering or treacherous in his support of the secular principle of EQUAL RIGHTS IN RELIGION FOR ALL. Politicians may say what they please: this principle, now incarnated in the Constitution, soon to be assailed and perhaps murdered in the house of its pretended friends, is in the utmost peril at this very moment, and must be saved from the politicians first of all. If lost by your apathy, or your timidity, or your selfishness, how can you complain when you find yourselves the first to suffer, to be despised, to be insolently trampled under foot? If there is any manhood in the liberal element of this country, any pride or courage or heroism or self-respect, it must speedily assert itself; it must speedily organize itself all over the land.

For one, we are resolved to cast a "conscience vote" next November; for the crisis is not "coming"—IT IS HERE!

A LETTER FROM MR. UNDERWOOD.

The subjoined letter is commended to the attention of all who have watched the signs of the times closely enough to perceive the imminent danger of such Congressional legislation next winter as will destroy the religious neutrality of the United States Constitution, and practically betray the government into Evangelical propaganda. The advice of Mr. Underwood is given by one who has travelled extensively over the whole country, has achieved a most remarkable success as a lecturer on behalf of liberal principles, and is qualified to understand the present crisis better, probably, than any other in the field. We wish him abundant success in his great work of arousing the freedom-lovers of the United States to a thorough comprehension of this crisis and to the combined action which it requires; and we invite special attention to his announcement on our last page.

THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EDITOR INDEX:—

I hope your earnest appeals to the liberals of the country in behalf of the National Liberal League will not be allowed to pass unheeded. Its principles are reasonable and just; the work it aims to accomplish is thoroughly practical; its influence is greatly needed to resist ecclesiastical encroachments and to make complete the separation of Church and State by putting our whole political system on a purely secular basis. There is nothing narrow or sectarian about it. The movement has not been inaugurated for the dissemination of any religious doctrine or philosophical speculations, but rather for the protection of all—Christians and non-Christians, spiritualists and materialists, theists and atheists—in the enjoyment and advocacy of their respective beliefs, without favoritism or persecution in any form whatever from the State. No person, in joining the League, is expected to give up the advocacy of his religious views, whatever they are; he is required sim-

ply to use his influence for the removal of all disabilities on account of opinions, the abrogation of all laws that discriminate in favor of or against any particular religious beliefs, and for the encouragement of such measures as are needed to secure to all their equal rights and impartial religious liberty. He who says this is a narrow movement, if he be sincere, must be an ignoramus whose influence on neither one side nor the other can amount to much.

A certain class of liberals there is whose hearty sympathy and vigorous aid, owing to an inefficient temperament and negative character, can hardly be expected. There is also another class which we shall have to excuse on the ground that it lives almost wholly in the world of speculation and abstraction, and has a constitutional inaptitude to project itself out upon the field of active effort. But to those liberals who delight to act as well as to think, whose positive nature and strong sympathy with humanity inspire them with confidence that by their efforts they can make the world better than they found it, who recognize among the reforms of the day the importance of the one the National Liberal League has been organized to advance, and have the disinterestedness to render aid to a noble movement without the expectation of pay in dollars and cents,—to such liberals we must look for encouragement and coöperation in the accomplishment of this work. Let liberals contribute to the movement by pen and voice and by money. Let them organize Liberal Leagues in every city and town where it is possible. There ought to be five hundred Liberal Leagues represented at the next Congress of the National Liberal League.

In a few weeks I shall start out on a lecturing tour through the West, during which I hope, with the assistance of liberal friends, to organize Leagues in all the places I visit. I hope other lecturers will be impressed with the importance of this work.

To you, Mr. Abbot, the movement is largely indebted for the strength and importance it has already acquired, and I am but one of many who feel thankful to you for the great ability and unyielding persistency with which, in spite of apathy and fault-finding from one side, and the cry of "bigot" and "fanatic" from the other, you have presented the "Demands of Liberalism" and urged them upon the attention of the liberal public.

Respectfully, B. F. UNDERWOOD.
THORNDIKE, Mass., Aug. 27, 1876.

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY R. C.

Mr. Wendell Phillips made the first campaign speech of his life last Saturday evening, at Lowell, advocating the election of General Butler as member of Congress and of Hayes for the Presidency. Mr. Phillips waved "the bloody shirt" with considerable vigor, and although he could not help putting in a favorable word for "the rag baby," went so far as to declare that he did not care whether we had a specie basis or a rag baby, "until we find out whether we have our flag assured us forever as an emblem of liberty and freedom." He believes that most of the talk about civil-service reform "is ignorance or knavery"; declares that the national government is as honest as the average of merchants; and would have as few officers as possible who are not elected by the people. Every postmaster, for instance, "should be elected by the men who take their letters from the post-office." "People go for General Butler," he asserts, "because they want honesty, capacity, and courage in public officials." Mr. Phillips' speech might be simply amusing were it not for the fact that it was delivered before the Hayes and Wheeler Club of Lowell, at a meeting presided over by the chairman of the Republican City Committee, in view of which fact we are sure that not a few simple-minded people who have been inclined to vote for Hayes and Wheeler will begin to ask the question, How can a party be trusted to give us honesty in administration, reform in the civil-service, and an early resumption of specie payments, when its authorized representatives countenance and applaud the political tomfooleries of Phillips and Butler? The latter worthy, by the way, made a speech at the same meeting, in which he advised his hearers not to believe anything said against the character of candidates sixty days before election. This piece of advice, coming from the meek and innocent Butler, is enough to make the devil writhe with mortification, for he could never expect to equal it.

Strict Republicans, in some of the Massachusetts districts, are likely to have a hard time this autumn in settling the question of duty, when they vote for members of Congress. In one district, for instance, they are almost sure to be compelled to choose between Butler, a nominal Republican and party candidate, and Tarbox, an able lawyer, a firm Unionist, a rigid hard-money man, and an honest Democrat. In another district, in all probability, the choice will lie between the rhetorical and "silvery" Banks or Mr. Roland G. Usher, a Butler manager, on the one hand, and on the other, that thorough gentleman, scholar, historian, and life-long Democrat, Mr. Rich-

ard Frothingham. Plain people who seldom attend caucuses, and party men who believe in the inalienable right to bolt, will have little difficulty in deciding with regard to either of the above cases.

As we are numbered with those who are obliged to read carefully the political news of each day, and will continue to do so until after the next election, we wish the Republican managers would have the kindness to change somewhat their method of conducting the campaign. From Morton, in Indiana, to Wheeler, in Vermont, or to Blaine and Ingersoll, in Maine, we hear nothing but the old story of Democratic wickedness and the other old story of the record of Republican virtues, while between the two stories, or after them, comes a fearful shaking of the bloody shirt. To endure this sort of thing for two months longer seems wellnigh impossible. We beg leave to suggest, therefore, a few new topics,—that Mr. Blaine, for instance, should tell us from what source he finally got the money with which to pay his campaign expenses, when he was so extremely "short" a few years ago; that Mr. Morton should tell us on which side of the financial fence he expects to stand on the 1st of January, 1879; that Professor Seelye should expound the moral principles which allow a trustee to pay over money to those for whom he never held it in trust; that Mr. Banks should tell us in what manner we can best "salute the august majesty of the people," when the people do not happen to want us for a Representative; and that Republican stump speakers in general should tell us the precise meaning of civil-service reform, and the exact relation between a party's platform and the actions of its officials or the opinions of its voters.

The Democrats, as we write, are acting in an amazingly stupid manner with regard to the nomination of a candidate for Governor of New York. The State Convention met, nominated Mr. Horatio Seymour, took a recess of one day in order to allow Mr. Seymour to consider the nomination, and then adjourned with the understanding that he consented to be their candidate. And it now appears that Mr. Seymour not only refused to allow his name to go before the Convention, but that he sent a telegram declining the nomination—which telegram the managers of the Convention suppressed,—and that he will not now accept the nomination, being, in fact, from serious physical illness, prohibited from doing so. It is now generally accepted as a foregone conclusion that the presidential election will be determined by the vote of the State of New York, the electoral votes of all other States being about equally divided between the two candidates. Under the circumstances, the action of the Republicans in refusing to nominate Mr. Evarts was stupid in the extreme; and now the Democrats, by their persistency in sticking to Seymour, as though he were the only straw in reach of a drowning crowd, are putting themselves in a ridiculous attitude, which may effect the loss of all the chances which the Republicans have so freely given them.

Over two hundred clerks have already been discharged from the Departments at Washington, and about five hundred more are to follow them by the 10th of October next. These discharges are said to be made necessary by the reduction in appropriations ordered by the last Congress, and we have no doubt but that the business of the Departments can be carried on as well without as with the former excessive number of clerks. We do not object to the discharge, therefore, but to the manner in which it is made. No allowance is made for age or ability or period of service. Men who are seventy years of age and who have been in continuous service for fifty years are discharged, while young and comparatively inexperienced men who happen to have good political influence behind them are retained. Seven hundred clerks could not be discharged without the infliction of suffering in special cases, but the Republican leaders seem determined to inflict all the hardship possible upon those turned out of office, in order to create, if possible, some political capital for themselves.

Cheering indications of a revival of business appear in the newspapers from day to day, and there is everywhere prevalent a disposition to believe that we have passed over the hardest part of the hard times. Some of our Eastern manufacturers, for instance, appear to have initiated an important and rapidly-growing foreign trade in cotton goods, which they claim to be able to manufacture profitably at a lower price than the same goods can be made for in England or France. Cotton prints have already been sent to South America, to China, and even to England. The mills at Fall River are all or nearly all in brisk operation, and some of them have contracts on hand which cannot be completed before the first of January. The immense Sprague mills in Rhode Island are again in operation. So favorable is the immediate prospect for this especial branch of business that in some places the regular "striker" has already made his appearance and begun operations.

The credit of the United States Government remains remarkably good, notwithstanding the corruption of officials and the efforts of inflationists and "silver" men. The new 4½ per cent. bonds are offered by the Rothschilds in London, at 103½, and are already quoted at a premium, 103½ to 104.

A considerable fall in the price of coal, the probability of which we intimated last week, has already taken place throughout the Eastern States. The several great coal companies have issued a new schedule of prices, and the retail dealers of the large cities have made corresponding reductions. An anticipated

strike of the miners did not take place, and it seems probable that low rates for coal will be the rule throughout the coming winter. Everybody (with the exception at present of those who have suffered loss by shrinkage in the price of mining and railroad stock) must rejoice that the natural law of supply and demand will have greater opportunity hereafter to regulate the price of a necessary commodity which has been so long controlled by a combination of capitalists.

The case of Pomeroy—the boy-murderer of Massachusetts, who, without provocation, tortured to death several small children—has been decided by the Governor, who, by advice of his Council (the vote being 5 to 3), commutes his punishment to imprisonment for life. The boy is undoubtedly a psychological curiosity. He murdered his victims from a pure love of cruelty so abnormal as to suggest insanity, and yet, aside from this horrible and apparently ineradicable taste, he exhibits not the least symptom of insanity. Since his confinement he has made no less than four ingenious efforts to escape, two of which, at least, if successful, would have involved the death of a keeper. His keepers, in fact, are said to have been so afraid of him that they had resolved, in case of a new attempt at escape, to shoot him at sight if he offered the least resistance. He will now be removed to the State Prison and placed in solitary confinement.

Mr. Beecher's lawyers, in the case of Moulton against Beecher, have moved for a change of venue, asserting the impossibility of selecting an impartial jury of intelligent men in the city of Brooklyn, and desiring, therefore, to have the case removed to one of the northern counties of the State, Franklin County being preferred. Mr. Moulton's lawyers, in reply, are willing, we believe, to have the case removed from Brooklyn, but do not desire to have it carried farther than the neighboring city of New York. The decision has not yet been announced.

The Turks, having got their hands in, now depose Sultans with all the facility with which our politicians "bounce" department clerks and revenue collectors. The weak and sickly Murad, not dying as soon as was expected, has been deposed, and Hamid II. now reigns in his stead. The disposition of the new Sultan, as regards the war with Serbia, does not seem to be known to the correspondents of the European newspapers, and the prospects of peace which last week were brightening somewhat are again clouded. The reports of Serbian successes in the battles about Alexinatz, which we stated should be taken with considerable allowance, appear to have been pure fabrications, and one result of the war will not be to increase confidence in Serbian truthfulness. Serbian claims to bravery, moreover, heretofore regarded as good, are likely to be disputed hereafter. Some of the soldiers are said to wound themselves in order not to be obliged to fight against the Turks, and others are actually driven into battle by their officers. The Turks, as we write, are reported to have attacked Alexinatz with great fury, to have set fire to the town, and to have pushed back the Serbians at many points. Russian officers are doing excellent service in reorganizing and holding together the Serbian army; but the correspondent of the London Times distinctly asserts that the Serbian soldiers are actually killing these Russian officers, because forced by them to face the Turks.

ENGLISH SKETCHES.

BY MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

LONDON, Aug. 12, 1876.

I think that some time ago I mentioned the fact that Moncure D. Conway, on his return from America, removed himself and his evening congregation from St. Paul's Road, Camden Town, to the Athenæum in the same district. The baby, whose iron cradle was sufficient for it during its infancy, has so flourished on freethought food that it has grown too large for its early resting-place, and has now hired a larger bed. The Rev. R. Glover, vicar of West Holloway, in whose parish the Athenæum is situated, much objected to the irruption of heresy in his midst, and preached some furious sermons against the invader. Mr. Conway replied, and the controversy ran high; a crowded audience listened to the "Apology of the Rationalists," named "Our Cause and its Accusers," and Mr. Glover, irritated beyond endurance, rushed into print in the local paper. Mr. Glover had previously spoken of some passage in Mr. Conway's *Earthward Pilgrimage* referring to Christ as "irreverent," and Mr. Conway had replied that he had always spoken of Christ with "reverence." Here the same word is used by the antagonists in two different senses; to Mr. Glover, Christ is God, and any criticism is irreverence; to Mr. Conway, Christ is man, and not a perfect man, and by reverence he would only mean simple human respect, frankly paid to one whom he considers as a great man. Mr. Glover writes:—

"This kissing of Christ while betraying him is one of the very worst and most dangerous features of modern rationalism. It is calculated, indeed, to deceive the simple. But is it ingenious? Is it honest? Is this the pure morality that is vaunted as so superior to ours? Mr. Conway, for instance, reviles the God of the Old Testament in the very lecture delivered against me. And yet Christ believed in that God, called Him His Father, and taught His disciples to revere His character and His word. If so, is Christ worthy of any reverence? And is Mr. Conway dealing fairly with his own disciples when he speaks of reverencing one who was so deceived and deceiving?"

Then he expands into a criticism of Tennyson's creed, which is scarcely worth reproducing; Mr.

Conway follows him in this controversy, and then says that Mr. Glover had previously "misrepresented my statements, and borne false witness against his neighbor." Reappears Mr. Glover, kissing Mr. Conway before he betrays him:—

"Let me begin, then, by assuring Mr. Conway that I do not doubt that he is perfectly honest in holding the views he does, and in seeking to extend them. But a man may be very honest and sincere in his motives, and yet as wrong in his views, and as much opposing God in his courses, as Saul of Tarsus was before his enlightenment and conversion—Saul, be it remembered, who could avow, 'Men and brethren, I have walked in all good conscience before God until this day.' Our Savior speaks of men whose consciences are so perverted by error that 'when they kill you they will think that they are doing God service.' So with Mr. Conway; I verily believe that he thinks he is doing God (the God of his conception) service. But I am also as convinced that he is as truly trying to kill truth and souls that are very dear to God (I mean the God of the Bible, or in my judgment the true God), though, like those that affixed Jesus to the Cross, he 'knows not what he does.' Had he known it, I am sure 'he would not have crucified,' or be engaged in crucifying, Truth and Him who is 'The Truth.'"

Mr. Conway's phrase regarding Jesus as a "dead Jew" has horrified Mr. Glover, and he speaks bitterly and strongly about it; also he raves as to Mr. Conway's views of the Bible:—

"This is the Bible of which Mr. Conway has written these truly awful words: 'What does the workingman derive from the Bible? Are not earls, dukes, members of Parliament, declaring that for the children of an empire an essential shall be that they are taught to regard as the Word of God a book which contains stories so gross, so—but I will not further transcribe such words. Let any reader who wishes refer to p. 138 of the *Earthward Pilgrimage*.'"

The passage concludes: "sensual and cruel that, if they were contained in any other book, the police would make a raid upon the book-shop where it was sold." The remark is too palpably true to be palatable to Mr. Glover; would any other book be permitted public sale which contained some of the terribly foul stories contained in the Bible? At this stage the fray becomes complicated. Mr. Conway gave a lecture in the hall of a South London Secular Society, and Mr. Bradlaugh was in the chair. A "liberal Christian" writes:—

"I felt somewhat shocked at learning that within the last fortnight Mr. Conway has been assisting in the formation of a branch of Mr. Bradlaugh's Secularist Society in Walworth. My authority is Mr. Bradlaugh's own statement in the *National Reformer* of Saturday last. At Mr. Conway's lecture therein referred to, Mr. Bradlaugh himself occupied the chair."

And further:—

"Can Mr. Conway realize to himself the amount of moral mischief likely to ensue from his addressing the class of persons he had before him at Walworth, in such mocking phrases as that given above?"

The "mocking phrase" was a sentence from F. D. Maurice, who had said that there "was always a strong tendency in the spiritual man to be a thief and a liar." Mr. Conway replied to the "liberal Christian" that—

"A number of persons, having recently formed themselves into an association of freethinkers at Walworth, requested me to give them a lecture. Those making the request no doubt knew perfectly well my differences from some of Mr. Bradlaugh's opinions, as well as my respect for the bravery with which he and his friends are trying to deliver this nation from superstition. They did not request me to give them their own opinions, but mine. I cannot allow any 'class of persons' to use your correspondent's phrase, to be more liberal to me than I am to them. Although under much pressure of work, I was glad to give to the new association of free (not enslaved) thinkers what contribution I could; that is, a lecture somewhat enlarged from one of my regular discourses."

After this Mr. Conway returns to the charge against Mr. Glover, urging that Mr. Glover's Christ is a "dead Jew, with no living, human reality of life":—

"He believes that Christ could have sinned, and that he was really tempted to sin. What, God sin! Does Mr. Glover believe that Christ is 'very God,'—that God whom St. James tells us 'cannot be tempted with evil'? And does he at the same time believe that this same God while on earth was tempted 'in all points like as we are,' like men, an important point in whose temptations is their ignorance of the right, and of the full consequences of evil?"

He also speaks sharply as to Mr. Glover's connotation of heresy and sensualism, remarking: "We have not often been called sensual; indeed, we have often been declared 'mere moralists.'" Mr. Glover now loses his temper; Orthodox dissenters he can put up with, but this man!

"He was an avowed anti-Christian, and was let into my parish with the avowed object of destroying all faith in all that Orthodox Christians profess to hold most sacred and most dear. Liberty must have some limits. It has, as a matter of fact, even with Mr. Conway. Is he not attacking Orthodox belief, for instance, in every discourse he utters at the Athenæum?"

But behold! he is in—

"His true colors now; listen to his avowal of 'respect for the bravery with which Mr. Bradlaugh and his friends are trying to deliver this nation from superstition.' Does not that one sentence show that all I have said of the nature and tendency of Mr. Conway's views is true? And will not that open the

eyes of Holloway? It knows, of course, that Mr. Bradlaugh is an avowed Atheist or Secularist, that what he calls (and Mr. Conway *supra*) 'superstition' is all faith in a God and all religion, that his creed is, 'Live for this world,' that is, live as you like, as your own reason and passions dictate, for there is no God to whom you are responsible, and no hereafter either to fear or hope for! Let the families of Holloway bear in mind that Mr. Conway has avowed in your columns his 'respect' for all that!"

Poor Mr. Bradlaugh! Marvellous are the creeds put upon his broad shoulders! "All that!" Thus the ball of slander gathers size. Mr. Conway makes "deadly insinuations," "shaking of faith in the doctrines of our holy religion," "misstatements," "fallacies," "terrible work," etc., etc. "You will become, first a sceptic, and then an infidel, and then a scoffer, and then, at last, the openly immoral sensualist." The rationalists in the Church are Judases, and the Church hates them. Mr. Conway answers:—

"With regard to the rationalists of his Church generally, Mr. Glover at last gives me an answer. He says they are black sheep in the fold, Judases. They are men that the Church grieves over and protests against. Is this true? The Church has sustained the *Essays and Reviews* by a legal decision, on a suit instituted against one of its authors for heresies. It has made another of its authors Bishop of Exeter; and yet another of them has since been made master of Balliol College, Oxford. The persistent efforts to depose Bishop Colenso have failed. The Rev. Flavel Cook, of Bristol, has been nonsuited in an attempt to maintain the existence of Satan as a necessary article of faith, though that existence is asserted by Christ. The Church has now among its revisers of the Bible translation at Westminster one of the most radical Unitarians in England, Dr. G. Vane Smith, and when the Orthodox tried to exclude him, the late Bishop of St. David's and Dean Stanley declined to serve if he were excluded. This is the way the Church grieves over its rationalists! The Church of England is, for the purposes of my argument, a big Athenæum; from it is going forth *Essays and Reviews*, *Natal Sermons*, and other things that supply my ammunition; and this big Athenæum Mr. Glover is supporting. He is party to letting out a building which Bishop Colenso utilizes to attack the Pentateuch, deny miracles, and preach Darwinism. Mr. Glover, technically speaking, doesn't come into court with clean hands."

Mr. Glover wants to close the Athenæum against Mr. Conway:—

"Mr. Glover has given his reasons: he believes we are ruining souls. Now, in strict logic, he ought to go further; he ought to insist upon our being killed. For murder of souls is far worse than murder of body, and ought to be more severely punished."

Mr. Glover pleads that "the tendency of" heresy is towards sensualism:—

"I am satisfied, too, to know that what Mr. Glover said about 'sensualism' in connection with Rationalism is based upon his readings of certain epistles in the Bible, and his theory of what liberals ought to be if they only did what his theology expects. I wonder our censor does not see that it is a part of our wicked hostility to his faith that we don't carry out the programme, and illustrate the tendency of our opinions by filling the prisons."

So stands the quarrel, and "a very pretty one" it is; Mr. Glover refuses to answer any further, and Mr. Conway has gone to Paris for his summer holiday. The dry bones of Holloway have received such a shaking as will probably cause the resurrection of some from the death of faith to the life of reason. Mr. Glover could have done rationalism no greater service than to act as he has done, for controversy is the life-atmosphere of truth, and it is only for truth that we struggle. "Light, light, more light," is the battle cry of our army:—

"Only disperse the cloud, they cry,
And, if our fate be death, give light, and let us die."

REWARD OF HEROISM IN ENGLAND.—Three pounds seventeen! That is the price of a hero in these latter days, the amount subscribed for the widow and children of John Chiddy, who sacrificed his life the other day to prevent the accident to the "Flying Dutchman." Is heroism, then, so cheap? Is the supply so much greater than the demand? Or is it that we cannot recognize heroism in a muddy venture of fustian and in connection with anything so prosaic as a railway? John Chiddy was a quarryman on the Bristol & Exeter Railway. He saw a large block of stone on the line just before the train was due at a speed of fifty miles an hour. He removed it in time to save the train, but was himself caught in the act and killed on the spot. An appeal to the public in behalf of the family was answered by £3 17s. The railway company, who had profited to the extent of thousands by Chiddy's bravery, have done nothing for him. Lord Elcho appealed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but there are no funds available for such purposes. On the same day, we paid £29,101 in commutation of a pension granted two centuries ago to a Dutch soldier of fortune, who had come to England to be killed. The nation has paid half a million in recognition of the Duke of Schomberg's services in being killed at the battle of the Boyne, and John Chiddy's family is put off with £3 17s. It is not even in accordance with the dictates of an enlightened selfishness; and it is to be hoped that this is not the ultimate and final measure of our admiration for heroism in humble life.—*London Examiner*.

SHE ASKED him if her new dress wasn't as sweet as a spring rose, and the brute said it was, even to the minor attraction of still having a little due on it.

Communications.

A NOTE FROM COLONEL GREENE.

PRINCETON, Mass., Aug. 30, 1876.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Inasmuch as the writer of the following letter has been quoted by both Mr. Andrews and myself in our discussion of Proudhon, I send the letter to you, that your readers may know Col. Greene's opinion upon the matter at issue. After reading my article in THE INDEX of July 13, he wrote me, expressing his thorough approval of my treatment of Mr. Andrews. Upon the appearance of Mr. Andrews' reply, I received the letter which I send herewith.

BENJ. R. TUCKER.

BOSTON, August 18, 1876.

MY DEAR MR. TUCKER:—

Mr. Andrews has hung the matter now on the right peg. Let him explain to us, in THE INDEX, what that higher doctrine (which he says he possesses) is. I think you and I would be, both of us, more capable of comprehending a concise statement than a popular one. Perhaps we shall not be able to understand him at all, or, if we understand him, to agree with him. But, if he can convince us that he possesses a doctrine such as he has described, and claims to possess, it is our duty to follow his lead—provided, however, that he first makes good the claims which he puts forth in his second article.

Yours truly,

WM. B. GREENE.

REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS.

NEW YORK, Sept. 1, 1876.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT, Esq.:—

Dear Sir,—Allow me, as a subscriber, to find fault with the editor in charge of your column of "Current Events." My complaint is based upon the assumption (if you please) that the tone of that department has a Democratic tendency. My objections to this part of your paper are as follows:—

I.

THE INDEX should be kept within its platform, namely, secular government as set forth in its "Demands."

II.

It should not favor the Democratic party, its natural enemy:—

a.—The Roman Catholic Church is one of its controlling elements.

b.—No Romanist can have mental freedom, and his loyalty is at the mercy of another.

c.—It is opposed to the common school, with or without the Bible.

d.—It wants to live by subsidies from the public treasury, as in the State of New York, etc., etc.

III.

No Democrat could ever have offered the Blaine amendment or made the Grant speech at Des Moines:—

a.—Of course the Blaine amendment did not go far enough, but it was a step in the right direction.

b.—Although Grant seems to be in favor of the reading of the Bible in the schools, still his speech had many points in it which are desirable.

IV.

The theory of the secularists is that the Constitution, being the fundamental law of the land, should be so amended that there may be no question as to its character, and that the States should be obliged to conform their legislation to it on the subject of secular government:—

a.—The theory of the Democrat is that the different State governments should control the question of church, schools, and education.

b.—If the Democrat be right, then the secularist must transfer his labors to the State Legislature.

c.—The secularists need never look to the Democrats for support of their proposed amendment.

V.

The Southern portion of the Democratic party is against the education of the negro and education generally.

In order that, by not elevating him, he may be brought within the Roman Church and its party.

VI.

The Democratic party is opposed to the civil service reform, and on account of its discordant elements is incapable of instituting reform of any character in this government.

These are my views, rather hastily written.

Respectfully yours,

H. O. LOCKWOOD.

P. S.—Since writing the enclosed letter, I have read the remarks of THE INDEX of the 31st ult., first page. I here notice the same tendency to flatter the Democratic party. I have not time to answer the paragraph; but it seems to me perfectly ridiculous to say that, because the Democrats in the Senate voted against the proposed amendment, as proposed to be amended by the Senate (that is, if I remember correctly, that nothing in the amendment should exclude the Bible from the schools), therefore the Democrats were right. Does not THE INDEX look at the motive? Why, this party simply voted against the proposed law for the reason that it would have forced the Bible into the schools, and the St. James Bible, at that. Of course they would be against such a law. It is very true that their course may have saved the country from the recognition of Christ in the Constitution; but the party wants the recognition of Romanism, and nothing short of that will satisfy them. The National Reform Association want simply an acknowledgment of Christianity; but the Democrats

never would consent to the Bible going in, as the Protestants understand it. The Democrats simply voted as they were obliged to. They are in favor of the Christian Amendment, for the reason that one of these days they hope to define what that means. How could they vote for an amendment which made it unlawful to exclude the Bible? That is what they want to do. Respectfully,

H. C. L.

[Mr. Lockwood mistakes criticism of both parties for "flattery" of one. We pointed out the "motive" in each case; and one is as bad as the other. The battle for political power between Catholics and Protestant Evangelicals has begun; we favor neither side, and hope (rather against hope) that the liberals will so assert themselves as to compel the contestants to take the higher ground of equal rights in religion.—ED.]

OPEN LETTER TO A "LABOR-REFORMER."

DEAR SIR:—

If a school-boy should produce, among his *ex-temporalia*, sentences like this: "I herewith resolve that a horse is a horse, and a garden is a garden," or, "I resolve that twice two make four, and twice three make six,"—you would laugh at his simplicity. And yet I find among the resolutions of the seventh annual convention of the Boston Eight-Hour League the following:—

"Resolved, That the existence of a laboring class and a capitalist class, in the United States, is the great fact that most endangers our republic!"

Now, I ask, what does this resolution mean? Is it resolved to make the existence of this danger a fact? Certainly not. Well, if it is simply the statement of a fact, what on earth is the use of the resolution? Further:—

"Resolved, That the laborer is nothing but a laborer, if he can sell nothing but his labor."

This would sound about as logical as: "Resolved (and we shall apply all our energy to carry this resolution into effect), That a brick house built of brick is nothing but a brick house!"

Reading further, I come across the sagacious and wise resolution that—"machinery is discharging labor faster" than human fingers; I herewith solemnly resolve—and mean to dedicate my whole energy to make it effective—that a horse runs faster than a man.

After having thus furnished to the editor of the Pioneer ample material for his department "Something to Laugh At," the league adjourned. And now you world-saviors cannot understand why the movement of the so-called Labor-Reform is not advancing. With plenty of meetings, handbills of *whereases*, pocketfuls of *resolutions*, you do not get ahead. A very strange phenomenon indeed! Strange as it may seem, however, I will take the liberty to try to explain it to you. Though you advocate a cause the justice of which is regarded by every liberal mind as established, you nevertheless use means to reach your purpose which no liberal mind can agree with. It is easy to blind the masses by the cry, "Down with property! Property is robbery!" And so you make a gross distinction between a laborer and a capitalist. In your enthusiasm for the emancipation of the imagined labor-slaves from capital, you exclaim, "Every laborer must be a capitalist, or the world must be destroyed." Please pause, sir. Be not too hot. Allow me a question. Will you take the trouble to examine what is capital? You have a beautiful pair of eyes; would you like to part with them for the price of \$10,000? No, you say; this is by far too small a price for my eyes. Consequently, my dear sir, though you are proud of bearing the name of a laborer, you are nevertheless not ashamed to possess property (property is robbery!) for which you will not accept \$10,000. But, you say, this is my *natural* property; this is a gift of kind Nature. But there is a class of blind men who are not favored by Nature with such valuable "property." They come to you, as a representative of the platform "equalization of property," and say: "Eyesight is robbery; you possess it; we do not; down with eyesight! Equality to all!" What have you to say?

To demand equality of property is as absurd as to demand that men shall be created equal. Goddess Fortuna is blind. One is gifted with extraordinary powers, the other not; one had the fortune to be born "rich," the other not. As long, however, as she offers to every individual a sound mind in a sound body, no matter how naked she sends them into the world, men have no right to complain. The fact that some "classes" of humanity abuse the others should induce reformers to stop these abuses, but not to deny the natural rights to your fellow-men. You see in the "eight hours" a remedy for the abuses which capital allows itself toward labor. Some time after, you may think that even this working-time is too long, and you will demand the reduction to six hours. A while later, we may chance to read among your wise resolutions the following:—

"Resolved, That by allowing capitalists to come to our houses and invite us to work for them, we bestow a great favor upon them; and that, as property is robbery, every capitalist must pay to us the sum of \$10 for being permitted to come and engage us—muscle-arristocrats—to work."

The wrongs of capital against labor are no doubt great. But they will not be relieved by demanding eight hours; they will not be relieved by stamping every one who has not muscles enough to chop wood a "bourgeois"; they will not be relieved by crying: "Down with capital!" But they will be relieved by endeavoring to obtain a JUST compensation for your services.

Yours, etc.,

IVAN PANIN.

BOSTON.

"TRIFLES THANKFULLY RECEIVED."

DEAR INDEX:—

To give you a notion of the mental food offered its readers by the best religious newspaper in a city of half a million bodies (souls I do not say), I enclose a letter to the Chicago Alliance, edited by the large-hearted, large-brained David Swing, apropos of an article by the whilom principal of a college for the higher education of women. Of the outcome of such teaching we unhappily know more than enough.

Yours,

KATE N. DOGGETT.

BOSTON, June 25.

DEAR ALLIANCE:—

In your issue of June 10, I find a letter from Ohio upon the Temperance Crusade, in which the writer seems gravely to approve, if not to advise, such methods of getting direction for self-guidance and the guidance of others as savor of medieval times, or Salem-witchcraft days, rather than what suits the light of the Centennial year of our national life.

According to this writer, less than three years ago "a woman of the best thought and opportunity," wishing to do something to arrest the progress of a great social evil, "goes to her chamber, falls upon her knees, and opens the Bible," with which she ought to have been familiar enough to select a text for a sermon, but "the daughter" must furnish it.

She arrives "with tear-bedewed cheeks" to inform her mother "she had consulted her Bible to see what God would give her for her mother, and had opened at the one hundred and forty-sixth Psalm," which "she thought was His message."

So "the mother read for the first time a psalm which had never especially attracted her attention before." "The first time," yet she was sixty years old, and had been "one of the foremost workers in a church of which she became an earnest member when only eleven years old."

What was this remarkable message? "Praise ye the Lord!" "And her heart took courage. That was like the clarion peal over a victory won."

Prodigious, truly! That one should open the Bible at the Psalms, and the eye fall upon these words which occur a hundred times, more or less (as the land-sellers say). The four psalms succeeding this, "which had never attracted attention before," begin and end with the cabalistic words.

In one of them not only men and angels are called upon to praise the Lord, but "dragons and all cattle, creeping things and flying fowl."

And "all this," says the writer, "emphasizes the supernatural as nothing else has done in this materialistic age."

In a little town in Vermont, where I lived in the long ago, was a young man who thought it a duty to "tell what the Lord had done for his soul" at each recurring evening meeting, always prefacing his remarks with, "I don't suppose I can say anything to the edifice of the people."

It was a standing marvel to me why he did not keep silent till he thought he could.

If this *abracadabra* sort of thing is the best showing one has for the supernatural, it seems to me it does not tend to any "building" likely to be either comely or profitable. It certainly does not deserve a place in the same sheet with one of the exquisite sermons of Prof. Swing.

Yours,

K. N. DOGGETT.

MAJORITY-RULE IN RELIGION.

EDITOR INDEX:—

In your remarks in reply to mine upon the motto "In God we trust," I think you prove too much to be consistent with the true principles which are the foundation not only of justice, but also of all republican governments, to wit: "The greatest good to the greatest number," or the majority rule. In fact, it seems to me that, carried to its logical conclusions, you would permit or make liberty to be only license. In Virginia, the law makes it a fine of one dollar to use profane language, and I think nine-tenths of the people would vote to retain the law. Now suppose the majority should pass a law to put the motto, "In God we trust," upon all the public buildings of the State, and that I am an atheist. I am not compelled to trust in nor believe in a God; and how can the motto injure me? If I lived in a land where nearly all did not believe in a God, and they inscribed it on all things, but did not compel me to adopt their belief, I could not be wronged, while I might have sorrow and pity for them in their folly and ignorance.

Now this land was settled by those who believed in a God, and that the Bible was his word, and those who believe in a God to-day are the vast majority of the people. You have no right to ignore their rights, to do, as the majority,—that which they deem for the public good. It is true that majorities often err; yet they are safer than kings, as they will sooner see and correct their errors; nothing but death corrects tyrants.

It is human to err; but 'tis wisdom to see and correct our errors.

It is true, as you say, that the atheist's rights are as good as mine; but will you tell me how he can be injured or wronged in any way by the recognition of a God by the majority of the people of these United States? Please print particulars. Orthodoxy gives us enough of "glittering generalities." W. M. E.

AMHERST, Va., Aug. 20, 1876.

"THIS IS MY LAST CALL," remarked a flippant young gentleman to a young lady who was soon to be married, on a recent occasion. "I never call on married women or unmarried ladies after they have reached twenty-five." "You do well, sir," gravely remarked an elder lady present. "At that age, and after marriage, they begin to know the value of time, and do not like to waste it."

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ARTICLE II.—The general object of the National Liberal League shall be to accomplish the TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE: to the end that equal rights in religion, genuine morality in politics, and freedom, virtue, and brotherhood in all human life, may be established, protected, and perpetuated.

MEMBERSHIP.

ARTICLE IV.—Any person who shall pay one dollar into the treasury shall be entitled to a certificate, signed by the President and Secretary, as an annual member of the National Liberal League. Any person who shall pay twenty-five dollars or more into the treasury shall be entitled to a similar certificate as a life-member. All the persons present as members at the Centennial Congress of Liberals, at which this Constitution was adopted, are hereby declared permanent or charter-members of the National Liberal League.

ARTICLE V.—... All charter-members and life-members of the National Liberal League, and all duly accredited delegates from local auxiliary Liberal Leagues organized in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution, shall be entitled to seats and votes in the Annual Congress. Annual members of the National Liberal League shall be entitled to seat, but not to vote, in the Annual Congress.

LOCAL AUXILIARY LIBERAL LEAGUES.

ARTICLE XIII.—The Board of Directors shall have authority, as often as they receive a written application signed by ten or more persons and accompanied by ten dollars, to issue a charter for the formation of a local auxiliary Liberal League.

ARTICLE XV.—Local auxiliary Liberal Leagues organized under charters issued by the Board of Directors shall be absolutely independent in the administration of their own local affairs. The effect of their charters shall be simply to unite them in cordial fellowship and efficient cooperation of the freest kind with the National Liberal League and with other local Leagues. All votes of the Annual Congress, and all communications of the Board of Directors, shall possess no more authority or influence over them than lies in the intrinsic wisdom of the words themselves.

ARTICLE XVI.—Every local auxiliary Liberal League organized in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution shall be entitled to send its President and Secretary and three other members as delegates to the Annual Congress.

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as a local auxiliary Liberal League, in order to be all ready for action as soon as the necessary papers are prepared. Before New Year, let a

Thousand Liberal Leagues

be thoroughly organized and actively at work for the adoption of the

Religious Freedom Amendment

to the United States Constitution. The

"GOD-IN-THE-CONSTITUTION"

party are scheming and laboring more busily than ever for the adoption of their

Christian Amendment,

which would ultimately DISFRANCHISE and DISQUALIFY FOR OFFICE every honest Liberal in the land, and trample under foot the people's most sacred rights of conscience. It is time to rouse the people to an effective defence of their religious liberty, and the Liberal Leagues must do it.

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BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1876.

WHOLE No. 351.

THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

THE following additional names, by consent of the gentlemen concerned, have been added to the list of the Executive Committee of the National Liberal League, in accordance with Article VI. of the Constitution: Mr. William H. Sayward, Dorchester, Massachusetts; Mr. John L. Cutler, Quitman, Georgia; Mr. George M. Wood, Washington, D. C.

THE SUNDAY anecdote in our last has called out this equally interesting one from another friend: "A lady who spent July and August of this year at a quiet sea-shore boarding-house was knitting one Sunday afternoon. Her little boy went out and saw on the piazza a lady with whom his mother was acquainted. Coming up to the wearied, reclining, Sabbath-keeping Christian, he said, 'Why don't you knit?' To this she replied, 'It is Sunday, and it is not right to work.' 'Oh,' said the boy, 'my mother knits, and says it doesn't matter here in the country!'"

MR. KARL HEINZEN, editor of the *Boston Pioneer*, informs us that "the German Radicals of Boston have united in an association called the 'Radical Democratic Club,' as a part of the 'Union of Radicals' accomplished in Philadelphia, and that they are ready to act in common with the Liberal Leagues of this State so far as the Church question is concerned." The coöperation of the German liberals all over the country is desired and will be gladly welcomed in a cause which concerns them just as much as it concerns liberals of American birth; and Mr. Heinzen has our thanks for his kind offices towards this end.

THE LIBERAL LEAGUE movement was discussed last Sunday at Paine Hall, which was well filled with an attentive and evidently deeply interested audience. Excellent addresses were delivered by Mr. Seaver and Mr. Underwood, and remarks were also made by Messrs. Bacon, Witherell, Mendum, Bradford, Ranney, and Abbot. A special invitation was extended by Mr. Seaver, who presided, to those who had objections or criticisms to offer; but no objectors or critics appeared, and the discussion proved to be all on one side. This is to be regretted. The same subject will be continued next Sunday, and, if it has two sides, both ought to be presented. Frank opposition on the spot is more honorable than misrepresentation out of reach of reply.

THERE is too much frivolity in the venerable *Christian Register* to please the truly sedate mind. Witness the following in its list of "Brevities": "Among the things on exhibition at the Centennial are said to be the original hatchet with which George Washington cut down his father's cherry-tree, and the chair in which the Father of his Country would have sat if he had accepted Judge Jones' invitation to dinner; the birch which the grandfather of his country cut with which to 'wallop' the father of the same if he had not owned up; the lie that Washington couldn't tell about the cherry-tree; the entire garden which contained the cherry-tree, showing the stump of the tree; section of the Delaware river where it was crossed by Washington; hole from which Israel Putnam pulled the wolf at Pomfret; demijohn containing some of the spirit of '76; horse which Paul Revere rode from Boston to Lexington; chest of tea which was not thrown overboard in Boston Bay; the cob which was left after the shelling of Cornwallis."

REV. LYMAN ABBOTT, formerly editor of the *Illustrated Christian Weekly*, has become associated with the *Christian Union* as one of its editors. The prospectus says: "The name of this paper indicates the spirit and purpose with which it was founded. Belonging to no denomination, but to the church universal, acknowledging but the one Master, Jesus Christ, anticipating the time when we shall have grown up in all things into Him who is the head; it will seek that unity in Christ which fuses all Protestant denominations in one truly catholic Church, and will embody those great truths which are the common heritage of all Evangelical denominations, and apply them to the problems of individual experience and of social and national life." This avowal is very significant of the times, especially the words we have italicized. One great Protestant Church, if formed, is to mould the "national life"; and that, in the light of certain recent remarks of the *Christian Union*, points to the Christian Amendment. Here is the purpose which is destroying all inter-sectarian barriers in the interest of one great Protestant sect; and it is a purpose which is rapidly consolidating all Evangelicals in a union of vast power and of equally vast menace to liberty. You cannot reflect on this purpose too much.

LAST WEEK, referring to our editorial article on "The Republican Party and the School Question," we said: "We have expressed political views this week; our readers can do so too, whether they approve or disapprove what we have said." One of our New York city subscribers expressed his own in this way: "Political articles do not accord with my views. Please to discontinue sending the paper to my address." That, we suppose, is the only argument he could make; but it shows that our circulation is not (or was not) confined to "liberals." Another New York city subscriber responded as follows: "THE INDEX just at hand strikes the key-note regarding the duty of liberals at this time in your words: 'Distrust both parties, and make it known in every way that, come what may, you will cast your votes for no candidate for any office who is wavering or treacherous in his support of the secular principle of equal rights in religion for all. . . . A short time ago, exercising my right as a voting citizen, I addressed a few lines to each of three candidates, Mr. Hayes, Mr. Tilden, Mr. Cooper,—in general terms referring to the 'Patriotic Address' of the National Liberal League (a copy of which I sent them), and asking their views about the subject matter of the address, that I might be enabled to cast an intelligent vote. . . . Should none of the three candidates prove sound on the great question of equal religious rights, I can at least stand up with you and cast a 'conscience vote' next November."

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fairs shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

Sabbatarian Hypocrisy.

BY "NEMESIS."

Sincerity is so rare and so excellent a trait of the human character that it almost sanctifies every opinion it holds, and every act it commits. I myself, although not to weeping given, have been moved to tears in a Catholic church, when I noticed a servant-girl beside me casting her streaming eyes from her beads to the image of the crucified Jesus, which hung over the altar. Henry Martyn, when he went to the East as a missionary, was profoundly impressed with the fact, which never seemed to have occurred to his mind in England, that the Moslems were just as sincere and self-sacrificing in their attachment to Mohammed and the Koran as he was in his attachment to Christ and the New Testament.

But when either the Roman or the Christian augurs, in perpetuating their terrible power over the people by imposing upon them burdensome ceremonies and a superstitious creed, tip the wink to each other as they meet, and mutually admit it to be all a grand system of profitable imposture, we lose our patience and denounce them as hypocrites,—men who on the stage of life perform an assumed, and not a real, part. We respect and even tremble before sincerity, because it is honest, earnest, thorough-going, and consistent; but we despise hypocrisy, because it is hollow, impudent, and unprincipled.

Now I charge upon the Sabbatarians of this country that they are hypocrites. I know this is a terrible accusation to make against any class of men, especially against those who regard themselves as having a larger share than common of piety and moral worth. But I deliberately make it, and will proceed to prove it.

The Sabbatarians in general, and those of Philadelphia in particular, have closed the doors of the International Exhibition on Sunday, and would close those of the Art Galleries, the Zoological Gardens, and all other places of worldly amusement and instruction, because, as they allege, Almighty God, in the Sabbath law which he enacted on Mount Sinai, declared the day to be holy, and required it to be observed as such by all mankind to the end of time. As the pulpits of the churches are practically expurgated editions, I republish from the "legal records" themselves so much of the Divine law as contains the points of discussion. It is found in Exodus, the twentieth chapter, and is as follows: "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labor, and do all thy work; but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates."

1. Now here it is distinctly ordained, first, that the seventh day of the week is the Sabbath. But all the world knows that the Sabbatarians do not keep this day holy at all, but profane it constantly by labor and amusement. Their plea is that they have transferred their allegiance from the seventh to the first day of the week. It is a well understood principle in legislation, however, that, when a legislature, say the United States Congress or the British Parliament, goes through the solemn forms of enacting a law, and it receives the signature of the President, or the Queen, it remains in full, binding force until it is just as solemnly, authoritatively, and formally repealed. If, then, the Sabbath law, as recorded in the statutes of Exodus just quoted, has ever been repealed in whole or in part, if a change has been made of the day to be observed as holy, surely the act of repeal can be pointed out in chapter and verse somewhere among the sacred writings which contain the records of the Divine government. Otherwise the government of God is more bunglingly managed than the government of man. Now let the Sabbatarians, instead of going on any longer in their slipshod method of taking things for granted, put their finger upon the passage in the New Testament where the Sabbath law is either annulled or amended, in whole or in part. They cannot do it, and they know they cannot. They tell their credulous people that the resurrection of Christ occurring on the first day of the week changed the law, and made the first day of the week to be henceforth the Sabbath. But THE APOSTLES NEVER SAID SO; and even if they had, the LAW-GIVER HIMSELF NEVER SAID SO, but still persists in declaring that "the seventh day is the Sabbath."

2. In the second place, the law in Exodus, as the reader will see, forbids all manner of work to be performed on the Sabbath, whether by son, daughter, hireling, or beast. It is recorded, in the fifteenth chapter of the book of Numbers, that, when the law was in force among the Hebrews, a violation of it was deemed a capital offence, and the passage cited gives an account of a man who was judicially stoned to death for gathering sticks on the Sabbath. I suppose to cook his victuals. I knew a man, an elder of a Presbyterian church, who had his own son "seasoned" for gathering splinters off the fence on a fast-day to boil his pot of coffee, when he returned home from church, wearied nearly to death by a whole day's infliction of dull sermons after the old, seceder style of preaching. Had the offence been committed on the "holy Sabbath," although his son was the head of a family, the old man could have seen him put to death, according to the Sabbath law, for his crime. But that was thirty years ago, in the days of faith, before hypocrisy had cankered the soul of Presbyterianism, and when men were in earnest in their religion. Nowadays all the Sabbatarian clergy, except their poor brethren in the country who cannot afford it, sup their hot coffee, and enjoy their hot

rolls and mutton-chops for breakfast on the "holy Sabbath," when they know that the Divine law forbids it. They say that such cookery on Sunday morning is "a work of necessity and mercy." But does the Law-giver say so? He alone has the right to make a proviso in the law, exempting a subject from part of its operation; but has he done so? He says not only that the seventh day is the Sabbath, but that in it thou shalt do no manner of work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy cattle. In defiance of this un-repealed law, as they declare it to be, the Sabbatarian clergy ride in the street-cars in the city, or drive their horses to church in the country, light fires, and cook their victuals, all on the holy Sabbath! Is not this hypocrisy?

But what gives their hypocrisy its most hateful color is the fact that, while in the very act of violating, in every one of its provisions, the law which they deem holy and obligatory, and which they have sworn to obey, they have the hardihood to stand up in their pulpits without blushing, and denounce the wrath of God officially against others who conscientiously believe, with Jesus and Paul, that the Sabbath law, being only a part of the Hebrew code, is not binding on Christians. With an effrontery that would consign them to the fate of Nadab and Abihu, were the law really in force, they repeat it to suit themselves, their stomachs, and their own convenience; but, like their predecessors, the Pharisees, load down the law in all its heavy severity upon the back of the poor working-man, who, after toiling all the week, feels that, as a Christian, he has the right, and wishes to enjoy it, of taking a little innocent recreation on Sunday in the public fields and gardens.

The Sabbatarians know, moreover, that to ask men to give, in the way either of faith or duty, more than God demands, or what he does not demand, is a superstition,—an insult to the wisdom of God, and a crime against the human conscience, practised for selfish purposes by unscrupulous priests who have the stupendous impudence to feed their love of pelf and power by doing it all in the name of the Lord. Is not this hypocrisy?

It is known to the whole country that General Hawley, President of the Centennial Commission, making his unenlightened conscience a guide and standard for other people, goes for shutting the doors of the Exhibition at Philadelphia on Sunday, because, he says, to open them would be a violation of the Sabbath law of Exodus, and a sin against God. Yet on a certain Sabbath in June he opened the doors to Dom Pedro and a large number of attendants. Now Dom Pedro must be either more than a man, and above the requirements of the law, or less than a man, and not accountable to the law, or General Hawley and his Sabbatarian confederates in the Commission are a set of brazen-faced hypocrites. If Dom Pedro, devout Christian as he is, could feel that he commits no sin in visiting the Exhibition on Sunday, might not some American citizens have as much conscience as he? General Hawley, by his act, declares that an Emperor of Brazil may trample down the law of God's Holy Sabbath under his feet, but in the exercise of his papal powers he gives no general dispensation to his fellow-citizens of the United States to do the same thing.

3. Again, every casuist knows that respect for one law of God is accompanied by equal respect for every other law of God, because the enacting authority is the same. To be zealous in the observance of one law, while openly violating another, proves the person who does it to be a hypocrite. This is the case with the Sabbatarians. General Hawley makes it a sin in the people of the United States, and the rest of mankind, to look at the Exhibition on Sunday; for this is all a visitor does, simply to look at, study, and admire the handiwork of the mechanic and the artist. But where in the Sabbath law is this prohibited? Would it have been a sin in a Hebrew to lie upon his back during the intervals of tabernacle or temple worship on the Sabbath, and look at and admire the ever-changing and fantastic forms of the clouds above him? No. The law did not condemn looking at an object, but only forbade work to be done on the Sabbath. Yet General Hawley and his superstitious backers condemn and forbid what the law does not condemn and forbid; namely, looking at the things to be seen in the Exhibition; but they allow what the law forbids under penalty of death, work to be done inside the gates of the Exhibition on the holy Sabbath! They cannot consent that the Centennial stockholders should draw a revenue from Sabbath desecration in looking at the show and paying for the privilege; but they have no objection to a revenue from selling whiskey!

Was it not as much of a sin in the Pennsylvania Railroad Company to do work in constructing their bridge across the Schuylkill Sabbath after Sabbath last spring, as it would be to allow the people to look at the Exhibition on Sunday? Yet Mr. Stevenson, the editor of the *Christian Statesman*, who lives in Philadelphia, and who saw this desecration of the Divine law and this violation of the statute of Pennsylvania going on before his eyes Sabbath after Sabbath, never did anything to stop the "crime," as he called it, although he had the whole constabulary force of the Commonwealth on his side, and could easily have done it. His zeal for the Lord of hosts and his Divine law seemed to exhaust itself in a little editorial fulmination.

At Altoona, Penn., a zealous Sabbatarian brother made information against more than one hundred employes engaged in the machine-shops of that place, for violating the holy Sabbath by working on that day. Yet he himself stands charged with the forgery of the District Attorney's name to a paper by which he compromised a Sunday liquor-selling suit, and obtained thereby twenty-five dollars. This gnawing and camel-swallowing gentleman, like his

[FOR THE INDEX.]

THE NEW FAITH.

If you and I, good reader, had been born in Rome during the latter part of the third century, when Christianity, although not yet the established religion, had gained a multitude of adherents, and was destined to replace the rapidly declining religion of Greece and Rome; if our parents and friends had chanced to be devoted worshippers of Jupiter and Apollo, Minerva and Ceres, and had therefore entertained an intense antipathy to the new faith which threatened to destroy the old *cultus* which was so dear to them; and if (to add one more to these suppositions) you and I had become persuaded of the mythical character of all the old legends of our pagan religion, and had embraced the purer faith of Jesus as modified by the liberal Paul and the philosophy of Greece, I fancy we should have been subjected to very much the same sort of remark, expostulation, and entreaty with which we are so well acquainted to-day. There would have been the same outcry made against destroying a long-established faith which had been handed down the ages from revered ancestors; distinguished, gray-headed believers in the old religion would have been pointed out, and we should have been asked if we dared to set up our inexperienced minds in opposition to their wisdom; the same arguments would have been adduced in favor of the genuineness of the old myths; the same expostulations would have been addressed to us to spare the peace of mind of all who were reposing in the old faith.

Finally, when all this had failed to convince us that we were in error, some deeper thinker would have taken us aside, and said significantly: "You are right. These priests are half of them feigning to believe what they do not, and the rest are bigoted and deceived. You are right. The old legendary stories of the gods are untenable. I agree with you. The new faith is more rational, is purer, and may, at some future time, prevail. But be sensible. Here is our old faith still held by millions who love it devotedly and who believe in it fully. All over the civilized world are the beautiful temples reared for the worship of our gods. The whole wealth of our unrivalled art is dedicated to the production in life-like marble of the ideal forms of the deities of our fathers. Now if you Christians succeed, you will overthrow a vast system of worship; you will make our gorgeous temples with their splendid rituals worthless; you will take the significance out of our beautiful sculptures and paintings; you will rob the groves, the rivers, and the fields of their presiding divinities; and you will thus distress the minds of thousands who cling tenderly to the old faith." And then some shrewd business man would have taken us aside, and said with a cunning smile: "Will it pay now for you to speak out boldly against the errors of our old religion? Will it prove any advantage to you to urge the adoption of this new faith? Look at your business, which will be wholly ruined if you come out openly as a Christian! Your old friends will desert you. Just be content to hold your peace. Entertain what views you will in secret, but for policy's sake keep silent!"

Now these words, which might have been with perfect propriety addressed to the convert to Christianity in the third century, are precisely similar to those which the majority of radicals, in the nineteenth century, hear daily from their friends in the old faith. At the present day, Christianity, as a religious system, is on the wane just as surely as the pagan religion was sixteen hundred years ago. Its many positive excellences, its moral purity, its teachings of brotherhood, charity, and forgiveness, remain, and will ever remain, as permanent blessings to mankind. But its deification of Jesus, its claim to be the prophesied faith of faiths, its supernatural stories, its more-recently manufactured creeds with their revolting dogmas and inconsistencies, and its worship of an infallible church by the Catholic wing, and its worship of an infallible Bible by the Protestant wing,—all these are surely and steadily crumbling away. The two great weapons, Scientific Discovery and Historical Criticism, are rapidly dispersing the clouds of error and superstition, as certainly as the sun scatters the mists of the morning. In fact, the amount which has already been accomplished in this respect, during the last fifty years, is simply amazing. The real change which, unperceived by the Orthodox, has actually taken place in their own ranks, is also most surprising. We stand, then, in very much the same attitude as the world did during the gradual breaking up of the errors of the old pagan religion.

Now, as then, the question comes home to every man who sees that he cannot honestly hold the old faith: "What shall be my course of action? Shall it be open, or shall I hold my opinions in silence?" The temptation is great to adopt the latter course. The "New Faith" is not yet sufficiently pronounced, nor so generally received, as to make the open adoption of it and the rejection of the old an easy matter to most liberals. It is true, they are not exposed to the terrible persecutions to which early Christians were subjected, and which the Christians themselves repaid with interest on coming into power; the age has gone by for that. Still, in England and in this country, the radical labors under great disadvantages. There are being enacted every day scenes of heroic adherence to truth, which are none the less noble for being little known. Let me cite two examples out of many for whose authenticity I can vouch:—

A young man, who had lately worked his way painfully through college and seminary, with the hope of preaching the gospel, who had made repeated and severe sacrifices for this purpose, and who had actually entered successfully upon his work in an Orthodox church, saw, after some years of closest study and agonizing doubt, that he could not conscientiously

illustrious confrères in the Centennial Commission, saw no impropriety in firing a hard-working mechanic who, conscientiously and in these hard times, felt at liberty to labor on Sunday to make an honest living for his family. Neither did he see any impropriety in his own act of making twenty-five dollars by forgery and counterfeiting.

Brother Stevenson, like the stage-manager in a theatre, causes his sheet-iron thunder to roll against Colonel Scott and his workmen, for building his bridge over the river on Sunday; but he hears no thunder and sees no lightning himself when, before going to church to preach a sermon against Sabbath desecration, he orders Bridget to prepare him a good square meal for dinner by the time he gets back. When cornered afterwards by some Jew, or Seventh-Day Baptist, for his gross violation of the Divine law, ten chances to one that he does not, like his illustrious predecessor in the Garden of Eden, put the blame upon his wife, and say, The woman which thou gavest to be with me, she ordered Bridget to prepare me the forbidden dinner, and I did eat.

4. The case, then, on the score of dishonesty and insincerity, otherwise called hypocrisy, is fully made out against the Sabbatarians. These gentlemen know, for they can read the sixteenth century literature on the subject, that the law of the Sabbath was a positive, and not a moral, law, which expired with its own limitations; that it was local and special, binding upon the Hebrews alone, who occupied a country of small territorial extent—Palestine, "the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee"; that, on a round planet whose revolution on its axis causes uneven times on its surface, it is utterly impossible for its inhabitants to observe the same holy day, as the Jews were required to do; that a universal religion, like the Christian, consisting of but two simple but comprehensive duties, love to God and love to man, could not, in the nature of the case, burden itself with an institution foreign altogether to its genius, like that of a specific Sabbath, but must conform its observances to the universality of its character; that to predicate holiness of one day in the week, or month, over all the rest is, in itself, absurd and puerile; that Christ, the apostles, and all the reformers of the sixteenth century, observed no Sabbath at all, but by speech and action denounced the Sabbath idea as preposterous and anti-Christian. Yet, with all this knowledge, the Sabbatarians persist in their assumptions that the first day of the week is a holy day, and that he is a criminal who violates it either by labor or amusement. And this measure of condemnation they mete out to conscientious people without stint, who make no distinction of days, but regard all time as equally holy, while they themselves violate every iota of the Sabbath law, from beginning to end, every week of their lives! Verily, Hypocrisy, thy name is Sabbatarian!

5. If any one is disposed to inquire for the why and the wherefore of this supercilious zeal for the Sabbath, when it is so plainly condemned by the obvious teachings of the New Testament, the answer is found in the candid admission of a distinguished doctor of divinity, who did not seem, however, to have understood the import of the admission, that unless the church is barricaded round with this modern doctrine of the sanctity of the Sabbath, and the requirements of the civil law, it would be impossible for the clergy to hold their congregations together for any length of time. The sermons generally are so full of repetitions and so dull, and the prayers are so jejune, that nothing but the attractive power of good music, and this idea of the holiness of the Sabbath, would prevent their flocks from scattering, on a Sunday morning, like hungry sheep when let into a fresh, green pasture-field. The poverty of the pulpit must be coming to a low pass indeed, when the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, the successor of Albert Barnes, is arraigned before his presbytery on the charge of preaching other men's sermons, and frankly confesses the shameful fact; and when a respectable Methodist clergyman in Indiana preaches the sermons of the Rev. Dr. Swing, of Chicago, whose main distinction is that he is an intelligent heretic, whose young and healthy mind outgrew his Presbyterian creed. Men of first-rate talent and education, who could command the attention of the people, no longer seek the ministry as a vocation in the Protestant Church. And the education societies, as was charged by the president of a college who had good opportunity for knowing the facts, in their zeal to supply the numerous and increasing "vacancies," like Jeroboam the son of Nebat, make priests for the churches of the lowest of the people. The press as a popular instructor has pushed the pulpit to one side. Science, in her glorious march, treads down superstitions and grovelling conceptions of God at every step. The people, even in the Catholic Church, have lost their reverence for the clergy as a class, and each clergyman stands upon his own personal merit as a man. The simplifying and popularizing of knowledge in all its departments, and the immense strides the people are making in their own enlightenment, have made them in countless instances superior to their religious teachers, whose iron-bound creeds keep them in a constant state of bondage. All these causes, working by the slow but sure process of evolution, are undermining the foundations of the Church, and the Sabbatarian clergy, whose interests lie closely along-side the fleeces of their flocks, seeing this to be the case, are making herculean efforts to stave off the inevitable by reviving the old Scotch glamour of the "holy Sabbath."

6. But perhaps it is well for society, after all, that the process of change from the degrading bondage of superstition into the glorious liberty of the sons of God is so slow. The men and women of the Church, by the sentimental mummeries to which they have been so long addicted, have been reduced to such a condition of childish weakness that were they suddenly elevated

to the sublime heights of a rational religion, where they could feed on heavenly manna, they would soon "loathe this light bread," although baked in heaven every day, as the Hebrews did in the wilderness, and long for the coarser diet of leeks, onions, and garlic which they enjoyed in Egypt. Their bigotry and bondage are diseases of the soul, and must be cured by broken doses of medicine in the mixed way the press administers it.

7. The Constitutional party in the United States, which finds an appropriate month-piece in THE INDEX, aims to secularize the government so as to forever put it out of the power of any man, or set of men, legally to discriminate for or against any religion or worship. The conscientiousness of this aim must commend itself to all men, and so must its wisdom; for it goes upon the principle, which history proves to be sound, that there is upon the earth no man, nor set of men, who can be safely entrusted with absolute authority over their fellow-men, to teach them what they shall believe and do in matters of religion. This party in its policy proposes, not only to protect by law themselves against others, but other people against themselves, by placing all on a perfect equality in point of religious rights, as required by the Constitution. We talk about miracles; but the nearest approximation to a miracle on record in the annals of mankind is the superhuman wisdom of the founders of this republic, who, in the face of all history, and in defiance of the prevailing sentiment and practice of the whole world, framed out of their own minds and consciences a civil Constitution in which they ignored the Church and all her dogmas, and made the government a purely secular institution. This they did, not because they were irreligious men, or opposed to the Church, but because they believed that a political government should have no more to do with the religious faith and practice of the people than a railroad company, but should confine its functions to the affairs of this world exclusively. This puts all religions into the same position of political disability, and prevents them, or any of them, as such, from taking on the form and authority of law, and becoming a persecuting power, as has been the case in Europe from time immemorial. The Church needs this protection which the Constitutional party would give her, as much as her opponents do, and before the close of this century will need it more. For, as already remarked, the astonishing revelations of science bearing upon the fundamental questions of religion are spreading the dry-rot of doubt through her pulpits and pews, and threaten her very foundations; so that, before many decades, instead of dictating laws and policy to the State, as she now does, she will be asking quarter at the hands of those she has misled by her false teachings.

It is generally supposed, from reading the history of religious opinions, that those who were most antagonistic to the Orthodox faith have been remarkable for their respect for the rights of human nature, and have generally been friends of free government. This is indeed true. But we must remember that those men were in a minority, and had no political power. Give them the power, and they would probably enforce uniformity of belief as remorselessly as ever the Church did. Among the materialists of this country there is a class whose intolerance towards their antipodes, the Spiritualists, is so great that I would no sooner trust them with power than I would the Ultramontane party in the Catholic Church, or the Scotch Cameronians of the Solemn League and Covenant. They are as unscrupulous bigots as any to be found in the Church, and would silence the Spiritualists if they could, and not allow a whisper in behalf of the doctrine of immortality. The Spiritualists need protection against these men, and they need protection against the Orthodox. In short, all these religionists need protection against each other, and the Constitution gives this protection by proclaiming, as it does in the treaty with Tripoli, that the government of the United States "is in no sense founded on the Christian religion," or any other; by ordaining that there shall be no religious tests for holding office; by ignoring all churches, all judicial oaths, and all the various and conflicting conceptions of God, and guaranteeing to each individual citizen the enjoyment of his natural right to hold or reject, as he pleases, all religious opinions and practices.

The *Christian Statesman* of Philadelphia, the organ of the Religious Amendment Party, having long felt and admitted the force of this authoritative announcement in the treaty with Tripoli, and seeing the effective use we make of it in the controversy, has recently tried to wriggle out of the difficulty by saying that a new treaty was subsequently made with that power, in which no such statement as this is repeated. But a dozen additional treaties regulating commercial relations never can affect the moral announcement made in the first, that "in no sense is the government of the United States founded on the Christian religion"; the declaration is a part of Constitutional law, and stands for all time, unless changed by a change of the Constitution.

At the dictation of the Church, encroachments have been made upon the spirit and the letter of the Constitution, by State and local laws, so that in many States citizens are denied their rights. But the Constitutional party is now organized as a National Liberal League to make war upon such injustice, and its members will never disband until the supreme law of the Constitution shall be recognized as such by all the States of the Union.

August 20, 1876.

A CHINAMAN in California, whose life was insured for a large amount, was seriously hurt by falling from a wagon. There was some doubt of his ever getting better, and at length one of his friends wrote to the insurance company: "Charlie half dead, likee half money."

tiously continue in the old faith, preaching the Orthodox dogmas. It was a terrible trial for him. Relatives were dependent upon him for support. He had just reached that for which he had given the best years and all the enthusiasm of his life. But he saw that, if he would be honest, he must relinquish it. What could he do to earn his livelihood? He had now no knowledge of commercial pursuits. He had admirably and laboriously fitted himself for a profession which he found he could not conscientiously occupy. Some pursuit was found by him in which he could, with strict economy, maintain himself. Accordingly, he resigned his pastorate, gave up his handsome salary, and went quietly to the humble place which he had chosen, a true disciple of honesty and truth.

Another example: A young man recently occupied a very prominent and responsible position in a business house. He had long cherished the desire to be a preacher, and to address to men from the pulpits words which should incite them to a purer life. So soon as he had gained a sufficient sum of money to support for some time those dependent upon him, he left the flattering prospects which a continuance in business offered him, and began his theological studies. It is the old story. He found it impossible for him, as he ascertained the truth, to subscribe to Orthodox tenets, and with noble honesty, despite the agony which came from the rude awakening from life-long, cherished dreams, he gave up the profession for which he had sacrificed so much.

A score of similar cases might be cited, and such acts are doubtless repeated in one way or another constantly. There are heroes and heroines in every walk of life, who are making sacrifices daily, because they are faithful to the truth which is in them. They are unwilling to adopt the too prevalent custom of repeating words in which they have no belief, and, moreover, they are earnestly desirous of helping onward the day of freedom from the narrow, bigoted dogmas which enslave so many minds. The question with them is not, *Will it pay me* in dollars and cents, or in social position and popularity, to be thus true to my convictions? That question must, for the present, certainly be answered in the negative. But there is a higher motive, that of devotion and loyalty to the truth, and hatred of error and superstition, which impels them, not only to reject dogmas no longer tenable, but to aid in ascertaining and disseminating truth and light.

There is, however, one very weighty reason which deters many radicals from proclaiming openly their views. It is that these views are so largely negative. It is that they dislike to pull down, without putting anything in the place of, the destroyed faith. It is their want of a positive system of truth to promulgate. But, in considering this objection to outspoken radicalism, let us remember that the farther we go in philosophy or religion, the less dogmatic and positive we can be. If we see but one point, one side of truth, we are apt to assert most vehemently that we are right and we alone. But if our vision is extended, if we see more than one side, we grow less positive. Our belief is less narrow and intolerant. In one sense it is undoubtedly true that the more light we have, the more we doubt. We see this exemplified everywhere. The quack, acquainted with but one set of symptoms and with no knowledge of all the complicated influences which may affect the disease of his patient, is the most positive of men. The broad, cultured physician is much less certain. Now the "New Faith," being the result of the deepest thinking and the most critical study of the past half-century, and arising from a necessary elimination of old dogmas and effects superstitions incorporated in the Old Faith, must naturally seem, when compared with Christianity, to be negative rather than positive. So great always is the mental distress consequent upon the loss of intense and positive beliefs, however narrow they may be, that the mind thus bereft of them is at first much more keenly alive to its loss than to its gain. To the believer in the highly poetical polytheism of the Greeks, the rude dispelling of his illusions must have been attended with great mental pain. So also to one who held the crude conceptions of the universe which prevailed before Copernicus, the great change effected by telescopic discovery must have brought with it a kind of terror. The sudden expansion of his notions of the distance and nature of the celestial bodies, and the consequent insignificance of this earth, thus shown to be one of the smallest objects in the stellar universe, must have at first produced despondency and sorrow. Lecky cites a touching story of an old monk who considered God as altogether human, and whom he was wont to address in most familiar language. When he was convinced by a brother monk that he was wrong in holding such anthropomorphic views of the Deity, he clasped his hands in agony and said, while the tears streamed down his cheeks, "You have taken away my God! You have taken away my God!"

It is true that the "New Faith" seems largely negative, as compared with Christianity, for the very reason that, while taking much from that religious system which is good, it also rejects much with which it can have nothing in common, and this is so distressing to the holder of the Old Faith that at first it seems to him as if everything good in his religion were denied by us. Let us look first at the most prominent features of the old system which have been discarded by the "New Faith."

With the discovery of the immense age of our earth, and the enormous length of time (compared with our historical accounts) during which man has been an inhabitant of the globe, and with the knowledge that man's origin is almost without doubt to be derived from a lower order of the animal kingdom, and certainly from very primitive and savage ancestors, the old account of the first pair, the fall, the curse of the race, the "scheme of salvation" as indi-

cated in the prophesied "seed of the woman" that should "bruise the serpent's head,"—all this, upon which is built up the lofty structure of "justification by faith" and "redemption through the blood of the Lamb," crumbles away, and the vast system falls to the ground. By careful investigation into the origin of the biblical canon, and by the results of historical criticism, the Bible is shown to be a book of human composition, and, with all its many excellences, not a divinely inspired and infallible authority. By a careful comparison of religions—by the clear light of science, and by the *Zeit-Geist*, which does not favor anything miraculous,—we are led to disbelieve the legendary stories in the Old Testament, and the miracles and myths of the New. By similar studies the deified Jesus becomes a pure teacher, of exalted moral character, born of Joseph and Mary, around whom, when dead, the magnified stories inseparable from such an age and people gradually clustered,—gathered credence by repetition, and strength by transmission from one generation to another. By the study of the rise and development of many church doctrines, as affected by the influence of the pagan religion and the prevailing philosophy, we are convinced of their decidedly human origin, as well as of their unsoundness. We are compelled, likewise, to modify greatly the anthropomorphic conceptions of the Deity which are inherent in Christianity, since Jesus, being in reality the God of the Christians, gives to them as an object of worship little more than a magnified man, to whom they address petitions for rain, success in business, victory in war, and the like.

Finally, in view of the origin and present low condition of the majority of the human family, and the insignificant part which an individual life plays in this boundless universe, the "New Faith" cannot pronounce certainly and dogmatically upon a future existence, but leaves it in solemn hope.

Thus far is the "New Faith" surely negative; but it does not stop there. Although it cannot affirm on the ground of ignorant traditions and ill-supported authority many things which the Christian creed so unhesitatingly proclaims as truth, yet it is not wanting in positive faith.

The spirit of love to our fellow-men and kindness even to our enemies, which it has been the peculiar glory of the religion of Jesus to inculcate (however imperfectly its adherents may have carried it out), is the key-note of the anthem of the "New Faith." Emphatically it calls itself the "Religion of Humanity." The place which the spirit of asceticism occupied in the early centuries, and which the enthusiasm of the Crusades claimed in the Middle Ages, is in our day held by the wide-spread spirit of philanthropy and universal benevolence, of which we may say:—

"Nor bounds, nor clime, nor creed thou knowest;
Wide as our need thy favors fall!"

The "New Faith" holds that man is progressing steadily and surely towards that perfection of society unto which it is our aim to attain. From low beginnings the race has thus painfully worked itself upward on its way; not grovelling downwards from a primitive state of purity and excellence, to be rescued only by a partial system of salvation, but steadily advancing, learning by bitter experience, throwing up about its way safeguards of law and morality, and ever progressing in civilization, enlightenment, and general culture. No good word was ever uttered by ancient bard or prophet, no noble maxim was ever enunciated by sage or priest, no moral precept was ever spoken by the lips of Jesus, that is not cherished as part of the inheritance of the "New Faith," which thus draws to itself the treasures of the ages. The "New Faith" entertains, it is true, no limited and anthropomorphic ideas of the Deity, but for that very reason it inculcates greater awe and reverence for that unknown and unknowable Power in whose all-quickenng presence we have our being.

Above all, it upholds and teaches the necessity of RIGHT LIVING! To the soul weakly resting in effeminate security on the merits of a victim who once paid the penalty of his sins, and who will forgive him as often as he does wrong and cries, "I repent," the "New Faith" says: "Live a true, pure, noble life! Lurk behind no covering of other men's virtues. Show yourself what you are! Be pure, be unselfish, be upright! Do not be content to be reckoned so on the heavenly register by virtue of the blood of a man crucified nineteen hundred years ago!" To the man basely acting from expectation of reward in a future life, the "New Faith" exclaims: "Scorn to act from such low motives! Cease meanly to balance your visionary heavenly gains by your earthly losses, and to chuckle over a credit-mark on the recording angel's book, when you have performed a good action here! Act rightly, because it is noble to act so; because it benefits your fellow-men and purifies and strengthens your own soul! The 'New Faith' pleads also for the prompt and efficient administration of justice here on this earth,—knowing nothing of a 'judgment to come.' By this means and not by threatenings of unknown tortures would it restrain those men from crime, who are insensible to higher appeals to right action. This, then, is the aim of the 'New Faith': to promote the welfare and to aid the progress of the race; to inculcate purity and honesty of life; to diffuse everywhere the spirit of charity and love; to stimulate in every way, by music, sculpture, painting, literature, and poetry, the growing culture of the race; to place before men constantly higher models of excellence; and to cheer and comfort drooping, saddened hearts. For the time when these blessings shall be widely diffused must all disciples of the "New Faith" toil. The time has come to emerge from politic concealment and to declare our views. Already the air is full of the tremor of a hastening change. The mists are lifting. The ugly forms of

once potent superstitions are growing fainter and fainter, and are fading steadily from view. The promise of a brighter day is dawning on the race. We may not see its glory. But we can help its advance. In the noble words of the poet—

"Hail to the coming singers!
Hail to the brave light-bringers!
Forward I reach, and share
All that they do and dare!"

"What matter, I or they,
Mine or another's day,
So the right word be said
And life the sweeter made?"

"I feel the light move sunward,
I join the great march onward,
And take by faith, while living,
My freehold of thanksgiving!"

J. L. S.

BOSTON.

[For THE INDEX.]

"LA LIBERTE ECLAIRANT LE MONDE."

BY BISHOP FERRETTE.

During the last three years I have often felt—others no doubt have felt, and among them, perhaps, notwithstanding their indulgence, the editor and readers of THE INDEX—that I have more suggestions to make for the reform, improvement, and government of this country, than is consistent with the degree of modesty that is to be required of an adopted citizen. If in this I abuse the privileges of granted citizenship, as I probably do, others must forgive me for the same reason for which I forgive myself: I am only actuated by an officious zeal for the public good, and not by any motive of selfish interest. I must, therefore, be permitted to go on in this way, as I perhaps cannot help doing. If, however, there are many and too many subjects on which my zeal is impatient and importunate beyond measure, there are a few, at least, I am happy to think, on which I am willing to be instructed, and to learn, from the effect of what I say upon older Americans, whether what I say has the genuine American spirit or not. It is in this experimental manner that I will give expression to the thoughts and feelings which the proposed centennial gift of France to America, in the shape of a colossal bronze statue of "Liberty Enlightening the World," to be placed on an islet of New York Harbor, has produced in me.

With the artistic conception, whether of the statue or of its pedestal and location, I find no fault at all, and should show very bad taste if I did. The whole is—as any one, no doubt, is convinced who has seen the sketch in the illustrated papers—as grandiose and faultless as anything in ancient or modern art. The exceptions that I take are merely on national and international grounds, and on these grounds, I confess, there are many considerations favorable to the project. It is certain that France has borne a part in the foundation of American liberty, a record which this Centennial celebration is a fit occasion to celebrate and perpetuate. The question is whether the proposed monument, as a gift of France and of France alone to us, is the most accurate conceivable expression of the nature of the incontestable tie existing between France and America.

I say it is not, for the statue is not that of American Liberty Enlightening France, nor of French Liberty Enlightening America; but that of "Liberty," that is, French and American Liberty, "Enlightening the World," that is, England, Spain, Italy, Austria, Russia, but, most especially and intended, Germany. In other words, a committee of French gentlemen, representing, no doubt, the general French feeling, thinking that their nation has been, of late, ill-used by Germany, and that the rest of Europe showed, in the circumstance, an undue indifference to her existence and interests, think it would be proper to administer a *coup de patte* to Germany and a lecture to Europe in the form of a gift to us. We accept the gift, thus making ourselves, artistically and poetically, a part in a quarrel with which we have nothing to do. If the gift were that of a good dinner or of a million of bottles of champagne, it might have a present good effect without being an encumbrance on the future. But the proposed monument will be a permanent thing, and moreover one of the grandest and most beautiful things in the world, and, with our Capitol at Washington, the grandest and most beautiful thing on this continent.

I never wantonly destroy a flower, nor a bird, nor any beautiful thing, and would not, for all the world, destroy an object of art nor say a word that might contribute to condemn an artist's conception to die unborn. Were I otherwise minded, it would now be too late for me to speak, for the statue is now almost ready, and to decline it at this stage of the proceedings would be an undeserved insult to France, infinitely more regrettable than the other alternative of our being made to act as janitor at the lecture which she intends to administer to the nation, her neighbors. America is in for it; and as the share allotted to her is that she will, by subscription, erect at her cost the immense pedestal, she must execute herself as gracefully as possible. Is that all? Is there no modification of the scheme that would preserve all its valuable and unavoidable features, and remove the objections?

1. The statue, as I have said, is nearly made, but the funds to pay for it, and to be raised by a subscription in France, are, it would appear, more than slowly forthcoming. The Committee may find itself placed in the face of serious financial embarrassments, which may delay the shipment of the statue at the intended time. How would it do for America to come to the relief of the French Committee by raising in this country the funds to pay for the statue, and make it, instead of a gift of France to America, a gift of America to France, to be erected, say, where

stood the Tuilleries? That would be less aggressive, with regard to other nations, than to erect it at Beaugue, facing England, or in New York harbor, facing Europe, or on the Franco-German frontier, facing Germany. But as a compensation there might be the semblance of a lecture given by America to France as to the use of liberty, and therefore I discard the project.

2. The statue, and the present project as to its location, would have nothing objectionable as a national American monument, erected on national soil, by American, not foreign, subscriptions. As Americans we have a perfect right to believe that we are a free nation; and the additional belief that the light of liberty will radiate from our country to the whole world, is an article of our national creed which we have a perfect right to symbolize, on our own soil, by any monuments we choose, without other nations having a right to deem themselves insulted. Every nation worthy of the name has humanitarian aspirations of the same sort, even if not so well justified. The exclusive Jews themselves expected a messiah who would make their religious influence world-wide felt; and they got him. The objection to this proposal is that a part of the funds are already subscribed in France. All that America could do would be to subscribe the rest, and this would not remove the principal defect of the scheme, its being a lecture given by us, with one nation in preference to others, to the rest of the world.

3. At the point at which things are, the only modification in which is both possible and without objection in making the gift that, not of France alone, but of all Europe, to the American nation. To do this it will be sufficient to extend the appeal for subscriptions from France alone to the whole of Europe, not excluding any nation. This would probably expedite the completion of the sum necessary to pay for the statue. If this sum is nearly completed by France alone when this article will appear, then other European nations should have an opportunity of presenting us with the pedestal: France contributing the statue out of her artistic genius, which no one cares to contest; and other nations contributing the pedestal out of their feeling of cordiality, thus uniting with France and with us in one thought.

I humbly submit that this third suggestion would infinitely better harmonize with the artistic thought of the statue, with the real feeling of the American people, and with the feelings of European nations and of their sovereigns toward America, than the erection on our soil, on a part of our territory fronting Europe, by one particular nation recently at war and still embittered, of a monument of this magnitude, beauty, and universal significance.

CAMPAIGN ISSUES IN VERMONT.

CATHOLICS VOTING THE DEMOCRATIC TICKET.

MONTPELIER, Vt., Sept. 2.

The Republican majority in Vermont, next Tuesday, will undoubtedly be about twenty-five thousand in a total vote of upward of sixty thousand. A canvass made by the Republican State Committee, but only partially completed, indicates a more favorable result even than this; but as the counties yet to be heard from contain some of the larger towns of the State, in which the Democrats expect to make gains, it is hardly safe to predict a larger majority than that given Governor Converse in the State election four years ago. If this was not a Presidential year, there would be nothing to arouse interest in the contest here. Both parties have made excellent nominations, and all the interests of the State would be safe in the hands either of Mr. Fairbanks or of Mr. Bingham as Governor. Indeed, Vermont is one of those fortunate States that need but little government. Its Legislature meets only biennially, and completes its labors in six weeks or two months. When the Legislature adjourns, the Governor goes home and attends to his private business like any other good citizen, and the only State officers who reside at the capital are the Auditor and Treasurer. The people of many another State in the Union would think the political millennium had surely come, if the problem of self-government could be simplified in a similar degree among them.

But while either of the two candidates would make a good Governor of Vermont, there are some questions beside those of national politics which the people of this State are discussing in the present campaign, and which may have a slight influence on the Republican majority next week. One of the most important of these has been raised by the action of Congress on the proposed public school amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The foreign population of this State, which is also to some degree a floating population, dependent largely upon the prosperity of certain large manufacturing industries, is composed of Irish and French Canadian immigrants. Both classes are generally Roman Catholics, but the jealousy which has always existed between them, growing out of national prejudices, has generally prevented them from acting in concert politically. A majority of the Irish have voted with the Democrats, while the Republicans have secured a considerable portion of the French Canadians. The agitation of the school question by President Grant, the position assumed in regard to it by the Republican party at Cincinnati, and, more than all, the discussion of it in the United States Senate just before the adjournment of Congress, seem to have alarmed the Catholics of this State, and to have carried them as a body, without regard to nationality, into the Democratic party. Of course, the Democrats have done everything in their power to encourage this movement, and have circulated very freely, among the Catholics of the State, extracts from one of Senator Edmunds' speeches on the Blaine amend-

ment, the tone of which was not such as to conciliate this element of the population.

How great a loss the Republicans will suffer from this cause, it is impossible to say. It is likely to be proportionately greater here in Montpelier than anywhere else in the State, because the increase of French Canadian voters has been relatively greater here than in any other city, and their desertion of the Republican party here has been almost unanimous. In other places, the Republicans hope to hold a part of their Catholic vote. It would not be strange if the Republican majority in the whole State should be reduced at least one thousand, by this cause, from what it would otherwise be.—*N. Y. Tribune, Sept. 4.*

THE SABBATH vs. THE "LORD'S DAY."

A correspondent of the *Echo*, in referring to the subject of Sunday recreation, makes the following remarks on the distinction between the Sabbath of the decalogue and the Sunday of modern Christians: "We are not Jews, but Christians. We are, therefore, not bound by the Sabbath, but by the Lord's day. The Sabbath was a touching institution, given under Moses for the higher culture of a nation of slaves suddenly set free. When Christ came he showed that even the Sabbath, or Seventh day, was made for man; and what we have to remember is that while the old Jewish Sabbath was abolished, the law of the Sabbath has never been transferred authoritatively to the First day, or Sunday. St. Paul blamed the Galatians for still observing Jewish days and months, and he released the Colossians from all such obligations. St. Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, 345 A. D., forbids his converts to observe the Sabbath day: 'Henceforth reject all observances of Sabbath.' St. Jerome, 390 A. D., relates without stricture that the early Christians, after divine service on Sunday, went about their ordinary work. Luther, rather than observe Sunday sabbatically, ordered his converts 'to ride, to work, to dance, to feast—to do anything that shall reprove this encroachment on the Christian spirit and liberty.' John Knox, visiting Calvin, found that holy men playing at bowls on Sunday afternoon. Where, then, shall we find the root of our modern well-meant, but mistaken, Sabbatarianism? At the Reformation. The medieval Church had a vast number of holy days. Most of these reformers swept away, but feeling the common importance of a recurring period of rest for the body, and for the cultivation of the spiritual life, they laid extra stress on the observance of the Lord's day, and, in an evil moment—backing a good cause with a bad argument—they placed the Jewish decalogue, with its Sabbath commandment, in the front of the Christian service, and so attempted to rivet its obligations on the Lord's day."

SATURDAY THE SABBATH.

The infidels of this country are not to be deceived by false reasonings, nor frightened by denunciations, for they know that the Bible nowhere commands the keeping of the first day of the week. The *Boston Investigator*, of August 9, says if the fourth commandment is binding under the Christian dispensation, the Christian "must cease to sanctify the first day of the week, and reinstate the Saturday in its legitimate dignity. He must go to church when the Jew goes to his synagogue."

The truth is, the community is largely becoming informed on this subject, and the idea that it is sinful to work on the first day of the week is fast passing away. Christians are alarmed at the rapid advance of the no-Sabbath sentiment, and mourn over it, and in this we sympathize with them; but they have themselves to condemn for it, because it is the result of their own false teachings. We warn them that the only way to heal this breach is for them to go back to the Bible, whence they profess to draw their Sabbath doctrines, and correct both their creed and practice by it.

When they break the Sabbath of the fourth commandment, week by week, and then charge men with sin who work on a day given by God to that service, the contradiction is so naked that a child can see it. Until Christians shall return to the Bible, and conform their lives to its teachings on this subject, the dark wave of no-Sabbathism will continue to roll on until the whole land is inundated with it.—*The Sabbath Recorder.*

PROGRESS IN JAPAN.—A letter from Yokohama in the *Börsenzeitung* says that the Mikado has been received with great enthusiasm during his tour in the northern provinces of the empire, which, until recently, had been under the despotic rule of the daimios. During the Mikado's absence the Prime Minister, Santcho, acted as regent—a circumstance unprecedented in Japanese history. Shortly before the Mikado's departure, it was resolved at a Cabinet Council to rebuild the temple of Mondaki, the headquarters of Buddhism, which was burned down four years ago. This, says the correspondent, shows that the government has given up its intention to suppress the Buddhist services and make the Sinto creed the exclusive religion of the State, especially as it has paid subsidies to the Buddha temples and their priests, has granted land and building materials for the village schools of Christian missionaries, and has sanctioned the universal observance of the Christian Sunday. This change of policy has given great satisfaction to the Christian settlers in Japan. The removal of Japanese from the island of Saghalien, and of Russians from the Kurile Islands, in consequence of the exchange of territory effected between Russia and Japan, has now been completed. The number of new subjects that have been acquired by Japan

through this exchange is much greater than that obtained by Russia, as nearly all the Russian fishermen in the Kurile Islands have decided to remain there, while only about forty Japanese families have remained in Saghalien. The hostile feeling shown by the Chinese toward all Europeans, and especially to those of the Anglo-Saxon race, has had a very prejudicial effect on the commercial interests of Yokohama, as several trading firms have come over from Shanghai and Tientsin, causing a further increase in the prices of exports and a fall in cotton and Manchester goods, of which an immense supply has accumulated in Yokohama. The bankers, too, are in great difficulties, owing to the change in the price of the dollar, and are having recourse to all kinds of speculation, with the object of improving their business. They are now negotiating with a Chinese agent with regard to a loan of 15,000,000 lan for the enlistment and equipment of a new army to be sent against the Dunganians and Kashgarians. The loan is to be repaid out of the customs receipts of the harbors at the mouth of the Blue River; but these receipts are yearly diminishing. The exports of the above harbors are mostly consumed by the Chinese settlers in the United States, and the number of these is now much smaller than formerly, owing to the persecution to which they are subjected by the native workmen, who find their gains considerably reduced by the competition of the Chinese. The steamer "Oceanic," which is exclusively employed in the conveyance of Chinese emigrants to San Francisco, had, during its last journey, barely a twentieth of its usual number of passengers.

RELIGIOUS EXCITEMENT IN GERMANY.—An assassination from motives of religious fanaticism was recently attempted by a peasant of the Silesian village of Kuhnau against a Catholic priest, who had been elected by the more free-minded section of the inhabitants, in accordance with the much-talked-of May laws, or Falk laws. The Romanist press had frequently stigmatized the elected priest as "a curse to the community." Among the peasants, whose feelings were thus worked up, a prize of fifty thalers was offered for any one who would do the necessary deed. During the trial before the jury, it was averred that the incriminated peasant had been visited, with others, by a young Ultramontane priest, who had arrived from Prague on the same day that the attempt took place. The would-be murderer had posted himself in the evening behind a great crucifix, which was surrounded and shaded by lime-trees; from thence he fired a pistol at the priest, who he knew would pass. The court, considering that the accused had been instigated to the act, condemned him to four years' imprisonment, with hard labor and the loss of his civic rights for a similar term. In the Ultramontane press of Germany violent instigations of the nature alluded to are now of frequent occurrence.

Poetry.

[For THE INDEX.]

ISOLATION.

Sadder than death, to souls that once could find
A perfect bond of sympathy in thought,
Is that cold isolation of the mind
By differing creeds and changed opinions wrought.

O friends with whom we counselled in the past!
Ye clasp our hands, ye greet us as before;
Yet some dark shadow on our love is cast,—
The old, sweet charm of friendship is no more.

Though ye are pleased to passively receive
Your fathers' creeds without a questioning thought,
Yet chide us not if we cannot believe
Those gloomy dogmas down the ages brought.

Ye in whose minds the early faiths have lain
Undoubted and untroubled through long years,
Know little how their loss has cost us pain,—
See not our pillows wet with bitter tears!

Our faith is not dependent on our will;
We follow only as we see the light;
Yet, though our creeds so widely differ, still
Our aims of life, like yours, may all be right.

O sacred Truth! In fealty to thee
We hold our minds obedient to thy call:
From error strive we ever to be free,
Though we should thereby lose the love of all.

Yet in the struggles of our changeable time
We are at one with all who, joyful, see
The glorious dawning of the day sublime
Which ushers in the faith that is to be!

J. L. S.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 9.

E. S. Curtis, \$3.20; R. J. Rogers, \$3.75; A. Skinner, \$5.35; N. B. Davenport, 10 cents; A. M. Lee, 10 cents; F. A. Angell, 25 cents; C. B. Lynn, 50 cents; C. Vail, 25 cents; E. E. P. Clark, \$3.20; H. A. Ballou, \$3.30; B. F. Underwood, \$15.40; E. M. Schenckberg, \$4.04; C. L. Carr, \$7; W. L. Boyer, \$3.20; W. Dewey, \$3; M. E. Munroe, \$5; C. H. Doolittle, \$3; Kirk Himrod, \$2; J. H. Buffum, \$3.20; O. Martin, \$3.20; M. Pierce, 10 cents; M. E. Zakrzewski, \$3.20; A. G. Wheelock, \$3.20; C. W. Storey, \$3.20; H. S. Ward, \$3.20.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

The Index.

BOSTON, SEPTEMBER 14, 1876.

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TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, Editorial Contributors.

F. R. A. ANNUAL REPORT.

The report of the annual meeting of the Free Religious Association for 1876 is published in pamphlet form.

It contains a full abstract of the discussion at the business meeting; the annual report of the executive committee; address by the president, O. B. Frothingham; essay, by James Parton, on "The Relation of Religion to the State" (or, as he styles it, "Cathedrals and Beer"), with addresses on the subject by Miss Susan H. Wixon and Rev. M. J. Savage; also essay by Samuel Longfellow, on "The Relation of Free Religion to Churches," with the addresses that followed it, by Prof. Felix Adler, Rev. Henry Blanchard, Rev. Brooke Herford, and John Weiss.

Price, single copy, 40 cents; package of three, \$1; postage paid. Address Free Religious Association, No. 1 Tremont Place, Boston, Mass.

W. J. POTTER, Secretary.

SAID THE HON. GEORGE F. HOAR, at Worcester, September 4, at a great Republican mass-meeting: "The free vote and the free school—these are the institutions to whose rescue the Republican party ask you to come in this Presidential contest." There is no free school but the secular school; but Mr. Hoar does not mean that. The secular principle, on which the permanence of the public school system depends, is shoved aside by the politicians of both parties. Will the people be no wiser?

THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE dolefully declares, referring to the Buffalo meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science: "It must be admitted that, if the Creationists have not given up the contest, they have at least abandoned the field of strife with the Evolutionists which these meetings annually afforded." But the Creationists have not "given up the contest." Not at all! Being beaten on the field of argument, they are resorting to force in the shape of a disguised Christian Amendment to the Constitution; and the Evolutionists do not know enough about Evolution to understand the vast power of this new element in the controversy. But they will discover it too late, unless they wake up from their slumbers.

THE COBBITE fanatics of Missouri are showing what bloody deeds are possible even in the nineteenth century in the name of religion: "St. Louis, Sept. 3.—Later advices from White County, Ark., say that in the coroner's inquest held on the body of Humphreys, who was killed by religious fanatics, the jury returned a verdict that L. B. and J. M. Dover, Thomas Gainely, and John and Elizabeth Nelson were guilty as principals of the murder of Humphreys, and John and Lee Dover and Clementine Dover guilty as accessories. L. B. Dover and Thomas Gainely were the two men killed by the posse that made the arrests. Cobb escaped to the woods, and at last accounts was not captured. It appears that Cobb came from Michigan, where he taught his atrocious doctrines until driven out. He first settled in south-eastern Missouri, where he made new converts, and, it is said, offered up infants as sacrifices. He was driven away from there, and with his fanatical followers went to White County, Ark., and induced a few more ignorant people to join them. The accounts received do not give any adequate reason or cause for the attack upon Humphreys and Blake and the murder of the former, but the Cobbites seem to have been wrought up to a high degree of religious excitement or frenzy, and were urged on by the old man Cobb, who had taught his followers that he was not only Christ in person, but that he uttered decrees of God himself, and that anything they did was devoid of sin."

NOTICE.

On receipt of \$3.20, THE INDEX will be sent to any name not already on its mail-list, from the present time until January 1, 1878. This is an excellent opportunity for friends of the paper to increase its circulation among their acquaintances; and it is hoped that they will not neglect to render in this way some greatly-needed assistance to the important cause it represents.

THE POWERS BEHIND THE THRONES.

With all our soul we wish that there were to-day no political issue before the people involving the people's equal religious rights. It is against every natural predisposition and every acquired taste that we have been forced, by the sheer stress of the times, into thinking so much and writing so much about politico-religious matters. If Christianity could only be so metamorphosed as to reverence the equal rights of every individual,—if the Church could only be so regenerated as voluntarily to relinquish its hold upon the throat of the State,—how gladly would we lay the Liberal League in its last resting-place with a *Pax vobiscum*, and turn to more congenial tasks! But all the more because so many of our liberal contemporaries turn a blind eye and a deaf ear to their country, though she never had more need of all her sons, would it be recreancy to think of taste when duty stands knocking at the door. And so week after week our pen refuses the themes that rise so invitingly to thought, and is drawn irresistibly to the topics which the unwelcome fact of growing ecclesiastical ambition and encroachment pushes forward into their place.

"But your subscribers do not want politics."

Do they want religious liberty? Do they want those equal rights without which there is no religious liberty, and without which nothing but humiliating submission to spiritual tyranny remains?

"Of course!"

Very well: then they do want politics. For without politics these things are impossible.

It is not THE INDEX which ordains the law that a nation too supine or too unintelligent to defend the conditions of its freedom shall lose that freedom. That law we did not decree, and cannot repeal: we can only see it, point it out, and with such powers as we possess strive to make it perceptible by all. The conditions of permanent religious freedom in this country are absolutely secular government and absolutely secular public education; and these depend on an absolutely secular National Constitution.

You may think your secular Constitution safe. You may think that a rat gnawing at the strands of the rope which suspends an enormous weight over your head has surely not strength enough to move that weight, and that it is preposterous to pay any attention to those sharp little teeth. Do you not see that the rat need not be able to move the weight by his own strength to ensure its fall,—that, if his teeth only cut the strands of the sustaining rope, *gravitation will do the rest*? Your secular Constitution is the rope that sustains an enormous weight of Christian superstition, ambition, tyranny, above your unconscious head; it alone is your protector; the Christian Amendment rat is at work upon it, and has already made such unheeded progress with his teeth that not much more is needed; and, when he gets through, gravitation will do the rest. All the strength of the nineteenth century cannot lift that weight, once fallen; all its skill cannot splice that rope, once broken or cut. And, with all your fancied security, you will be under the weight, if it falls.

Two vast powers have been growing up in this country during the hundred years just elapsed. One is the Catholic Power, in 1776 a mustard seed, in 1876 a tree overspreading the land. The other is the Evangelical Power, in 1776 a host of small and jealous sects, in 1876 a few rapidly consolidating denominations of immense wealth, numbers, and influence. These two are the ancient rivals whose wrappings have been like earthquakes to Europe; and, but for the Constitution of the United States, they would have been earthquakes here. While the simple-minded populace rejoice at the fusion of the small sects into the great ones, and fancy that this process is the disappearance of sectarianism, the triumph of Christian love, the final advent of the Kingdom of Heaven on earth, the intelligent few comprehend that the Protestant Prince of Peace and the Catholic Prince of Peace are only preparing for the most sanguinary duel which they have ever yet fought together. Each aspires, openly and avowedly aspires, to ab-

solute religious dominion in America; and neither can succeed, so long as the secularity of the Constitution is undestroyed. Each has a dangerous foothold in usage, precedent, statute, State Constitution; but neither can seize the crown of empire while the shield of the secular National Constitution protects the republic. These two tremendous Powers are just as certain to come to blows as are two contiguous nations which go on creating huge standing armies; each overstrains its own resources till war is the spasmodic escape from gradually swelling expenditures that are ruining both. In the growing rivalry, each side clutches more and more eagerly at the public treasure and the public sceptre; these prizes are too tempting, too luscious, too legitimate a prey for Christianity, which is utterly unrepentant in either form, to let alone. It was eighteenth-century "infidelity" that made the Constitution secular: will "Lord and King" Christianity of either type respect its secularity? Not in the least! Both Powers, the Protestant as quickly as the Catholic, would trample it into the mire, as a vexatious obstacle to the victory over its antagonist at which each aims.

In their deepening, yet hitherto almost invisible struggle, each of these two Powers is now secretly, perhaps half-consciously, seeking to find a political ally in the contest for political domination; each is striving to acquire a supreme influence in one of the two great political parties of the day, yet neither dares openly to confess this clandestine alliance. Much less do the parties dare to confess it openly, so large is the secular vote to be imperilled by any such confession. But nevertheless, dimly shrouded behind the disclaiming politicians, Rome looms up behind the Democratic party, and Geneva behind the Republican party. The party leaders know this; nothing could be more evident. Yet the great bulk of the rank and file do not know it, and are used as pawns in a deeper game than they comprehend. "More is meant than meets the eye." But the defeat of the gamesters lies alone in the tearing off of these disguises. If this cannot be done, the game is lost for freedom, and the United States are now entering upon a career in which the Catholic Power and the Protestant Evangelical Power are to be eternally battling for possession of a de-secularized and perverted government.

Now there is just one possible preventive, and we believe only one, of this long, disastrous warfare between two great powers, both sectarian: namely, to force the issue directly between *sectarianism itself* and *secularism*. In each party, Republican and Democratic, we believe that a very large proportion, perhaps a majority, are prepared fully to go for absolute secularity in school and State. If the issue can be made directly and cleanly, these great portions of the two existing parties, together with the outlying, independent voters, will form a third party, perhaps a preponderating majority of the whole people. The rank and file do not yet comprehend the religious issue which lurks out of sight deep below the confused surface-issues of the present Presidential campaign; but it will sooner or later rise to the top and displace them all. This is self-evident in the light of very recent events. The day cannot be very far distant when the Protestant Power, moving *darkly* behind the Republican party, will impel it to overt acts even more unmistakable in character than its defeated Senatorial amendment to the Constitution. The Catholic Power is likely to be more circumspect and wily, despite its superior insolence in some respects; for it knows its present numerical inferiority. But just as soon as the people at large come to perceive the (to some) now evident fact, that Romanism and Calvinism are the "powers behind the thrones" in the two great political parties of the day, just as soon will a very large portion of the people, and we hope the larger portion, rise in defence of the old, once-honored principle of the "separation of Church and State," and be quite willing to follow it out to its legitimate results in the "Religious Freedom Amendment." This will surely be the outcome, unless a worse amendment is suddenly sprung upon the people unawares. That is the danger,—precipitation of a Christian Amendment in a disguised shape, like that just escaped.

To avert this imminent and no longer hidden danger, there is need of the utmost activity without delay. The victory of the Protestant Evangelical Power over the Catholic Power in the next session of Congress, which would be accomplished by the passage of the temporarily defeated amendment, would inflame religious animosities all over the land, and call forth "curses, not loud, but deep," in every Catholic heart. If this measure had been brought

forward before the Centennial Congress of Liberals, we should have advised the nomination of Presidential candidates then and there,—not expecting them, of course, to be elected, but to serve as a significant warning that there are votes to be lost by attempting to smuggle Evangelicalism into the United States Constitution. It will not be many years, we suspect, before the National Liberal League will prove to be the germ of one of three great parties dividing the nation on a deeper issue than any now consciously before it. We give the politicians, who would trade off the people's equal rights for a mess of pottage, fair warning not to despise the Liberal League too long. Its principles will yet create a new Power for Freedom, mightier than either or both of the "Powers behind the Thrones."

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY R. C.

The most interesting political event of the week, without any doubt, was the action of the Massachusetts Democratic State Convention. In nominating Mr. Charles Francis Adams for Governor, the Democrats have done, as Lincoln might have said, "a big thing." The Republican papers of course are laboring to prove that the nomination was a political "trick," and made for the purpose of catching votes in other States; but granting this to be true, the trick was one of a kind which every well-wisher of his country would like to have repeated by both parties in every State in the Union. When political parties learn that the very best trick they can play their opponents is to nominate for office the very best men upon whom they can lay hands, we shall all be a long step nearer the millennium than we are supposed to be to-day. The nomination shows that the Democrats, who, as a body, have acted for years with amazing stupidity, are at last learning to profit by Republican blunders.

The Massachusetts Republicans, according to party custom, renominated Mr. A. H. Rice for Governor. Mr. Rice is an excellent man, and has made a very good Governor. There would be little doubt of his reelection were it not that politics in Massachusetts are somewhat "mixed" at the present time. The rabid prohibitionists have made independent nominations for State officers, and claim for their ticket at least 20,000 votes. The uncompromising woman-suffragists, also, will vote for the prohibitionists' candidates, although the number who will do so is an unknown quantity. It must not be forgotten, moreover, that very many Republicans labored hard to bring about the nomination of Adams for Governor in place of Rice a year ago, and many of these are likely to embrace the opportunity to vote for Adams at the coming election. Altogether, therefore, the uncertain elements are enough to make the contest an unusually interesting and exciting one.

Mr. Adams will certainly receive not a few votes from self-respecting Republicans who are justly disgusted with the present management of the party machine. After the late Convention had declared in favor of hard money, specie resumption, civil service reform, and the pacification of the South, it listened to speeches in which the bloody shirt was waved, and the most notorious opponents of civil service reform in the country were warmly eulogized. It then chose a State Central Committee, two of the members of which are "Collector" Simmons—who illustrates civil service reform, à la Grant, by making sure that all custom-house employees "vote right" as well as pay their political assessments—and Mr. B. F. Butler, whose record as regards the sentiments affirmed by the party resolutions is too well known to need repetition in this place. During the proceedings of the Convention, moreover, a casual reference to Butler was received with "loud and prolonged applause"—a fact which indicates something of the feeling of the Republican "machine" politicians with regard to this embodiment of everything to be avoided in American politics. In view of such outrageous inconsistency as that displayed by Massachusetts Republicans, who need wonder if Democratic prospects of success continue to brighten?

According to Mr. H. B. Blackwell, the Republican party of Massachusetts has formally approved of woman-suffrage upon two different occasions, and has twice recommended it for "respectful consideration." According to some other members of the party, however, these approvals and recommendations were really smuggled into the party platforms, and were passed during the confusion of conventions, and contrary to the desire of a majority of those who apparently voted for them. However this may be, the Convention, this year, gave Mr. Blackwell an opportunity to present and urge the adoption of a resolution inviting women of legal age and other qualifications to attend primary meetings (caucuses) and to speak and vote in them upon the same terms with men. The resolution was rejected. Thereupon, Mr. Crocker, of Boston, called the attention of the Convention to one of those meaningless paragraphs, which party-managers delight to get into platforms, and pointed out therein a passage which might be construed to mean that the party approved of woman-suffrage. In order to obtain a decisive vote upon the question of woman-suffrage, he then moved that the passage referred to be stricken out, which motion was immediately rejected. We have a right to infer, therefore, that Massachusetts Republicans believe in woman-suffrage, provided the belief will help them to

votes, but that they are opposed to woman-suffrage as a practical expedient; that they take, in fact, very much the same attitude as the man who fully believed in a prohibitory liquor-law, but was firmly opposed to its practical enforcement.

The President, we are glad to state, intends apparently to stick to his previously-expressed resolution with regard to the River and Harbor Appropriation Bill; that is, he declines to allow the money which it appropriates to be expended upon any work which cannot be shown to be of national importance, or, as he himself puts it, he will not spend public money to improve the navigation of creeks in West Virginia. The execution of river and harbor improvements has been confided to General Humphreys, Chief of Engineers, and if present orders are carried out without change, the country will be saved about \$3,000,000, and the passage of appropriations for bits of jobbery, like those which this bill usually calls for, may become more difficult in future.

A decidedly silly attempt has been made to offset the very serious charge of the New York Times against Tilden—that he swore falsely with regard to his income in 1862—by bringing a charge against Hayes of undervaluation of personal property in making returns to his town or county assessors. The charge involved the valuation of an old horse and buggy, a watch or two, etc.; but although very ridiculous in its details, it has been promptly met and refuted by a detailed explanation furnished by Hayes. The charge against Tilden remains as yet unexplained, although an explanation has been promised, and, we trust, will soon appear.

It is reported that the Hawaiian Reciprocity Treaty, passed at the last session of Congress, is likely to cause us considerable trouble. By that treaty, various products of the Sandwich Islands are admitted to this country free of duty. But we have already, by treaty with other countries—France, Germany, and Russia, for instance,—agreed to extend to them all the privileges granted to the most favored nation. These countries, therefore, it is intimated, may now claim the privilege of having admitted to our ports, free of duty, such of their products as may happen to be the same in kind as those mentioned in the Hawaiian Treaty. We should not be at all sorry if a considerable amount of trouble should arise from this source. The Hawaiian Treaty was an uncalled-for bit of special legislation, got up in the interests of a few jobbers on the Pacific Coast and in the Sandwich Islands. If it will force our Congressmen into giving a really careful consideration to our tariff laws, it will do more good than we thought possible when it passed.

Since the death of Custer, the campaign against the Indians has met with no success whatever, and we can hardly escape a conviction that its management does not add greatly to the reputation of those having charge of it. While the Indians were encamped and ready for battle, it seemed impossible for Terry and Crooke to unite their forces and attack the camp; and when, after long delay, a junction was at last effected, an immediate separation became necessary, in order to pursue the retreating Indians who had broken into two distinct bands. And now we learn that all pursuit is abandoned, the Indians having dispersed or escaped, or are returning by roundabout ways to the various agencies, to be fed and clothed by government during winter. It seems to be true, also, that our troops were insufficiently provided with food, clothing, shelter, and medicine, that they have endured great hardships and contracted disease by exposure to storms while clad only in summer clothing, and that when last heard from they had a very long march before them, and were upon half rations and without tents. And simultaneously with this last news comes the report of a new and solemn treaty with the Indians, conducted by United States Commissioners, with all proper dignity, at the Red Cloud Agency. And thus our Indian "system" is made to present alternately the phases of a farce and a tragedy.

For the coming two months we may expect to read about outrages, riots, political emutes, etc., in addition to the "charges" and reports of rallies, monster meetings, and stump speeches which are now so plentiful in the newspapers. And after all the noisy talking and florid writing have ended, we shall probably discover that some essay quietly read last week at the meeting of the Social Science Association contains more genuine thinking, and will really do more to settle some question by which society is now disturbed, than all the rant and declamation of the presidential campaign. We present this suggestion as one which may enable some of us to endure with greater equanimity the nerve-disturbing events which are sure to take place between the present time and next November.

As details of the Bulgarian atrocities are brought to light, public feeling with regard to them, especially in England, becomes intensified. Without doubt, the Turks appear to have massacred, with every attendant of horrible cruelty, from 12,000 to 15,000 defenceless people. Mr. Gladstone addressed an immense gathering of his constituents, last Saturday, with reference to these atrocities, throwing the responsibility for them directly upon the Turkish government. The Porte has ordered an investigation to be made, and the investigator has returned a whitewashing report, which is likely to receive but little credit, as it by no means agrees with the results of the inquiries conducted by our Mr. Schuyler. Fighting still continues, to the disadvantage of the Servians, in the vicinity of Alexinatz; and a battle

is reported as having taken place between the Turks and Montenegrins, the battle being successful. Very earnest efforts are undoubtedly making by the European powers to put an end to the war, but the Turks will not consent to an armistice, although, as reported, they are willing to listen to proposals for peace.

ENGLISH SKETCHES.

BY MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

LONDON, Aug. 10, 1876.

You will have heard, long before this reaches you, that our Prime Minister, Benjamin Disraeli, has crowned himself with the coronet of an earl, and has gone up on high. In the serene atmosphere of the House of Lords he will be free from the magnificent attacks of Mr. Gladstone, and from the terrible onslaughts of Robert Lowe. His failing health appears to have driven him into this retreat from the field of battle, and there are those who say that, after for a short space contemplating the struggles of his lieutenants, and guiding the first campaign of his melancholy hosts below, he will recline in the blue heaven of rest beside Lord Russell, on the thrones of the gods who have passed into Olympus from the struggles of earth. There is but little doubt that in these days of the triumphing democracy the Prime Minister must sit in the People's House. He is the real President of England, our true ruler; and the sovereignty of a man who is not elected by the people will be impatiently borne. So long as Buckingham sent him to the House, he held his seat at the will of the electors; but now that he sits, whether or no the people please, his position will be much altered in the public mind. The strong Democratic feeling will rebel against him; and the First Minister, no longer in contact with the representatives of the people, no longer so palpably responsible to them, no longer to be directly questioned, praised, censured, by them, will soon find his influence and authority dwindle away, while the jealousies his presence suppressed will break out in the party he has led for so many years. Benjamin Disraeli was a power in the State; the Earl of Beaconsfield will soon be a nonentity. The *Jewish World* has been lately publishing some articles on him very bitter in their tone. It speaks of him, and speaks of him justly, as "beginning life with one thought and aim, and it has pervaded everything he has put his hand to; the ambitious self-seeker, the scheming politician, the manufacturer of personal and parliamentary epigrams, has never risen into the atmosphere of the artist. All has been subordinated to the dominant idea of getting on, advancing himself, and conciliating and deluding his party, or confounding, ridiculing, and retaliating upon his opponents." The criticism is severe, but who can say that it is not just?

The most extraordinary effusions come pouring down upon us as we wander sceptically along this vale of tears. Just take, as a specimen, a sheet of paper, round the edges of which are printed questions: "Are you on the road to heaven, or on the road to hell?" "He that believeth not shall be damned." "Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners—are you saved?" "Ye must be born again." Inside this frame are three columns, the centre one being occupied by a hymn of which the sense and the poetry are equally horrible. The left-hand column is headed: "Satan says"; and then follow various remarks, such as, "You are born a child of God. . . . Do the best you can and you will get to heaven," and so on. The right-hand side is headed: "God says"; and the remarks are very discourteous: "You are born in sin, and a child of wrath. Man's righteousness is filthy rags." Neither Satan nor God seems to want to be related to man: Satan says, "God is your Father"; God says, "Ye are of your father, the devil." Turning to the other side, it is still viler. "All are guilty. Satan's chains."

"Trifler, how flies time with thee? How lives thy soul? What peace hast thou within thee? Is it the peace of God, the peace of a blood-washed soul, or the dull peace of a sin-stricken soul, and heart, hardened with repeated guilt, the shadow of hell falling upon thee? Thou art dying now, yes, every day brings thee closer to thine endless home. Hark! I how solemn sounds that awful bell of eternity as it tolls for thee! how it shakes thy sleeping soul! how it starts thee from thy wilful slumbers! again it sounds—again, and again, till it is forgotten mid the hellish pleasures of this doomed world."

Then the "trifler" is told that his "breath mingles with the chained souls of the world." How this is managed we are not told, for we walk by faith. Again:—

"Dost thou not hear the awful preparations for the Great White Throne? Hark to the sounds, quivering soul! Doth not thy blood curdle at the thought? And yet thou art still unsaved, resting amongst the crowd of the condemned, hanging on to the loose earth and grass about the precipice. How it crumbles away! And now grasping, now clinging, the stones slipping from beneath thy feet, thou wilt soon be hurled to the bottomless pit with the mocking smile on thy lips."

What, in the name of common-sense, are the "awful preparations" that "triflers" hear and curdle at? Angelic masons and carpenters setting up the Great White Throne with celestial hammers and trowels? Surely Dr. Talmage must have a son or a brother on this side the Atlantic who furnishes tracts for distribution among the unsaved. One must presume that these hysterical people are all among the saved. It therefore becomes a serious question whether it would not be advisable to take measures to insure being lost, for an eternity with these tracts would be worse than any lake of fire. A Mr. Warrington is great at this kind of work, and we remark, as a note-

worthy fact, that it generally seems to go hand-in-hand with densest ignorance. "Merabaud says, it is likewise in Nature that is formed intelligent, feeling, thinking beings." Merabaud appears further on as Meribaud, and we are not very clear who is intended. Then we are told that "body and soul will be resurrected after this life"; we hear of Robespierre, and it seems that he was an atheist. One lady, replying to a secular lecture, begins by asserting that "I have not studied," and then goes on to speak of what, by her own confession, she knows nothing about. Spurgeon was wise when he rebuked those zealous and ignorant Christians who make themselves so ridiculous, by telling them that nowadays the Holy Ghost did not teach men tongues, and he would advise them to buy a grammar before they began to preach.

While the assistance of culture is thus ignored by so many Christians in their efforts to reach "the masses," this very aid is diligently sought by their antagonists. Witness the remarks of the Bishop of Peterborough at the annual meeting of the Leicester-shire Church Extension Association. He said:—

"Let them remember that they had to encounter a growing danger nowadays; a danger not of insincerity, but of hostility—not of hostility alone to the Church, but increasing hostility to the faith. The growth of secularism and of practical infidelity was a real danger, not merely to the life of the Church of England, but to the life of Christianity in England. The masses who were unevangelized and alienated would not remain in the dull, unintelligent torpor in which they remained last century; bad influences were at work leaving them in the direction of secular unbelief and antagonism against Christianity. He had seen lately publications cheaply got up, cleverly written, and largely circulated amongst the working-classes of this country, which for virulence of abuse and rancor of hate against not merely the doctrines of Christianity, but the very person of its blessed founder; which for foulness of denunciation were unparalleled in literature, and which were not to be exceeded by the foulest and most horrible utterances of the last century, even amid the horrors of the French Revolution. When these things were circulated by the working-class around them, surely it was no question whether they should hesitate or pause for a moment in carrying on church extension."

We do not quite know where, in secularist literature, Bishop Magee finds the "foulness" to which he alludes; perhaps he only uses the word in a "spiritual sense," and would call any attack upon Christianity foul without reference to its manner. As to the largeness of the circulation, of that there is, fortunately, no doubt possible, and the sale is a rapidly increasing one. To take but a single illustration: booksellers always expect to sell less in the summer than in the winter, and the sale of books and papers is always very slack during August. This year, we are weekly selling a larger number of *National Reformers* than we have sold during even last winter, and we are printing more each week. Judging from previous experience, the sale next winter ought to be enormously increased. In addition to the *National Reformer*, the secular party supports the *Secular Chronicle*, and Mr. G. J. Holyoake's new paper, the *Secular Review*, has made a very good start. Leaving aside the journals of the movement, and glancing at the general literature, we find the sale unprecedentedly large: the first number of the *Free Thinker's Textbook*, published in April, is already in a sixth edition and is still selling rapidly, while—a curious proof of how widely secularist literature spreads—the *National Secular Society's* tracts are being translated into both Spanish and Italian. Side by side with this the numbers of enrolled secularists are rapidly increasing, and wherever we look signs of progress may be seen.

Statue-erecting seems popular just now. Every one knows of that which is to be erected to Bruno, and we have just heard from Holland that a statue of Spinoza is being prepared, and it is to be erected at the Hague. It will be unveiled next year in February, on the two hundredth anniversary of Spinoza's birth, and will, indeed, be a worthy companion to that of the great Italian martyr. Spinoza, also, suffered a long martyrdom, although he died a natural death; excommunicated by his co-religionists, an outcast from his people, the noble, great mind bore the lot that ever falls to the grandest of the race. He was despised, scoffed at, hated, slandered, and the day of his triumph has only lately dawned; but his name shines clear forever in the heaven of fame, one of those sun-names of thought that arise only at long intervals in the history of the world.

A book has lately been issued by the Christian Evidence Society, written by the Rev. Dr. Sanday, on *The Gospels in the Second Century*, which is worth noting, as showing the advance of rationalistic thought among Christian apologists. The reverend author candidly gives up point after point, once defended; he complains that the author of *Supernatural Religion* takes a narrow and old-fashioned view of revelation, and deals generally with the subject from an extremely liberal point of view. We find him acknowledging that Justin Martyr probably used some gospel now lost; that the gospel of Mark alluded to by Papias cannot be the one now known under that name; that the gospels were composed from older documents; and making many other admissions of the same kind. In fact, the whole range of thought is rapidly advancing, and the Orthodox of the last century would have looked with horrified dismay at the "Christianity" of the present day. It would be instructive to draw the picture of Christianity in its various phases of development, and see how often changed its form and doctrines have been during the nineteen centuries which it claims as the period of its existence.

Communications.

THE MAIN QUESTION: IS THE BIBLE INSPIRED?

EDITOR INDEX:—

I have often thought that if Liberals were more careful and persistent in presenting the facts as to the authenticity of the Bible, their views on its claims to be regarded as the inspired word of God, and other kindred topics, and would not allow themselves to be diverted from the main question into the discussion of side issues of little or no importance, their cause would find many more adherents than it does now. We must prepare the minds of the people for the reception of Liberalism by first breaking up their faith in dogmatic Christianity, for the doctrine that belief is a fit subject for rewards and punishments, upon which Christianity is based, stops further investigation, and tends to make all those who subscribe to it more or less hypocritical, if they pretend to reason at all. I would therefore try to impress upon my Christian friends that the Bible is not the inspired word of God, for the following reasons:—

Firstly: Belief is not volitional, but is the result of observed facts and conclusions drawn therefrom, as each one sees and reasons from his own standpoint. Belief is therefore not a fit subject for rewards or punishments. It follows that the promise of rewards and punishments for what we believe or disbelieve, as found in the Bible, is inconsistent with justice, because it would be unjust to punish one for what he could not help.

Secondly: The unquestioning belief demanded of all Christians, in the incarnation, death, resurrection, and intercession of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, as the foundation upon which they base their hopes of salvation, is inconsistent with the exercise of our reasoning faculties. Such a belief shuts the door of doubt, which is but another name for reason, and effectually prevents any further investigation as to the truthfulness or falsity of Christianity; while, in order to obstruct still further the pathway to a knowledge of the truth, those who dare to entertain a doubt as to the truthfulness of the above fundamental doctrine of Christianity are threatened with the pains and penalties of the damned. "He that believeth shall be saved; he that believeth not shall be damned"—is the fiat by which we all must stand or fall, if the Bible be true. The best illustration of this unquestioning belief is found in the life of a true child of the Roman Catholic Church, who accepts the teachings of his church and the mandate of his spiritual adviser as the voice of God. This very belief which is savagely condemned by Protestants as the means by which the Church of Rome has so skilfully enthralled the intellect and conscience of her votaries as to make them her eternal slaves,—this very belief, I say, is also exercised by and demanded of all Protestants, only not in regard to the same doctrine.

Thirdly: There is nothing in the Scriptures, in regard to scientific knowledge or the civilization of the age in which they were written, that is in advance of the knowledge or civilization possessed by the people of that time. From this we may infer that, while God may have written the Bible by the pen of inspiration, it was possible for man to have done it without his aid. But even this inference is shaken by the fact that many scientific discoveries, made since the Bible was written, show that much of the so-called knowledge possessed by man at the time the Bible was written must have been erroneous. In other words, wherever there has been any conflict between science and the Bible teachings, the Bible goes to the wall. The inevitable conclusion follows that an omniscient God could not have inspired any one to have written the Bible, because, if he had, every new scientific discovery would have been in accordance with, and confirmatory of, its teachings, instead of being directly opposed to it.

Fourthly: The Bible cannot be the inspired word of God, because it contains many imperfections and inconsistencies, many ambiguous and vague expressions, many incomprehensible and irreconcilable passages. Even the most learned cannot agree as to what is the will of God, or his intentions toward the children of men. How inconsistent with justice to suppose that an omnipotent, omniscient, truthful God could have revealed his will to man in such ambiguous and obscure language that no two can understand it alike, and then hold him accountable for not understanding and doing it, when it was in his power to have so revealed himself to us that there could not have been the least possibility of a difference of opinion as to what his revealed will is! God could not have permitted any alteration or mistranslation of his message to mankind, and then hold them responsible for disobeying it, when this disobedience arose not from any lack of a desire to do his will, but because they did not understand it on account of his message having been falsely translated or intentionally altered. God must not only have miraculously revealed his will to man, but he must also have exercised a miraculous supervision over it at all times since, so that no alteration or mistranslation by any one could have been made. The fact that alterations and mistranslations have been made is an evidence that he does not exercise such supervision, and therefore that he did not inspire any one to write it. To illustrate this point more forcibly, let us suppose a case: take, for instance, an agent of a railway company, who acts under instructions of the superintendent at head-quarters. If that superintendent fails to transmit to the agent his will, concerning the transaction of any business by the agent, in plain, unambiguous language, which it is in his power to do, he (the superintendent) is responsible for the misunderstanding, and not the agent. This would be

made still more obvious, if it could be shown that the agent had acted in accordance with his (the agent's) understanding of the message, and that he was desirous to obey orders, and that, on the other hand, the superintendent was fully competent to have written and transmitted the message in such terms and manner that there could have been no possibility of misunderstanding it, but that it was through his (the superintendent's) carelessness or negligence that the misunderstanding occurred. If, under such circumstances, the superintendent would discharge the agent, or in any other way punish him for the part he took in the transaction, is it not plain to any right-thinking mind that it would be a gross injustice to the agent? This, to my mind, is a parallel case to the one we are at present considering; namely, God's message to the children of men, and who is responsible for the misunderstanding.—God, who had it in his power to prevent the misunderstanding, or the people, who acted in good faith. In accordance with the above illustration, it is plain that God is responsible for any misunderstanding arising from a study of his recorded will; but, since God cannot be unjust, the logical conclusion forces itself upon the candid mind that God had nothing to do with the writing of the Bible, and did not inspire it.

Fifthly: The Bible could not be the inspired word of God, because, if it is, the Ecumenical Council which assembled at Carthage in the year A. D. 397, and proclaimed the infallibility of the author of every book which they then decided to include in the Bible, and Pope Innocent the First, who confirmed their decision, must have been inspired, or infallibly directed as to what books should be retained, and what ones excluded.

If the Pope and his council were then infallible, what reason have we for denying that they are now infallible? Protestants practically acknowledge that the Ecumenical Council of Carthage was infallible, as well as the Pope, by receiving the books which they (the council and Pope) have pronounced canonical, as the inspired word of God. The Protestants are either forced to the alternative of acknowledging the Pope and his council as infallible, or, by rejecting this dogma, of declaring that there is no certainty as to whether any of the books pronounced canonical by this Council are inspired. In other words, if the Pope and his council were infallible, the books they pronounced canonical must have been inspired, and they now, as then, are infallible, as they claim. If, on the other hand, they were not inspired, then we have no authority for the inspiration of the Bible, and they are not infallible. Protestants, by accepting this decision of the Pope and his council, practically admit their infallibility, and should cease to protest.

MONS.

EXON VALLEY, PA., Aug. 1, 1876.

WESTERN WHISPERS.

DEAR INDEX:—

Would you not like to hear some occasional whispers from this so-called Western Athens?

We have just been enjoying some intellectual ambrosia in the shape of a discussion between Mr. B. F. Underwood and Rev. Clarke Braden. The discussion continued for two weeks, and covered a broad field of thought. Intense interest was manifested by the people. The results of the debate, direct and indirect, are of the most healthful kind, and most gratifying to all liberals, including a presentation of issues, a diffusion of liberal ideas, and an incitement to thought which could have been effected by no other means. Eight propositions were debated. Those affirmed by Rev. Braden are too verbose to be given in this article. Those affirmed by Mr. Underwood are as follows:—

1. The universe is eternal and self-existent; and all the phenomena observed by us are the result of causes purely natural and independent of an "absolute First Cause," or "a God who created, governs, and sustains all things, and who is infinite in his perfections and attributes."
2. Religion had its origin in the ignorance and misconception of the undeveloped mind, and it is a hindrance to human improvement, except in proportion as it is changed, with the increase of intelligence and culture, into reverence for the true, the good, and the beautiful in Nature and art; while, on the other hand, the enlightened human reason is the highest standard and rule that man possesses, and science is the greatest civilizer of the race.
3. The Hebrew and Christian Sacred Scriptures of Old and New Testaments are of human origin.
4. These Scriptures, when accepted as of divine origin and authority, are injurious in their influence on man.

Mr. Underwood's words were half battles—yes, whole battles—for the truth. Under the first proposition—according to my way of thinking—he taught cosmic theism in contradistinction to anthropomorphic theism; under the second proposition, he taught free religion in contradistinction to all religion of bondage. Under the last affirmation, he seemed to speak, almost all the while, from the very topmost heights of inspiration.

Mr. Underwood also delivered two lectures while with us. Both were masterly productions, indicative of profound and comprehensive thought. The one on "Woman, her Past and Present, her Rights and Wrongs" seemed of especial merit to your correspondent, as a bold and wise handling of the subject. Mr. Underwood proved himself a true master of the situation in the domain of thought, and the liberality of this place are under an immeasurable debt to him for the splendid work which he wrought out.

One word about ourselves. As is the case in nearly every Western city, the great mass of liberals here are indifferent and asleep. But a small number of wide-awake, sincere, and earnest souls formed an

organization, last December, which is known by the name of the "Independent Religious Society." Its basis is, to all intents and purposes, the same as that of the Free Religious Association, and it is, in fact, a miniature Free Religious Association. Every Sunday morning, at eleven, we hold a free conversation, at which an article on some religious or scientific subject is read and commented upon. At three in the afternoon, the society listen to a lecture from the writer of this article. On last Sunday, week, the topic of my address was "Confucianism: a Religion without any Devil and without any Hell—a Religion of Love and Worldly Virtue." On last Sunday the topic was as follows: "Free Religion and Christianity: an Answer to the Question, What have you to put in the place of Christianity?" On next Sunday I intend to speak on the "Defeated Constitutional Amendment." Perhaps you can obtain from these topics some inkling of the sort of mental pabulum with which the liberals of Jacksonville are furnished.

And now the Church-and-State question. Should not the developments of the last month remove from all honest and intelligent minds all objections to the Liberal League movement? Liberals must now accomplish the education of the people, else freedom will be but a name, and justice a synonyme for oppression. The people are perishing for the want of wisdom. In words written by the editor of THE INDEX five years ago: "Never before did I feel such an overwhelming conviction of our common duty to educate the people betimes." Never before have I so felt the responsibilities resting upon all liberals—yes, the responsibilities which weigh down upon our own shoulders. Heretofore there have lingered in my mind some doubts concerning the wisdom and need of the Liberal League movement. But those doubts are now all dispelled, as morning clouds are swept away by the rising sunlight. Perhaps my contribution toward the up-building of the structure of Freedom and Equal Rights in America may not be of more weight than that of a single pebble toward the up-building of a continent in the sea; but to the extent of my power and influence, in the lecture-field and in all other fields, you may count me one earnest worker for the Liberal League and the "TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE." This is no conclusion formed in haste, but the deep and settled conviction of my whole soul. In the conflict against the Christian slave-power, there may be no pleasure, according to the common measure of that word; but there must at least flow through the soul the rivulet of peace which springs from the fount of duty.

Very truly yours,
S. W. SAMPLE.

JACKSONVILLE, Ill., August 30.

LIBERAL CATHOLIC INFLUENCE.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I am glad to see THE INDEX waking up to the fact that the great danger to religious freedom lies rather in the alliance of the Republican party with the bigoted Orthodox Protestants of the country, than in the alliance of the Democracy with the Catholics. You have, at least, caught a "glimpse" of the true situation, in your issue of August 31. You say: "The Democrats in the Senate doubtless voted as they did (on the school amendment) to conciliate the Catholics; and the Republicans, doubtless, to conciliate the Protestants. . . . But the Democrats voted right on that amendment, saving the country from inconceivable disaster, at least for a while; and the Republicans voted wrong." Thank you for the admission that the Democrats may not only vote right when the Republicans vote wrong, but that they may do so "to conciliate the Catholics."

It is an oft-recurring phenomenon in religious development, that under the ecclesiastical garb of those church organizations which are most given to form, and ritual, and rigid verbal statement of creed, there is evolved a liberality of sentiment in some directions exceeding that which is to be found in other churches which are less given to form and ritual. Thus, in the Church of England, we find many to-day who are ready to welcome all advances in science and government; who are thoroughly imbued with liberal ideas; and who, on most practical questions, involving a recognition of the principles of religious freedom, would take position by the side of the most liberal thinkers.

So it will be found, when these questions are forced to an issue, that the second and third generations of Catholics in this country have become so imbued with Republican ideas that patriotism, and justice, and fairness will control their influence and their votes, against all attempts of their priests to the contrary, should such be made. On the question of Sabatarian reform, the Bible in the public schools, and others of like nature, the liberal Catholics are our natural allies, in opposition to the rigid Puritanical notions of some Orthodox Protestant sects.

Is it not better to view these questions more philosophically, recognizing fully the difficulty of the work before us, in completing the secularization of our government, and welcoming all allies cordially, instead of adopting a narrow, partisan view, and denouncing unjustly all Democrats and all Catholics? The Democratic party, so far as it has taken issue upon these questions, has more nearly accepted our ideas than the Republican party. May not its very relation with the Catholics urge it forward toward higher ground on these subjects, while the overwhelming public sentiment against Catholic aggression will prevent it from yielding too much to that influence? Without any great confidence in the high moral principle of any political party, such, it seems to me, may be the logic of events.

Yours faithfully,
LEWIS G. JANES.

[Mr. Janes is too much enamored of that unreal phantasm, Liberal Catholicism, to read even his

INDEX aright, which he insinuates has been "denouncing unjustly all Democrats and all Catholics." Such warped and mistaken judgments as this show how blindly he is following the spectre of his delusive dream. There is no such thing as Liberal Catholicism. There are liberals at heart (more or less) who still stay nominally in the Church; but they are not Catholics, and have no influence whatever in the course pursued by the Church. Mr. Janes fondly imagines that Liberal Catholic influence will persuade the Democrats to take "higher ground," and thus lean on a broken reed which will pierce his own side. But we are glad to see that he has at last waked up to perceive the "very relation with the Catholics" which he formerly denied was sustained by the Democrats, but now inadvertently admits.—ED.]

A FORSAKEN WORD.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—You rejected the title of *Christian* because the name had become intimately associated with so much that was inimical to liberty and the highest education of man.

I now call upon you to abandon and reject the word *reform*, and the title *reformer*, for a similar reason. You and I were born and bred New England reformers. We have sat at the feet of Garrison, Smith, Parker, Weld, Whittier, Child, Douglass, and others of the noblest band of men and women that ever honored the human race. We have been inspired by Emerson, Carlyle, Thoreau, Channing, and other authors of the cream of a noble literature. In the light of such teaching we have learned to reverence solid human character, and natural, genuine, unpretentious human worth. *Per contra*, we have also learned to distrust noise, pretence, and bluster; to abhor shams and shoddy; to detest mere sentimental speculations. Have we also learned to distinguish between the false and the true, the humbug and the genuine, the shoddy and the pure "all wool"?

If we have (considering the wisdom of the teachings above-mentioned), what should be our attitude toward the popular reformers of this Centennial year?

The preachers say that the devil is fond of disguising himself as an "angel of light." It is evident that he has improved the opportunity, and exercised said fondness to a remarkable degree during the past four years! Never before has reform made so much noise; never has it made less substantial progress.

Why, sir, how can you any longer be a reformer, when you see who the reformers of 1876 are? For my part, I reject the title with derision and disgust! Hereafter a rose by any other name will smell sweeter to me than by that. It is bad enough to be called a Christian; but to be called a *reformer*! Ugh! No man who wears that label can have my vote; neither will I knowingly support any person or paper that wears it. I am not to be overcome by such miserable imposition. After having sworn allegiance to the genuine, the good, the pure, and the true, am I expected to follow and support—good God! Just think of it! There is Tilden and the Democratic party; there is the unanimous Roman Catholic Church; the Christian Amendment party; the whiskey ring; the Tammany ring; the soft money ring; Jay Gould; "the world, the flesh, and the devil." Never! Never! My list is imperfect. Others should be included, not forgetting those sentimental blunderheads who, with wonderful uprightness and perfect rectitude, are sure to bolt from something or other precisely when their enemies desire they should.

But I can say no more. My heart is filled with grief to think that a word once so sacred, once so deeply revered for its beloved associations, should be captured by the evil one and put to the degrading service of aiding all the hosts whose advance is a menace to the future prosperity of the American Union.

Truly your friend,
EX-REFORMER.

MATERIALITY AND IMMATERIALITY.

Consciousness, which I define as the sense of realization, announces the incontestable fact of our personal existence, and the same unimpeachable witness declares that we are endowed with sensation; and these together affirm that we are environed by an external universe.

Reason as we may, we cannot dispossess ourselves of these perceptions, although, when we attempt to analyze sensible things, they so constantly evade our efforts that some are led to doubt or seem to doubt their existence, and persuade themselves to believe that they live in a world of immateriality; of "sensations and impressions" merely.

The great controversy of the present day seems to be upon the question of a monistic or dualistic universe: a world of matter on the one hand, and on the other a world of matter and something else that is not matter; whether matter exists in and of itself while all else is naught, or whether something that is not matter exists independently of and superior to matter, or inhering in matter and coexistent with it; and this something else is defined as mind, soul, spirit, power, force, God.

The theological mind and the unscientific mind will always prefer to assume the existence of creative power, or mind, as the easiest method of disposing of the difficulty; while the materialist is driven to prove his position demonstratively. The teleologist assumes, if he cannot prove, a final cause, and takes

refuge in the unknowable; but the materialist has no such refuge.

Let the materialist, if he can, conceive the existence of a universe of inert matter, destitute of gravitation, cohesion, and motion, cold, dark, and dead, existing in illimitable space, at absolute rest during a past eternity of ages. It comprises all the matter in the universe—nothing else. How is it to be set in motion? It cannot move itself. It must be moved by something that is not matter. What is that something? Not matter, but power. That power must be preëxistent to it or coexistent with it; either external to it or inherent in it, but immaterial.

The first effect of power must be motion. Matter once in motion must continue to move eternally, unless arrested by a counteracting power. An atom once in motion must cause motion in another atom, until the whole mass is moved. The first effect of motion is to beget heat; heat begets more motion and that motion more heat. Now what is this power begetting motion? We assume it to be electricity. How came it to begin to act? Here we are at the end of our tether. Science cannot answer. We know the fact that it does act, and, motion once obtained, we have all we need wherewith to build a universe. Electricity begetting attraction, attraction motion, motion heat, heat light, and all these combined developing life, consciousness, sensation, instinct, intelligence; all these are not matter, but modes and degrees of power made manifest through the varieties of organization. The facts of to-day inform us that matter and power, potential or actual, are always found together, and from these facts our data must be taken.

The stereotyped Aristotelian doctrine of the universe of matter and mind has had its day. We are not bound by assumptions *a priori*, and the testimony of Nature does not assure us that all her manifestations of power are intelligent and conscious.

What is it that causes iron and steel to draw toward the magnet, and similar magnetic poles to repel each other? Is it mind? What causes the sap to rise in vegetation, and water to run down an inclined plane? Is it mind? What causes a compound of sulphur, nitre, and carbon to explode when brought into contact with a spark? Mind? By what agency does stone or iron sink in water, wood float, and gas rise to the surface and escape into the atmosphere? By mind? So far as evidence goes, power does not in these cases manifest understanding or will. We have a universe of matter and power, materiality and immateriality, mind being evidently the higher or highest manifestation of power.

D. S. GRANDIN, M. D.

UPPER GLOUCESTER, Me.

THE AMHERST RADICAL CLUB.

DE RUYTER, N. Y., Aug. 30, 1876.

EDITOR INDEX:

Dear Sir,—As a member of the Amherst College Radical Club, I wish to thank you for the kindly notice of us which appeared some months ago in your columns. Very likely more has been said about this organization than its importance has warranted. The statements, however, which have been published in several papers, including the Springfield dailies, the New York Independent, and, I believe, your neighbor, the Congregationalist, about its decline, as a result of the labors of Rev. Joseph Cook, are totally unfounded. His lectures were able and liberally patronized by the Club, but had the effect of multiplying its meetings and increasing their interest, instead of convincing a single member. A very few were won by a revival which was not, of course, engineered by human agency or designed to withstand the liberal tendency of college thought! Their places, however, were more than filled by others. The Club's last session, held a few days before the close of last term, was one of the best attended and most profitable; and a meeting was appointed, with a subject and leader selected, for the second Sunday in the next college year.

Truly yours,
HENRY DOTY MAXSON.

A WORD ON GEN. DIX.

SUNDAY MORNING, Aug. 13, 1876.

I have just read John A. Dix's letter on church taxation, in which he says, "It is not a subject for human logic," and "one can hardly debate it without a feeling of abasement." Probably it has not yet occurred to the old-fogy writer that real abasement is reached when one allows his mind to become so thoroughly bigoted as to deprive him of all sense of right and justice.

His letter reveals a mine of bigotry so vast that, if it could only be marketed at a cent per ton, it would pay the national debt.

It is amusing to see the advocates of Christianity, whenever it suits their purposes, declaring that—"It has overcome all obstacles"; that—"It is going on conquering and to conquer"; that—"Its success is evidence of its truth"; and in the next breath virtually pleading that it is a pauper, and should be unfairly favored on the tax-list and in the school-room, and in every way and place insisting upon making it the chief of deadheads.

D. B. MORTON.

HE WAS A MAN who had hosts of warm friends, and his death will be sincerely regretted. While deploring his untimely end, however, we must not forget that he was one of that dangerous class of genial swindlers whose loose ideas of right and wrong have done so much towards making us a nation of thieves. An unmitigated rogue, wholly bad in everything, is much less dangerous than a man who coolly perpetrates the most monstrous frauds, and yet is not lacking in those virtues which make his fellow-men love him.—*Indianapolis Herald*.

Advertisements.

THE PATRONAGE

of the liberal advertising public is respectfully solicited for THE INDEX. The attempt will be honestly made to keep the advertising pages of THE INDEX in entire harmony with its general character and principles, and thus to furnish to the public an advertising medium which shall be not only profitable to its patrons, but also worthy of their most generous support. To this end, all improper or "blind" advertisements, all quack advertisements, and all advertisements believed to be fraudulent or unjust to any one, will be excluded from these columns. No cuts will be admitted.

THE INDEX must not be held responsible for any statement made by advertisers, who will in all cases accept the responsibility for their own statements.

ADVERTISING RATES.

For 1 to 12 insertions, 10c per line.	
" 13 " 25 " "	8 " "
" 26 " 51 " "	6 " "
" 52 " " " "	5 " "

On half-column advertisements, a discount of 10 per cent. will be made; on full-column advertisements, a discount of 20 per cent.

On all advertisements for which cash is paid in advance, a further discount of 25 per cent. on the total, as above calculated, will be made. FRANCIS E. ABBOT, Editor.

TO ADVERTISERS.

The following states the experience of a successful Bookseller who has advertised in THE INDEX:—

TOLEDO, Ohio, Sept. 20, 1872.
To THE INDEX ASSO., Toledo, O.:
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ARTICLE II.—The general object of the National Liberal League shall be to accomplish the TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE: to the end that equal rights in religion, genuine morality in politics, and freedom, virtue, and brotherhood in all human life, may be established, protected, and perpetuated.

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ARTICLE IV.—Any person who shall pay one dollar into the treasury shall be entitled to a certificate, signed by the President and Secretary, as an annual member of the National Liberal League. Any person who shall pay twenty-five dollars or more into the treasury shall be entitled to a similar certificate as a life-member. All the persons present as members at the Centennial Congress of Liberals, at which this Constitution was adopted, are hereby declared permanent or charter-members of the National Liberal League.

ARTICLE V.—All charter-members and life-members of the National Liberal League, and all duly accredited delegates from local auxiliary Liberal Leagues organized in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution, shall be entitled to seats and votes in the Annual Congress. Annual members of the National Liberal League shall be entitled to seat, but not to votes, in the Annual Congress.

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ARTICLE XIII.—The Board of Directors shall have authority, as often as they receive a written application signed by ten or more persons and accompanied by ten dollars, to issue a charter for the formation of a local auxiliary Liberal League.

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in the country unite without delay to forward their

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as a local auxiliary Liberal League, in order to be all ready for action as soon as the necessary papers are prepared.
 Before New Year, let a

Thousand Liberal Leagues

be thoroughly organized and actively at work for the adoption of the

Religious Freedom Amendment

to the United States Constitution. The

"GOD-IN-THE-CONSTITUTION"

party are scheming and laboring more busily than ever for the adoption of their

Christian Amendment.

which would ultimately DISFRANCHISE and DISQUALIFY FOR OFFICE every honest Liberal in the land, and trample under foot the people's most sacred rights of conscience. It is time to rouse the people to an effective defence of their religious liberty, and the Liberal Leagues must do it.

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THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued falsehood. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

THE FREE GEMEINDE of Philadelphia, as stated in a communication elsewhere by Professor Loos, has constituted itself into a Liberal League, with Mr. William Holdmann as President and Professor A. Loos as Secretary. This is very encouraging.

DR. THOMAS E. MOORMAN, of Mount Zion, Campbell County, Va., has written to the *Richmond Christian Advocate* that George Brown, a blaspheming and swearing negro, was struck by lightning on the evening of August 6, and that the word GOD was found written on his burned body! Any one who doubts the truth of this impressive tale should address the Doctor.

THE PARIS correspondent of the *Cincinnati Commercial* says: "While Paris has been amusing itself, and reading on its walls every day the words which no government dares to erase, 'Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité,' the so-called French republic has given up real power over the nation to the one party which is united—the clerical party. There are in France four hundred thousand priests, and they act as one man. Orleanists, legitimists, imperialists, republicans may divide into rights and lefts and centres, but the priesthood knows no division, and they are absolute masters of the situation."

THE NEW YORK *Irish World* cannot fail to exert in some respects a very beneficial influence over its Catholic readers. The *Tablet* having intimated that the Irish cause is nothing but that of the Catholic Church, and that "the Irish quarrel with England is, and ought to be, exclusively religious," a contributor to the *Irish World* points out that "the Norman Catholic invaders of Ireland were never surpassed in their harsh treatment of the conquered Irish by their Protestant successors." Our Irish fellow-citizens cannot be too soon weaned from the ridiculous notion that unity of religious creed is a guarantee of justice or happiness among men.

WE JUDGE it well to let our readers know what sort of treatment is dealt out to political orators who have had the courage to express heterodox religious opinions openly,—even at the cost of quoting matter otherwise very unprofitable. "Bob Ingersoll's Dream," which is republished in another column, is a sample of the ruffianism to which we allude. Remember that such vile abuse as this is the inevitable outcome of a state of things in which Orthodoxy enjoys political superiority over heterodoxy, and that

it will cease to "pay" when liberals have vindicated their equal rights before the law. Equality before the law is in this country the condition of public respect for any class of citizens; and freethinkers are no exception to this rule.

THE SCHOOL BOARD of Manchester, New Hampshire, in which Mr. William Little, Clerk of the Board, has been making a gallant but hitherto unsuccessful effort to get a fair hearing on the Bible-in-schools question, has shown itself a body false to every principle of free speech and fair play. It not only refused, at its session of Sept. 1, to consider the subject then, but refused also to appoint a public hearing on the subject a fortnight later in the City Hall, notwithstanding the fact that Rev. Henry Powers (minister of the Unitarian Society) asked to be heard on behalf of one hundred and sixty-one petitioners for the exclusion of the Bible from the schools. The Board stubbornly refused these petitioners a hearing, both then and subsequently; it refused to hear Mr. Powers on their behalf altogether. This, liberals, is the spirit of the Orthodoxy which controls your School Boards, your Legislatures, your Congresses; it despises and tramples on your equal rights as freemen and citizens. How long do you propose to bow before it in silence and submission?

COL. INGERSOLL takes, we fear, a rose-colored view of the party for which he labors. He said in his speech at New York: "The political principles of the Republican party are as broad as this continent—as extensive as humanity itself. They welcome every one to this country who is a friend of humanity and of human progress. They have a welcome for the Methodist, for the Catholic, for the Old School Presbyterian, and for the infidel, provided he is in favor of the eternal equality of human rights. And the Republicans go further than that; we believe it is right to allow every man to do his own thinking, and to express his own thoughts. We will suffer no fetter on the brain, no chain on the hand of man." If the eloquent freethinker of Illinois can persuade his fellow-Republicans to come out in favor of the "Religious Freedom Amendment," he will make good these fine words. But if they are using him now as a mere catpaw to rake the chestnuts of office out of the fire of this Presidential campaign, only to carry through Congress the Bible amendment for which every Republican in the Senate voted last month, Col. Ingersoll is only forging "fetters for the brain and chains for the hand" which he himself will be compelled to wear.

THE CINCINNATI *Herald and Presbyterian* thus retells a manifest "pious fraud" about Charles Sumner: "In an article last week, on 'The Great Want of France,' we quoted a paragraph from Mr. Conway, in a recent letter to the *Commercial*, of this city, in which he attributed to the late Senator Sumner a remark made to Gambetta, during his last visit to Europe, to the effect that 'the great want of France was more vital religion.' In our comments upon this highly gratifying opinion we incidentally stated that we believed that Mr. Sumner was a Unitarian. This has induced a friend, a Presbyterian minister of this city, to call upon us and relate the following conversation he had with Mr. Sumner a year or two previous to his death. He was in his house at Washington, with Mr. Sumner and one other person present, when the minister said: 'Mr. Sumner, I have always understood that you are a Unitarian; that you do not believe in the divinity of Jesus Christ, nor in prayer. For one, I should like to know if it is true.' Mr. Sumner, dropping his head for a moment, replied: 'M. —, I believe in prayer, and I pray daily; and I believe in the divinity of Jesus Christ, and trust him as my Almighty Savior; he is my only trust.' The words of this conversation, our informant says, are distinctly remembered, and were uttered as here related."

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE,
 AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fairs shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, undimly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

The Commemoration of the Dead.

BY O. B. FROTHINGHAM.

The festival of All Saints, which was a commemoration of the sainted dead, was immediately followed in the Church by the festival of All Souls, which was a commemoration of the dead who were not sainted. It might appropriately have been called All Sinners, for the dead that were remembered were all supposed to be in the cleansing fires of Purgatory, from which their friends sought to deliver them. The sentiment of All Saints was honor of virtue triumphant; the sentiment of All Souls was pity for virtue under a cloud. All Saints was the day of glory; All Souls the day of compassion; All Saints the day of grateful smiles; All Souls the day of tender tears. The first is kindling, the second sad. The first incites to goodness by the thought of its splendor. The second incites to goodness by the thought of the sorrow that comes from its opposite. On All Souls Day, it was the custom to say masses for the dead, to pray for the peace of their souls, to lay garlands at their graves. Such remembrance was meet, in an age that believed in the efficacy of mortal supplications to mitigate the doom of unworthiness and even to abolish the doom of guilt. And now, when such superstition lingers only with the members of a particular church, there is no special usefulness in remembering the dead, not with any view to the release of their souls from torment, but with a hope that by reviving our best impressions of them and revising our worst we may do something to rescue their names from the shadow of reproach. To remember the dead is what we are all likely enough to do. To remember them kindly, appreciatingly, gently, forgivingly, mercifully, is a duty that all should accustom themselves to perform. Days of commemoration are not amiss; rites of commemoration are becoming. If the dead are great, or fair, or dear, the remembrance of them is natural and easy; we cannot help it; it steals upon us unawares in silent and even in busy hours; they demand and receive our thoughts; to them belong moments of every day; it is not always possible to tell when they are absent from our minds. If the dead are small, or foul, or hateful, the effort is not misdirected that would bring them before us for repeated consideration and judgment. All days are days of loving remembrance of those we love; but for those we love not, days of special remembrance are needed.

For we cannot treat the dead as if they were shadows, phantoms of thought, beings departed, and no more to be reckoned among things that are. On any theory of a future life, even on the theory that there is no future of conscious life, the dead are very real existences. They are as real as our minds are, as real as the world we live in. We cannot banish them if we would; we cannot banish them by forgetting them; they are as near as we are to ourselves, for they are part, and often a great part, of ourselves. The departed are present, the vanished are real. Death in taking them away reveals them, strips off the disguising accessories, the material mask, the incidents that stood between them and us, the appearances that concealed or misled, and by making them mere spirit, pure soul, gives them, to our imagination, a kind of omnipresence. The limitations being removed, the being is diffused; and in being diffused is not dissipated, but made vital rather; in many homes the most real personages are the dead. They inhabit the rooms, occupy the chairs, sit at the table, greet the household in the morning, give at evening the farewell blessing. They are the angels of the house, the ministering spirits to the rest, who come and go and seem like shadows. The reality of the dead is attested by the haunting recollections that cling to places, persons, implements, with which they had been associated. There are places which owe their reality wholly to the dead. Salamis and Marathon, Thermopylae and Waterloo, owe all their interest to the shades that hover over their sods. Ghosts possess them, and hold the visitors there by a spell of memory they cannot break.

The power of the dead is attested by evidence more unequivocal still, if that were possible. Indeed, when we consider our systems of thought, social customs, political institutions, moral ideas, ethical standards, we are inclined to think of the dead as our rulers and kings. They alone hold the sceptre of dominion over the world. What great interest do they not control? The shade of Buddha exercises sway over the millions of people in India and elsewhere who make him arbiter of their faith and master of their observances. Confucius lays the myriads of China under his spell. The unseen forms of Moses and the prophets preside over the pondered future of the Hebrew people. The transfigured shape of the Christ of Judea moves the thought and emotion of the world of Christendom. The fisherman, Peter, sustains by the echo of his word the vast structure of the Roman Church. The tent-maker, Paul, inspires all Protestant churches with his breath. Plato and Aristotle, mighty shades, have shared between them the domain of speculative philosophy for more centuries than Christendom has counted. Leibnitz, Descartes, Spinoza, Newton, Kant, Hegel, each have empires of their own, and count their subjects by tens of thousands. In English literature the dead Shakespeare is king; in German literature the dead Goethe; and under these mighty potentates lesser princes exercise authority over limited areas of mind.

The power of the dead is shown in our customs and institutions which are of their creation. We are like puppets in their invisible hands; they pull the strings that move us; our designs and devices are of their remote suggestion. Our laws bear trace of the present, active, constraining, preventing, commanding

energy of legislators, judges, statesmen, who have long been dust, who in history are but names and not always that. Our institutions are the embodied principles of souls departed long ago from their tenements of flesh, but permanent now in dwellings of more enduring material. Our ordinary customs are the trodden ways of multitudes that have gone before us; our bearing, carriage, mode of dress, manner of speaking, are but imitations, or unconscious repetitions of theirs. The dead made the prayers that are recited in hundreds of churches; the dead voice the organ and the choir, dress the altar, robe the priest, put words into the preacher's mouth. It is their wall that sighs through the litany; it is their triumph that shouts in the "Gloria." The unfelt presence of their shadowy hands bows the heads of the congregations at the mention of the great Name. The temple is of their designing, the font of their shaping, the ornament of their carving, the vessel of their fashioning. They spread the communion-table, bless the bread, consecrate the cup, appoint holy day and festival. To move without their knowledge were impossible.

For they shape our features, tint our flesh, color our hair, mould the ingredients of our bodies. Our frames are haunted dwellings; the secret chambers and private closets of the mind are filled with ghosts. We are in their hands, though their hands are thinner than air. For good or evil, for good if we will, they are a destiny.

Let us spend the remainder of our hour in weighing by the scales of thought the relative value of the departed, and estimating the character of our duty toward them. Their offices are many and various, but they are all human.

1. First in the regard of mankind are the religious, the spiritual souls, as they are called, founders of men's faith and practices. Their office, divested of accessories of form and rite that do not really belong to them, is to disclose the reality, the glory, the beauty, of the interior world of sentiment and feeling. They are discoverers of the universe within the heart, its mountain-ranges of reverence, its shadowy forests of mystery, its retreats, its pasture-lands, its harvest-fields, its rivers of life, its deep seas of wonder. They show its firmament covered with stars in the night, and effulgent with sunbeams in the day. They show how high feeling can rise in aspiration, how swiftly it can ascend in prayer, how sweetly it can hope, how fondly it can trust. They reveal the latent capacities of love and fear. "To them it is given," says an eloquent writer, "not to cast an eye around human life and observe by what scene it is encompassed, but to retire into it and reveal what it contains; not to disclose how man is materially placed, but what he spiritually is; to comprehend and direct, not his natural advantages of skill and physical power, but his grief, his hope, his strife, his love, his sin, his worship."

This is a great office, of which the world is not unmindful or ungrateful. The qualities that we describe by the words heart, soul, spirit, are made manifest in all their potency by them. With the unknown Cause they have associated feelings that have filled the vacant spaces of the universe with thoughtfulness and love, and have converted the world into a temple of worship. The word Father as applied to the Supreme Cause is of their inventing. The word Providence they have charged with the tender significance it bears. The conception of heaven they originated, the scenery of heaven they painted. To them we are indebted for our faith in an infinite care, in a loving heart at the centre of the world. There is no necessity for setting apart special days for the commemoration of these. One day in every week is devoted to them. The hours of deeper emotion in every day are theirs. We cannot pass the borderline of ordinary existence without meeting them face to face.

2. Pass from these to the memory of those who have constructed the forms of faith which are the creeds of mankind, the theologians, who, applying thought to the subject of religion, have fashioned the doctrines and systems of doctrines that men believe. It is hard sometimes to think amiably of these when trying to throw off from our minds the intellectual fetters they have forged, and dispel the horrid spectres of opinion which they have conjured up. It is not uncommon to hurl maledictions at them as enemies of the race. To call them fantastical speculators on themes no mortal can comprehend, word-jugglers, phrase-mongers, visionaries, beaters of the air, strivers after wind, foolish squanderers of mental power, idle misusers of human reason, is mild language; to call them intellectual despots whose authority is to be resisted and detested is the prevailing fashion with active minds. These men, if any, it is thought, should be in Purgatory and stay there, till they have atoned for the evil they have inflicted on their kind.

It is not my purpose here, or my wish anywhere, to claim an intellectual value for the speculations of the dead ages. But it is not out of place to say a word in behalf of the men themselves. In thinking of them we ought in justice to remember two things which the world cannot afford to forget. One is, that to these departed ones we owe the passionate desire after truth which is a growing distinction of the human mind. Grant that their search was fruitless; that they started on a wrong track; that they pursued a false method; that they mistook cloud-land for solid earth, and arrived nowhere; grant that, for practical purposes, their expeditions into the region of speculative thought involved a waste of energy, time, and devotion. Still they did seek; such light as they had they followed; such paths as they saw open they trod; they did not go vacant-minded, unquestioning, or unobserving through the universe, but longed to know, were willing to spend their lives in discovering the secret of creation. If they pur-

sued a false method, that was their misfortune, not their fault; if their zeal was intemperate, that, if it was a misfortune, was not a fault, but rather a virtue which we wish more of their descendants inherited; for passion in the pursuit of pure truth is not a failing of our time. As we recall the intellectual audacity of these men, as we look at their voluminous works, as we see the fruits of their toil in libraries of volumes that are never read, our respect rises to veneration, and our feeling approaches gratitude. They are benefactors indeed. Remember them gratefully, too, for another reason,—because they have saved us worlds of trouble by their explorations. By the fidelity of their experiments they have dispensed with the necessity of our making them. By thoroughly demonstrating with toil and sorrow the falsity of their method, they have set us at liberty to adopt another. Their failure earns for us a prospect of success; their defeat allows us to entertain a hope of victory. We owe it to them that we are able to walk as confidently as we do in the paths of rational discovery. They have taught us that some questions it is idle to ask, for it is impossible to answer, and have thus turned our attention to other questions that can be asked with some good prospect of answer. Is not that a noble and beautiful service to render? We recognize it cordially in other departments, celebrating those who have sacrificed themselves even unwittingly for their fellow-men. The Kanes and Franklins, whose search after the polar sea was fruitless, receive our gratitude, and would receive it no less, perhaps even more tenderly, if it should prove that the only thing they demonstrated was the futility of their search; shall we not recognize the courage of explorers in this fine sphere of thought, where guidance is particularly needed and error is especially harmful?

3. Of the dead who have produced the monuments of literature, the historians, poets, writers of drama and fiction; of the artists who have transmitted their power to statues and paintings; the architects who are immortal in buildings; the composers of music, sacred and secular, whose songs and symphonies delight us, it is unnecessary to make mention. They are never forgotten; they are never unhonored. Their souls are held in immortal remembrance. But the mechanics and artisans, the hewers of wood and drawers of water, the delvers and drudges, these, an innumerable company, deserve our commemoration. They labored, and we have entered into their labors. The houses we live in, the implements we use, the fabrics we wear, our steamships, railways, machines, are of their construction. They wrought, and achieved, and died, and are forgotten. We think of them as a host in which only here and there an individual can be distinguished, pressing silently on through the centuries, wasted with hunger, sickness, over-fatigue, violence, the battle with the elements, but gaining recruits as it goes on, clearing the forests, bridging the rivers, subduing wild animals and savage men, and filling up with their own bodies the morasses on which cities were to be built. A host of the dead! Nameless dead! They can be commemorated only in mass. An effort is required to make them personal and interesting. They lose their individuality; they become thin and spectral like mist; but when we summon them they gather, the worn, the haggard, the hard-handed, the sad of countenance, and ask to be remembered as the architects of our material world. From the purgatory of negligence, indifference, contempt, they pray to be delivered; to the hospitality of our hearts they make appeal. It is to the honor of Auguste Comte that he gave a large place to these in his calendar of saints, and appointed days for their commemoration, and claimed for them the admiring homage of living men. "All souls are mine," saith the Lord. And surely these are whose blood has nourished the ground on which we feed.

4. In commemorating the dead we must especially beware how we forget those who, in ordinary life, are always forgotten—the lowly and obscure. These compose the army of humanity; these bear the toil, endure the marches, exhibit the discipline, take the brunt of the day, insure the victory. The general leads, the soldiers move and win. When we decorate the graves of the soldiers who died in the great war for the Union, we remember them all; the sod that covers the private has its bunch of flowers, as piously laid as is the chaplet on the monument of the chief. In that vast army, now an army of the dead, all were not heroes or braves. There were among them poltroons, mercenaries, adventurers, men who entered the army because it offered a field for activity, and men who entered it because it offered an opportunity for plunder. There were demoralized men, idlers, shirks, who were willing to take the risks of the camp for the sake of the fun, or excitement, or gain they expected. But all together they made up the host. Their companionship annobles the ignoble. The cause in which they died glorifies them; and they bring flowers to the dead who had no praise for the living.

The multitude of the obscure makes the human world. The distinguished, as the word itself imports, are the few. The Platos, Aristotles, Shakespeares, Angelos, Raffaellas are rare, and did the progress of mankind depend on them, that progress would be fitful and slow. Notwithstanding their prominence, the praise bestowed on their works, the glory that clusters round their name, the means taken to spread their knowledge and increase the reputation of them, how limited is the area of their influence! How small, comparatively, the number of those who are in the least acquainted with their achievements! What millions in Europe and America never heard of Newton or Bacon, never read a line of Milton, never saw a picture of Titian or a statue of Canova, never heard an oratorio of Haydn, or a symphony of Beethoven, or a mass of Mozart!

Never heard the names, even, of the great masters to whom the cultivated in both hemispheres bend the knee! And yet these millions peopled the earth, had homes there, plied industry, tilled the ground, subdued the beasts, loved, mated, reared families of children, organized existence after a fashion, practised the virtues that conduce to social welfare, prudence, thrift, economy, exercised patience, did justly as well as they knew how, and made existence as sweet as their natures permitted. The majority of them must have led tolerably decent lives in the midst of strong inducements to the reverse; must have set examples respectable under the circumstances; must have been true to such social relations as they knew; must have done their best to adjust their lives to their conditions. They created the soil from which the tall pines and cedars grew, on which palaces and temples and cities were built. They laid the substratum of qualities which the poets and artists glorified.

The multitudinous streamlets of virtue swelled the river on whose broad bosom the mighty ships floated to immortality. The memories of parents and kindred that have been cherished in humble families as devoutly as in kings' houses or in nations' legends; the graces cultivated in lowly homes; the habits of obedience, submission, thankfulness, simplicity, that the poor must form in order to live at all, go farther than anything and all things beside to make the moral universe what it is. History tells nothing of them; it could not; there was nothing to tell. Yet without them there could have been no material for history. The historian records events that occur in presence of spectators, and cause loud reports as they transpire; but the multitude of the lowly have made it possible for great events to transpire or occur at all. They are the gray, solemn ocean, whose level never varies, whose mass neither augments nor diminishes, on whose wind-swept surface the mightiest of the mighty rise and fall, flash and sparkle, rave and dazzle, like evanescent waves.

We think of these multitudes of the obscure dead as a nebulous mass, as the ordinary mind thinks of the white belt we call the milky way. A mass of ignorance, superstition, suffering, sorrow, that no microscopic eye has ever been keen enough to disintegrate. Yet as the milky way is composed of clusters of stars, constellations, each globe whereof is a whole by itself, with orbit of its own, attractions and repulsions to which it is constant, bright companions from whom it cannot separate, so, in this dim conglomeration of souls, each, in his hour and place, stood for one; each was loved, lamented, remembered, by those with whom his life was interlinked. Truth and kindness were mingled with the poverty and sorrow. Those worlds of the dead, whose bodies no cemeteries contain, who were never honored with monumental stone, whose mounds have been obliterated, whose bones were committed to caverns and immense pits, whom the elements swept away, whom the sea engulfed, whom cataclysm overwhelmed and beasts devoured,—where are they? Can we think of them as conscious beings still? The imagination faints under the effort to conceive of them as populating other spheres with their innumerable hordes. But living still they certainly are, living in the eternal rock on which time builds its habitations. FAITH, that marvellous quality of human nature by which we get our hold on the unseen possibilities of things, that, when everything seems crumbling, gives substance to things hoped for, and, when everything seems vanishing, gives evidence of things invisible, is a mass of results from the efforts of these unknown and forgotten children of humanity. HOPE is another, the accumulated radiance from all the eyes that steadily or dimly, through tears, have looked forward to the better time coming for humanity. CHARITY is another, the gathered glow of the countless kindnesses that, like candles, have sent their beams out into a naughty world. PATIENCE is another, the power of endurance hardened by the use of generations, till it has become a moral principle, accepted and sanctioned. TRUTH is another, a solid body of convictions which keeps mankind steady in their relations. Such another is JUSTICE, the habitual, unquestioned sense of equity or righteousness which finds expression in the common law, and establishes its authority in every conscience. These tremendous phenomena are clusters of souls, living powers and dominions over us, whether we be of the least or of the greatest.

5. But in our commemoration of the dead, there are others who must not be forgotten, but must be remembered thoughtfully, if not gratefully. I mean the evil, or those our world has agreed to consider such, the persecutors of their kind, those who have made humanity a prey. The Phillips, the Alvas, the Torquemadas, the Dominics, the Marys, the Henrys, who have played such an awful and bloody part in history. They are numbered now with the departed. Their descendants are few, scattered, powerless. Their day is done; their line is lost; their race is almost extinct. They do not hurt us now; they are hated; their names are by-words of detestation. For ages the memory of them has been harsh and bitter. In our thought we can afford to do them justice. We can afford to remember the age in which they lived, the faith in which they were nurtured, the lessons they were taught, the work that was laid on them by their position and their time. For aught we know, or can judge, they did their best according to the light they had, and deserve more of our commiseration than of our hate. It is very hard to place oneself in the position of people who lived in a wholly different world from ours. It requires knowledge, but, more than knowledge, it requires patient consideration and kindness. Their conduct looks to us so irrational, their thoughts seem so inhuman, their deeds so brutal, their natures so savage, that the temptation to heap obloquy upon them is, to the

heedless mind, invincible. Yet, in all probability, they behaved as well, in view of their circumstances, as we do in view of ours. They were at heart no more inhuman than we are; in spirit and intention they were accordant with the temper of their age. Were they in our place they might look back with astonishment and horror on the parts they performed in life, weeping bitterly over the victories of their fanaticism, and at a loss to excuse themselves. It is a duty to forget these horrors if we can, and to see across them the gleams of virtue that did illumine human hearts, if they extended no further.

To say nothing but good of the dead is an old proverb, dictated by good-feeling as well as by charity. The dead are gone. They cannot speak; they have no voice to defend themselves, by explanation or excuse. The motives they acted by were their own, and with their decease have become undiscoverable. The facts they recognized took color from their minds, and cannot be viewed precisely as they viewed them. Their internal conflicts, misgivings, regrets, we know not, and never shall know. Give them, therefore, the benefit of a doubt. The worst men had their apologists and defenders when alive; can we not believe that the apologists and defenders had something reasonable to say for themselves and their clients?

I regard it as a virtue in our time, that efforts are making in every quarter to lighten the burden of odium under which so many conspicuous names have groaned so long. To some, this disposition to clear from reproach the names that history has placed in niches of infamy seems to indicate a weakened moral sense, an insensibility to distinctions of right and wrong, which is the sign of a degenerate age. To me, it indicates a broader wisdom, a more careful consideration, a more humane charity, as well as a profounder philosophy. It is a perfectly legitimate as well as an altogether humane work. Let Nero and Tiberius, Dominic, Henry VIII., and Judas Iscariot have their chance, and let us give them the benefit of any compassion we have to bestow, not merely by calling to mind the good things they actually did, nor by extenuating as far as possible their evil, but by imagining what good things they would have done, had destiny favored them as it favors us. It is right and good that death should glorify. We accept its office gratefully. Death purifies and transfigures. It transforms the mortal into the immortal. The angels are born of death. The saints are of his creation. But for death we should all die. Death lifted Moses from the position of a chief of tribes to the spiritual supremacy over a people. Death took the haggard prophets from their caves and made them oracles of a worldly conscience. Death purged David of his sins, and made him the holy singer of twenty centuries. Death collected the company of the apostles, and gathered the noble army of martyrs. The world had little respect for them till they were reduced to ashes. The shining forms that look down as from the celestial heights of remembrance are the forms of people whose virtues were not seen while they lived. That death should glorify those we love and honor seems to us natural. If it will glorify those whom the world hated and despised it is about a still more excellent work. For death allows us to see that these bad people were of service in their way. Their work, even as they did it, was necessary to the education of humanity. It could not have been omitted without leaving a gap in the line of development that could not be filled up. In the discipline of man every experiment must be tried; the experiment of fanaticism and cruelty, as thoroughly as the experiment of reasonableness and gentleness. And these awful persons whose grim shades loom up so terribly in the past were the men to whom was committed the dreadful duty of conducting the experiments; providential men in their generation, raised up, armed, robed, for that purpose. Frightful destination! To be sent on such a ghastly errand is doom enough; but to be hated, loathed, cursed for it by successive generations of men, is more than it is just they should bear. The service they have rendered in bearing away on their devoted heads the woes that might have befallen their descendants should extort gratitude deep and fervent from us who are among the number of the saved. To stand as scarecrows in the open field of humanity, to bear the pelting and the dripping of scorn for centuries of years, is more than any should be called to. We praise those who show examples of goodness, and win the world to admire and love it. We might, at least, commiserate those who disgust us with examples of vice, and repel the world from practices that are as dangerous as they are shocking. In the education of man, two kinds of angels are required; the bright angels who beckon onward to Paradise, and the dark angels who frighten away from Purgatory. Each renders a service that deserves humble and hearty thanks; thanks in the one case accompanied with smiles, in the other case accompanied with tears, but in both cases alike thanks.

The custom of commemorating the dead with equal and universal kindness belongs to our day, and is one of its chief privileges. In an elder day it was impossible. The Catholic held it a religious duty to blacken the memory of the Protestant, the Protestant made it a matter of conscience to put the worst construction on the deeds of the Catholic; the monarchist thought of the shades of republicans as being in Hades; the republicans thought of the dead monarchists as being in Purgatory. The historical sense was not developed. By an effort of charity, the few larger minds flung a cloak of extenuation over the crimes and sins of their fellow-creatures, but the multitude did not see the necessity of exercising charity, and obeyed the impulse which moved them to detest their enemies.

By our new law, the law of gradual development,

this is forbidden. We are obliged to do justice to all the dead, to level, as far as practicable, the mountains of prejudice that divide the sheep from the goats, the saints from the sinners, to interpret all characters by one and the same standard, and study them all in the light of providential law. Ours is the duty to absolve from guilt. It is recorded among the legends of the Church, that a pilgrim, on his return from Jerusalem, when in the neighborhood of Rome saw flames breaking out from the ground, and heard lamentations from the sinners in Purgatory, beseeching him to move the monks of Clugny to put up prayers and make intercession for them. Whereupon, Odito, Abbot of Clugny, instituted the practice of All Souls Day, as a special day for attending to this imperative duty.

We, too, as we make our pilgrimage, hear voices from those who suffer in the Purgatory of human prejudice and scorn, calling on us to deliver them from their torment. We, too, should have All Souls Day for this purpose; only our day should be every day, and our observance the exercise of habitual charity.

[For THE INDEX.]

ARCHBISHOP PURCELL ON THE SCHOOLS.

The public school question has lately received an addition in the shape of a declaration by Archbishop Purcell, defining the position of the Catholic Church towards the public school system. Could Bishop Purcell's declaration have been made before the last political election in his State, at which the school question was made one of the issues, the public might have construed it as an evidence of his personal and private sense of justice in the matter. But, coming as it does now, after the signal defeat at the ballot-box of the Catholic position in that campaign, and directly in the face of another and more important political struggle, it reveals only an acknowledgment of weakness on his side, and a "disposition" to "waive" pretended rights, as he himself says, for the present, and thereby stop further agitation; which, as he well knows, would be disastrous to his cause, and to the political party which espouses it.

Again, this declaration does not mend matters, for the Archbishop's determined opposition to the present school system is visible in every word. While it is not my purpose to discuss his letter in general, there was in it an implied denial of the right of the State to interfere with the education of the child except at the option of the parent; and it is this point, which is at the foundation of the Catholic argument on the school question, that I wish to touch upon.

In the first place, this school question is only one of the many variations of the renewed struggle between "Church and State" which has been going on all over the world for the last few years. The Catholic Church, knowing it to be a struggle for its own existence, has been long making preparations for it; notably so, when she declared herself and her visible head "infallible," whereby she sanctioned all her future deeds, and completed her authority over her children. She even felt compelled to take the offensive; and the turn the struggle has taken in our country shows how determined is the spirit which actuates her and the sagacity and cunning of which her followers are possessed.

The results of this struggle in Germany, Italy, and Canada are well-known. To-day Germany presents an exceptionally fine, honest, and respected government, and an exceptionally high degree of learning, progress, and prosperity among her people. In France, the result has been different, the Catholic Church being to-day virtually in possession of the government, so that only the Church possesses the right to grant degrees, even of law or medicine. This condition of things is very detrimental to these last professions, and singularly out of accord with those principles of justice, equality, and competition which the American Catholic clergy are so fond of holding up to the American people.

In our country, however, where the government is of a republican form, with the principles of religious liberty at its very basis, the Church dares not openly defy it; so it adroitly turns the question into an issue between the individual and the State. But the Catholic Church itself recognizes no individual. It is "one body." It declares itself to be so, and its members are as the particles of flesh that compose the human body. They live, but they can have no separate existence from the Church. When a person joins the Catholic Church and subscribes to its articles of faith, he delivers himself over to the Church in these words: "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church." The Church is defined as being "One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic"; which means that the Church shall decide upon all matters of faith, and that the individual consciences of the members must conform rigidly to her doctrines. As a reverend father stated here not long ago: "A liberal Catholic is something that does not and cannot exist." Again, the Church being apostolic, the clergy have legal control over all its members on points of faith; and as almost every question that might arise can be construed as a matter of "faith," it follows that the individual consciences and minds of the Catholic people on any question must be in grovelling subjection. As a proof that the clergy do endeavor to extend their control to other subjects than religion, I could mention one Catholic young man who is somewhat exercised as to how he shall vote this fall. An old relative, not a Catholic, desires him to vote for Hayes; while another relative, who happens to be a priest, says he must vote for Tilden, as "no Catholic can conscientiously vote for Hayes."

In this way, the individual being under the jurisdiction, if not the absolute control, of the Church, any issue between the State and the individual Catholic becomes virtually a conflict between State and

Church; and not the Church in this country alone, but the whole Catholic Church at large. Though the Right Reverend Archbishop Purcell tells us that the bishops and clergy in this country have no intentions against the public school system, that does not help matters in the least. Were they ever so innocent of any such intentions personally, the Church in this country is not a separate organization, but is ruled by the same spirit that, securely centred in Rome, quietly promulgates itself throughout its whole empire. We have only to look to France or Spain to find out what this spirit is; and it only needs the power to make itself felt here with the same effects.

Having shown the position of the Catholic individual, whose rights and conscience are supposed to be injured by the present school system, I shall now try to show the relation of the State to that individual. In our country the State is an association of individuals, without regard to religious beliefs, who combine for their mutual protection and welfare, and to secure liberty and justice to all, and who, in order to realize and perpetuate such benefits, delegate to certain legislative and executive bodies of their own choosing the right to enact and authority to enforce such laws as they may deem necessary.

Our ancestors, in forming our present system of government, foresaw the necessity of public education, as a requisite to liberty and justice, and also as a preventive of crime. Unfortunately, crime does and will exist; and one of the first duties of a State is to insure to its members the protection it promises, by the punishment and suppression of crime. If education is a preventive, then assuredly the government, by the authority delegated it by the people, has the right of regulating education; and not only have they the right, but it becomes their duty, to furnish, regulate, and even enforce it. But the Catholic Church, in the person of Bishop McQuaid, says that education, as a promoter of public virtue, is powerless without religion. In reality, it is just the other way. Religion is of no use without education. If we look to the criminal records, we find a surprising proportion of the public offenders are persons who profess the Catholic faith. If we were to accept this fact as a sign of the average Catholic character, or of the efficiency of the Catholic Church as a promoter of morals, we should be answered that it is unfair to take this as a test, as it was only the lowest and most ignorant Catholics who were thus criminal. Catholics would point with pride to the virtues of their educated class, which proves conclusively that it is the education that makes the difference, and not the religion. If the fact of education can make such a difference, even in the Catholic Church itself, then education at once becomes a subject for public control.

There is still another reason why the State has the right to furnish, regulate, and enforce, if necessary, secular education. In order to fulfil its mission, the State must have wisdom in its legislative bodies to make salutary laws, and authority enough to enforce them. But as long as ballot-stuffing, repeating, and bartering are matters of common occurrence, it will be possible for dishonest and ignorant men to be elected into our government. Yet it is only a want of education, and an utter ignorance, on the part of the voters, of their own interests, that makes such things possible. Just as long as such things are tolerated, our government will cease to be respected either at home or abroad.

Again, there are many who, from want of knowledge of the duties and rights of a citizen, imagine that, as this is a free country, they are not amenable to law, or rather that laws are made only to oppose them and trample on their individual rights; and such people constitute a very dangerous class. Now one of the first duties of a State is to take means for its own establishment and preservation, and for the protection of its own delegated rights, so that it may properly perform its functions and fulfil the ends for which it was created, thereby securing the respect of its members and also of other nations. As has been shown, public education, being one of the most necessary conditions for stability, it follows that the State not only has the right to make and enforce educational laws, but in certain cases is absolutely bound to do so as a matter of duty.

AMERICUS.

Boston, Aug. 20.

THE CONDITION OF NATIONAL SUCCESS.

But questions of that kind can only be indicated here, and require great care for their practical settlement. Indeed, I think it doubtful whether it were wise of me to touch more fully upon the many topics which are indicated here in my notes. Let me rather say in conclusion that I have often been struck in England with the charm which Americans seem to feel in visiting those ancient cities of ours, or climbing the battlements of crumbling castles, the names of which are inseparably associated with the great epochs of our noble literature, or with the various steps of that blood-stained progress by which the savage Briton and the wild pirate of the North Sea have become converted into champions of order, chief means of the progress of civilization. It is impossible to be otherwise—as an Englishman—than in entire sympathy with a feeling of this kind; but if retrospect has its charm, I think it is no less true that there is a joy in anticipation; and to an Englishman who first lands upon your shores, who finds himself travelling for hundreds of miles through what I can only call strings of great cities, who even in the roughest way compares the extent of your territory with that which he has left, and looks at your marvellous resources in everything that tends to the welfare and riches of mankind, there is a something sublime in the vista of the future.

I don't say this with the least intention of flattering that particular vulgar sentiment which is com-

monly called national pride. On the contrary, I don't know that I have any particular respect for bigness as such, or for wealth as such, and most assuredly bigness is not the same thing as greatness, and territory does not constitute a nation. What I referred to just now as the issue which had suggested itself to me, fraught, as I will say again, with a certain sublimity, a terror as of overhanging fate, is the question: What are you going to do with all these things? To what purpose will you put this great store of material wealth and this vast amount of human intelligence and capacity which is among you to deal with? The question is one which, it seems to me, no man has a chance of answering with the remotest probability at the present moment.

You are undertaking the greatest political experiment that has ever been performed by any people whatever. You are at this present centenary a nation of 40,000,000 of people. At your next centenary, rational and probable expectation may look to see you 200,000,000, and you have before you the problem whether 200,000,000 of English-speaking, strong-willed people will be able to hold together under the form of republican institutions and under the real despotism of universal suffrage [a burst of applause]; whether State rights will hold their own against the necessary centralization of a great nation, if it is to act as a whole, or whether centralization will gain the day without breaking down republican institutions. The territory you cover is as large as Europe, as diverse in climate as England and Spain, as France and Russia, and you have to see whether, with the diversity of interests, mercantile and other, which arise under these circumstances, national ties will be stronger than the tendency to separation; and as you grow more people, and the presence of population makes itself manifest, the spectre of pauperism will stalk among you, and you will be very unlike Europe if communism and socialism do not claim to be heard. I cannot imagine that any one should envy you this great destiny,—for a great destiny it is to solve these problems some way or other. Great will be your honor, great will be your position, if you solve them righteously and honestly; great your shame and your misery if you fail. But let me express my most strong conviction that the key to success, the essential condition to success, is one and one only; that it rests entirely upon the intellectual clearness and upon the moral worth of the individual citizen. Education cannot give intellectual clearness. It cannot give moral worth. But it may cherish them and bring them to the front; and in that sense, the university may be and ought to be the fortress of the higher life of the nation.

It is my most earnest wish and hope that the University, the career of which begins to-day, may fulfil this high mission to its fullest extent. That its outgrowths may become centres of intelligence, foci of intellectual life in the United States; and on the next centenary of your republic let me hope that you will attain such a position that the students of all nations will flock here as in former days they flocked to Oxford, to Paris, and to Bologna. Permit me to fancy that among the English part of that population there may linger a dim tradition at that time that at the commencement of your work an Englishman was permitted to address you as he has done to-day, to look upon your hopes as his hopes, and to consider your success as his joy. [Great applause.]—Address of Professor Huxley at the formal opening of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Sept. 12, 1876.

THE AMERICAN NATION.

No nation ever offered the privileges of citizenship more liberally, and no nation was ever rewarded with such rich returns for its hospitality. The especial glory of the growth of the United States has been this, that the republic has grown because refugees from all the rest of the world have flocked to its protection. Sometimes they have fled from the cruel conditions of over-crowded life at home, the blame of which could be laid at the door of no man or class of men, since they were the necessary consequences of false ideas universally acted upon as if they were true; sometimes they fled from the tyrannies of conscription and of feudal law, which kept them bound from the cradle to the grave; sometimes they sought in the West a liberty to obey the dictates of their own consciences, denied by prelates and governments of the European continent. It is justly a matter of congratulation that a great people should have thus grown up. The troops of immigrants coming in year after year have traversed the continent, ploughed the prairie, bridged the mightiest rivers, thrown railways over and through mountains, and brought from the hidden depths of the earth those treasures of iron and coal which more than anything else increase the power of man to appropriate the gifts of Nature to his use. Of silver and gold we need not speak; the abundance of their production is comparatively an insignificant accident. The one hundred years that have passed have seen a great industrial community developed with unexampled rapidity. Its growth would, indeed, have been still greater had not false and foolish notions of protective legislation deceived the democracy of America, as they have deceived European governments; but the productiveness of a virgin soil has been generous enough to hide this loss. The nation has not been so prosperous as it might have been; but the aggregate wealth it now annually produces approaches that of the oldest communities, and yet the mass of population remains so small, compared with the capabilities of wealth-making which undeveloped lands afford, that the wages of the laborer are higher than they are in any other part of the world. The English settlers, and those who have come to share their freedom, have brought the United States so far in the course of one hundred years, and it would be vain to prescribe the limits of

the growth to which the nation may attain in another century of existence.

The United States have become a great nation in numbers and in the production of wealth, and they have shown themselves great also in the capacity to free themselves, at the cost of much temporary suffering, from the great evil of slavery, which was so long interwoven in their existence. The spectacle they present to the world of a vast multitude of people peacefully producing food and clothing, and ready to receive within their ranks immigrants from all lands who desire to join their freedom, is not unimposing. Although man does not live on bread alone, bread is one of the necessities of life, and—speaking broadly and apart from special crises—in the United States bread may always be obtained. If we are impatient that the United States have as yet done so little for the world beyond increasing the affluence of the means of animal existence, we may, perhaps, see cause to restrain our discontent in thinking of the materials out of which were collected the armies of immigrants that have recruited the numbers of their citizens. They have for the most part come from those classes of Europe whose whole lives are given up to the daily struggle to obtain the means of keeping alive. By much effort, by savings that may almost be said to have been stolen from necessity, by resistance to temptation that has often been heroic, the few necessary pounds have been got together to enable the immigrant to sail from Liverpool or Bremen, from Cork or Hamburg, to an Atlantic port, and he has landed penniless to try his fortune in another hemisphere. If the times are fairly prosperous, he gets employment and wages which prove to him that he is indeed in a world which is new. The strength of character which brought him out remains with him; he saves, he becomes a householder, a house-owner, a landed proprietor; but the memory of his own early struggles, and of the struggles of his father before him, does not pass away, and if he were asked to speak of the land of his adoption and could put his thoughts into words, he would always describe it as "a land of fulness of bread." It takes a generation or two to raise the immigrant above the new satisfaction of material contentment, and the rarer development of the United States as a member of the elect nations that contribute something more than material wealth to the treasures of the world is yet before it. Into that future we cannot pry, though we have faith that it will come. Perchance a hundred years hence it will yet be only at the dawn.—*London Times*.

FRILIGRATH.

Friligrath first sang himself into the heart of the German people more than forty years ago. With a master's touch he then opened, as if by magic, the weird realm of the ghastly desert, the purple portals of the glowing land of the palm-grove, dazzling the eye with the wild grandeur of his richly-tinted pictures. His first youthful fancy had led him to dream of the icy, antarctic North, of the boundless prairies and the mysterious virgin forests of the far West. There was something gigantic in his imagination even then. A mere boy of sixteen, he produced, when "faint and ill and sleepless on a couch of woe," a very remarkable poem called "Iceland-Moss Tea." The form, it need scarcely be said, is still somewhat crude, as may be expected from so young an aspirant. Yet a wonderful description is given by the suffering, fever-stricken boy of that saga-hallowed isle which has preserved for us the image of Eddic gods and heroes, and thoughts are thrown out which now seem typical of the poet's later share in the strife for human freedom. In the green beverage that is administered to his sickness he sees a likeness of the chalice of his future life. He feels in himself, as in yon isle, the strife of snow and fire:—

Oh, be it thus! Oh, let me feel
The lava-flood in every vein!
Be mine the will that conquers pain,
The heart of rock, the nerves of steel!

Oh, let the flames that burn unfed
Within me wax until they glow,
Volcano-like, through even the snow
That in few years shall strew my head!

And as the stones that Hecla sees
Flung up to heaven through fiery rain
Descend like thunderbolts again
Upon the distant Færöese;

So let the rude but burning rhymes
Cast from the cauldron of my breast
Again fall flashing down, and beat
On human hearts in farthest climes!

—*Fraser's Magazine*.

PROF. HUXLEY ON "ENDOWMENT FOR RESEARCH."

These are the remarks which I venture to offer to you respecting the university, considered from its educational side. But, as I said at starting, there is another side to a university. It is given to everybody to learn more or less, but it is given to very few to increase the stock of knowledge. It is perhaps even more rare that a man should possess the creative faculty in art. It is a difficult thing even to get the power of accurate representation in art. But whether in literature, or in painting, or in sculpture, the creative power, as you know, is one of the rarest of faculties, rarer, I think, than the power of scientific investigation. But rare as these powers may be, and indeed in virtue of their rarity does it devolve upon the community to provide the means by which the persons possessing them can open a career for themselves and devote themselves, as all such men do, whether consciously or unconsciously, to the high service of the community; for it is assuredly true that man does not live by bread alone, but by ideas, and it is unquestionable that the future of this

world lies in the hands of those who will supply the world with ideas and in some way furnish the masters of mankind, who have not the time, or the inclination, or the capacity, to think out things themselves, with some theory of things that is not too absolutely inconsistent or too absolutely absurd to serve some practical purpose.

Therefore, it is the highest duty of a university to find a system which shall discover and protect these powers of artistic creation and the investigation of new truths, which are the two great sides of active, or what we may call the original, or creative, or investigative, human mind. The problem which I have referred to, the endowment for research, has been in England greatly discussed among us, and you will find in the report of the Royal Commission, I think, almost all that is to be said upon this most remarkable question. There are many persons who seem to think that the sole question is one of money. Endowment of research rather expresses that notion, but the power of investigation, or the power of creation in art, is like other things, follows the laws of supply and demand: pay for it and you will get it. That is a notion that does not commend itself to my mind. I do not think we shall get a man of genius by merely going into the open market and offering money. On the contrary, I am afraid that such a purely commercial way of looking at the matter is likely to yield purely commercial results, and that the door would be open on such principles for indefinite nepotism and indefinite jobbery. To my mind the problem is one of the most difficult problems that can meet practical men. I entirely concur in the principles laid down in your trustees' address. I mean in the principle that the safest and best thing to do in the way of endowing research is to offer offices, the payment for which is sufficient to maintain a man, to such persons as think themselves competent to become investigators, but to require of them something or other. And I believe the most healthy and sound requirement is a certain amount, not too much, but a certain amount of teaching. I know of nothing else which is more likely to prevent the evils which always await about money-power, wherever it may be. I know of nothing which is so likely to prevent those evils as the connection of offices and posts made for men who are capable of original research, as teaching in some shape or other. It offers their colleagues a knowledge of what they are about, and the public a knowledge of what is being done. I think to well-constituted minds it must be a satisfaction thus to know that they are thus exercising a direct influence upon their contemporaries.—*Address at the formal opening of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Sept. 12, 1876*.

GROWING OLD.

An American woman, writing from Paris, said that the great point of superiority of the French over the Americans lay in the fact that the French knew how to grow old without becoming incapable. An old woman in France was not necessarily a wall-flower, nor was she ignored. She was often a centre of attraction, and always an object of respect and attention. We constantly hear old people in America complain of being of no importance, and we all suffer the pain of seeing them pushed aside by those who are younger but not superior. The worst is, the fault lies not with the younger but the older generation. We concede too much to age, and fancy our life is measured by its length. We allow interest after interest to slip out of our minds; we become spectators and are no longer actors, and then suddenly find the world has left us behind. The young people have pursuits of which we know nothing. They ask no help, they care for no advice nor sympathy. Their life is not ours.

It is not pleasant to live in the world and not be of it, and the old man and woman turn away and say no one cares. And no one does care. That is the pity of it! The world thinks only of what is of use to it; and if the old French woman has power and influence while the American woman sits alone and feels that she has outlived the world, the reason is that the French woman has kept abreast of her time. She does not allow old age to defraud her of her interest in life, nor does she rest in inactivity. She never dreams that there need be any antagonism between youth and age, and if she can no longer join the workers she watches the work with keen eyes, and the younger ones find help and inspiration in the sympathy of an audience wise through love, interest, and experience.

We all know old people who are the most charming companions, but they are not the ones who sit aside and ask the world to run to their liking, nor do they expect to receive, but never give. They are living lessons that youth is not all of life, and that it may be possible to make our lives the richer for being long.—*New Century for Women*.

BOB INGERSOLL'S DREAM.

One night, after speaking in his usual fashion to an audience of many hundred persons, Bob Ingersoll went to his chamber, and laid him on his bed to rest. He had a dream.

The man dreamed that he stood in space, face to face with a great clock that slowly beat out the seconds of a miserable existence. The face of the clock was as the ghastly face of death. The hands crawled over the face like the worms of corruption, and crawled slowly on toward the midnight hour. Every tick of the clock was the splash of a great drop of blood in a pool of gore. Every splash of blood sprinkled his bosom with hideous red. He tried vainly to wipe away the stain; and he found that his hands, too, were red like his bosom and like the pool

of blood at the foot of the clock. But the hands of the clock crept on to midnight.

There shut in around him a hot, suffocating fog of night. Then the hopes and loves and hates and aspirations within him groaned and gasped and died. The hot, suffocating shroud of vapor wrapped him more closely, and he, too, groaned and gasped; but death came not to him as it had come to his hopes and affections. He stood there alone in the dying universe, alone with the great clock that splashed blood at the beat of every miserable second while the hands crawled on to midnight.

To this man every breath was an agony, every heart-throb a century of pain. He felt his bones crumbling in decay, and his flesh rotting while it clung to him. His tongue was swollen in his month. His throat was dry and horribly bitter. He cared no longer for the stains of red blood, but bathed his brow and his eyes in the pool and moistened his lips with the clotted gore. In the same breath he blasphemed and prayed for the light of morning.

The hands of the clock reached midnight and stopped. There were no growing hours thereafter, no dawn, no morning light, no sun. Even the blood stopped splashing, and the pool dried away so that he could no longer moisten his lips or quench the indescribable thirst that consumed him.

In anguish that was terror, and in terror that was agony, he broke the awful silence and cried:—

"Is there no sunlight?"

A Voice, louder, harsher, hoarser, and as sneering as his own, answered out of the silence:—

"There is no sunlight for the stirrer-up of strife."

After an eternity again he cried:—

"Is there no dawn?"

And the Voice replied with a bitterer sneer:—

"There is no dawn for the denier, and the liar, and the blasphemer."

When an eternity of eternities had passed, he cried out once more:—

"My God! Is there no morning?"

And the Voice came back:—

"There is no morning, and you have no God!"—*N. Y. Sun, Sept. 13.*

MIXTURE OF RACES IN EUROPEAN TURKEY.—Our recent reference to the strong anti-Slavonian feeling of the Albanese race in Turkey has been quickly confirmed. Sixteen thousand well-armed Albanese have joined the Turkish army at Orkup, west of Nisch. It may not be amiss to observe that even Serbia, small as it is—with but little more than one million inhabitants,—is by no means homogeneous in race or speech. Its eastern districts are inhabited by Wallachs, or Roumans, who just now give great trouble in Leshjanin's army. In the south-east of Serbia, a section of Bulgars dwell within the frontier, and they, after all, are also a race different from the Serbo-Slavs. In Bosnia, as we have before stated, the Christian Slavs and the Mohammedans nearly balance each other. Turning to the remnant of European Turkey, we find the Albanese, or Arnauts, along the Adriatic and Ionian Sea, from the frontier of Montenegro down to the boundary of Greece. The territory between the Albanese districts and the Moldo-Wallachian frontier, where the Roumans dwell, is mainly inhabited by Bulgars, but with odd sprinklings of Arnauts, Turks, and various other races. In the eastern part of European Turkey, from Philippopolis to Kirkilissi, and up to the frontier of Roumania, the Turks and the Bulgars are represented in about equal numbers, in hopeless intermixture. At the very edge of the Black Sea shore the Greeks come in; and in the projecting tongue of land which stretches out toward Constantinople there is an intermixture of Turks and Greeks. In the provinces near the Aegean Sea, Greeks alternate with Turks and Bulgars. In the districts near the Greek border the Turkish, Hellene, Wallachian, and Albanese races form a jumble which it is impossible to disentangle. This is only a description made in the gross, without entering into the variegated details of the confusion of races often found in many a single town or village. Enough has, however, been said to show what difficulties attend all attempts of "solving the Eastern Question."—*London Examiner*.

THE FOLLOWING correspondence appears in the *Congregationalist*:—

"TO THE PROTESTANT PREACHER: I send your spoons back. If your servant-girl had been a Protestant, you never would have got them again."

"Yours, CATHOLIC PRIEST."

"TO THE CATHOLIC PRIEST: I thank you for the spoons. If the girl had been a Protestant, she never would have stolen them."

"Yours, PROTESTANT PREACHER."

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 16.

H. E. Parsons, \$5; J. F. Ruggles, \$3.20; M. E. Adams, \$1; C. F. Gard, \$1.75; J. G. Jenkins, 25 cents; F. Maxse, \$3.99; W. F. Howes, \$3; C. M. Garrison, \$2; Mrs. L. C. Sleeper, \$3.20; David Tenney, \$3.20; Geo. Riker, \$3; Oscar Ross, \$3.20; G. Mo ris, \$3.20; A. H. Foss, \$2; E. J. Leonard, \$2.50; J. Rummel, \$1.00; H. Van Pelt, 50 cents; A. Russell, 50 cents; B. T. Russell, 25 cents.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are not on hand will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, SEPTEMBER 21, 1876.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 1, TREMONT PLACE, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

The transition from Christianity to Free Religion, through which the civilized world is now passing, but which it very little understands, is even more momentous in itself and in its consequences than the great transition of the Roman Empire from Paganism to Christianity. THE INDEX aims to make the character of this vast change intelligible in at least its leading features, and offers an opportunity for discussions on this subject which find no fitting place in other papers.

N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, GEORGE JACOB
HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, Editorial Con-
tributors.

THE BOSTON *Sunday Herald* says: "The editor of THE INDEX is not fond of myths, yet he runs some risk of becoming the starting-point for a new series of them. In a free religious family in California, little 'Phil' is the bright youngster. His mother writes that the juvenile sceptic reported a lesson he had picked up among his mates: 'Don't you think, mother, Tom Bradley says that the first man's name was—was—Abbot, or something like that. Just as if anybody could know!'"

THIS is a specimen of what the *Sun* calls "blasphemy" in Col. Ingersoll's late speech in New York: "What more? The institution of slavery had polluted, had corrupted, the Church not only in the South, but a large proportion of the Church in the North; so that ministers stood up in their pulpits here in New York and defended the very infamy that I have mentioned. Not only that, but the Presbyterians, South, in 1863, met in General Synod and passed two resolutions. The first resolution read: 'Resolved, That slavery is a divine institution; second, Resolved, That God raised up the Presbyterian Church, South, to protect and perpetuate that institution.' Well, all I have to say is that, if God did this, he never chose a more infamous instrument to carry out a more diabolical object." This being "blasphemy," it is evident that, if Col. Ingersoll had declared those resolutions to be true and beautiful, such a declaration would be complacently alluded to by the *Sun* as a proof of genuine "religion"! Well—we would cast in our lot with "blasphemy" in any shape rather than with the "religion" which is after the *Sun's* own heart.

THIS SUPERSTITION is a direct result of unquestioning belief in the literal truth of the Bible: "An inquest was held at Woolwich, England, the other day, on the body of Ann Downes, aged seventeen months, daughter of a member of the religious sect called Peculiar People, who consider medical men as unnecessary, and rely in cases of sickness on prayer, anointing with oil, and laying on of hands. The parents of the deceased said the child had been ill three weeks. While it was ill the elders came and anointed it in the name of the Lord. They did not call in a doctor, having confidence in God, and feeling assured that he was able to heal and raise it up if it was his will. They relied wholly on the power and will of God, who was wiser than any human physician. They had lost one child before, and were tried at the Old Bailey for manslaughter, and sentenced to three days' imprisonment. The sentence dated from the commencement of the sessions, and they were liberated without going to prison. The police surgeon at the present inquest testified that the child died from scarlet fever. The coroner said that when the parents were tried at the Central Criminal Court before, after the jury returned a verdict of guilty, and before sentence was pronounced, the opinion of the twelve judges was taken on the law of the subject, and it was clearly laid down that it was the duty of every parent to provide medical aid and sustenance to children. The jury returned a verdict of manslaughter against the father of the child. The coroner committed Downes for trial at the next Old Bailey sessions, refusing bail. The sect of Peculiar People numbers nearly one thousand persons. They live chiefly in South Essex and North Kent, and have seventeen places of worship. Their bishop is Samuel Harrod, farm laborer, Thunderly, a village in Essex. He lives by cultivating a small plot of land of his own, and by thatching."

NOTICE.

On receipt of \$3.20, THE INDEX will be sent to any name not already on its mail-list, from the present time until January 1, 1878. This is an excellent opportunity for friends of the paper to increase its circulation among their acquaintances; and it is hoped that they will not neglect to render in this way some greatly-needed assistance to the important cause it represents.

PERSONALISM IN POLITICS.

In an article headed "Some Reflections for Independent and Doubting Voters" the *Nation* says: "It is said that [a good man] has been nominated by a bad party; but the reason the party is bad is that it nominates bad men." This is a half-truth as pestilent as an error. The reason a party is bad is chiefly that it proposes and carries out bad ends. If its ends are bad, the better men it can delude into giving them their sanction, the worse it is for the country; for mischief is never so mischievous, never so hard to defeat or to remedy, as when done by good men who think they are doing good. When a party cherishes bad ends, either confessed or unconfessed, and nominates men of well-known bad character to execute them, it is far less dangerous to the community than when it succeeds in concealing its bad ends from good candidates, and thereby helps to deceive the electors.

The truth we hold to be this. A party is good when it secretly cherishes and openly proclaims good ends, and then nominates good men to carry them out. A party is bad when it either openly avows or secretly cherishes bad ends, and then nominates either good or bad men to carry them out. In either of these two extreme cases a voter of clear perceptions and good intentions knows exactly what to do. The practical difficulty arises when a party with good average purposes and professions is saddled by selfish managers with unworthy candidates. When it comes to a choice between only two parties, one with good ends and bad candidates, the other with bad ends and good candidates, one may well be perplexed how to vote. And this is too often the case.

It is a vast delusion to hold that "the candidate is the platform," as has been of late so inconsiderately preached. If he is, he ought not to be; for that doctrine is pure personalism in politics. Is the voter to have no mind of his own, no principles to promote, no measures for their promotion to carry? Is he merely to hunt about for an honest man, and then say to him: "I submit my judgment to yours implicitly. I believe you to be honest: now do all my thinking for me. You are to act just as you see fit on all questions; I have no opinions to urge upon you on any of them; I only want to see good men in office. You are a good man; now use your office without any instructions from your party." Is that good sense or good citizenship? In their disgust at dishonesty and selfishness in public positions, that is exactly the absurdity into which many advisers of repute have run this year.

But there will be a reaction from all this nonsense. The Constitution of Massachusetts is far wiser when it proclaims "a government of laws, and not of men"; it warns us in advance against any epidemic of personalism in politics. Every good party has certain good principles and measures which are supreme in the hearts of all its supporters, and which it will seek to carry out practically by the combined strength of all. From among the honest men who are already persuaded of the goodness of these principles and measures, it will select its candidates to establish the principles and carry the measures; but it will not be so idiotic as to disregard the previous question whether these honest candidates are already in favor of them. The Pope of Rome is undoubtedly a "good man"; should the friends of State Secularization therefore vote to send him to Congress?

The truth is that public officials are only agents to execute pre-appointed purposes; and it is wild to forget the latter in a gush of enthusiasm even over "honesty." The *Nation* falls sometimes into sheer sentimentalism on this subject. Of course good citizens all want honesty; but they want it to be shown in the service of a wise policy which they themselves have previously approved, and not of any policy which any honest agents of theirs may approve. The country has not yet arrived at such a millennial state as to have found even its honest men so wise as to relieve the electors of all necessity of thinking. The use of frequent elections is really to enable the electors to decide for themselves the public policy on

important questions; and this object is defeated, unless the men they elect are under obligation to execute the general decision. The great importance of having "good men in office" ought not to eclipse the equally great importance of having *good ends in office*; and what ends are good, and what bad, every elector should decide beforehand for himself. It will not do to fall back in disgust on personalism in politics, merely because bad candidates have been elected; it is just as necessary to have the real (though perhaps unwritten) platform right as it is to have the candidate honest, and to merge the platform entirely in the candidate is simply to stake the national destinies on the good judgment of a single man. Such a course is the surrender of the democratic principle altogether; and, with all its evils, democracy is safer than personal government in any shape.

CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY.

So absorbed are most men apt to be in the thoughts familiar to themselves that they are seldom able to understand the working of other men's minds, or to see the world as other men see it. Their individual point of view determines their horizon; they are apt to imagine that the general drift of things is in the direction of their own preconceived opinion; they complacently take it for granted that all the world is gradually coming to occupy the mental position they hold themselves. Whatever facts would lead to a different conclusion they hastily set down as exceptional and unimportant; but they catch at even trivial occurrences which seem to indicate that mankind are "coming up" to themselves. Just as a rigid sectarian reads his Bible, dwelling with exultation on every passage which favors his special dogmatic hobby, and skipping nimbly over all those which oppose it, so the average man reads the book of passing events: he takes careful note of everything which coincides with his own wishes, and disparages the importance of all besides. In this way we see Catholics, Protestants of all sects, Jews, Spiritualists, Materialists, religionists and non-religionists of all possible types, triumphantly pointing out the proofs that their own particular belief is in the ascendant, and destined to drive all opponents off the field. If they are all right, society is pretty much in the condition of Ravallac, torn asunder by horses pulling in diametrically opposite directions. But the probability is that no one of them is wholly right. The path actually followed by society in the progress of evolution is a resultant of all these diverse forces, and will scarcely coincide with any one of the courses so confidently marked out for it in advance.

It would be very agreeable, of course, if we could share the persuasion of many liberals that the whole modern world is drifting peacefully, inevitably, and all together, in the direction of liberal ideas. Such a conclusion would save so much trouble! But one must be thoroughly steeped in self-complacency, must be totally incapable of entering into the intellectual regions inhabited by other minds, must be absolutely devoid of the power of seeing more than one of the myriad sides of human nature or the myriad tendencies of human society, to flatter himself with hopes so fallacious. There is certainly a general drift of society as a whole, just as there is a general drift in space of the solar system as a whole; and we trust, of course, that this is in the direction of larger liberty of thought, finer liberality of feeling, higher harmony of action. Nevertheless, this general drift of society is, and must be, the resultant of conflicting forces, and not the simultaneous and consentaneous advance of all social elements on the line of a single doctrine. There is, and must be, the same eternal struggle for mastery among human ideas, purposes, passions, institutions, which has made up the history of civilization from the beginning. It is futile and weak to expect anything else.

Hence the importance of the study of history, in attempting to anticipate the course of events. Mere speculation is very misleading, if it presumes to deduce future social states from abstract conclusions alone. But a sober examination of the present in the light shed by the past, with a view to determine the wisest course in the future, is not speculation, but solid practical wisdom. Whoever in this manner studies the present condition of American society, and the existing tendencies affecting the development of American institutions, must be struck with the fact that the public mind is not agreed touching the fundamental theory on which the political structure of the nation rests. There is a profound and irreconcilable difference of opinion as to the true nature of government. There is abundant lip-service of the principle that Church and State

should be separate; but the grossest ignorance prevails as to what constitutes such a separation. The majority believe that no union of the two is implied by governmental favoritism towards the Christian religion; they believe that the Christian religion can be legislatively favored without in any degree entangling the State with the Church; and they are prepared to act accordingly. Yet the practical consequences inseparable from the adoption of this ignorant theory as a basis of action must be deplorable in the extreme, involving as it must a reversal of the wiser theory on which the fundamental law of the nation was framed. The national Constitution is purely secular, favoring the Christian religion no more than it persecutes it; but the prevailing public opinion as it exists to-day, and as it is manifested by almost every influential exponent of it, demands governmental favor for the creed of the majority.

Now the attempt has been actually made to obtain such governmental favor for the majority's creed in a wholly new form, by according to the Bible, the acknowledged fountain of that creed, an extraordinary, unprecedented, and artful recognition of its Divine authority in the national Constitution. Yet scarcely any one comprehends the grave peril of this measure, or perceives its far-reaching consequences. So long has personal liberty in this country been protected, that it is supposed to rest on foundations that cannot be undermined or even disturbed. There seems to be in this country very little intelligent appreciation, except in a small class of legally-trained thinkers, of the historical fact that PERSONAL LIBERTY CAN ONLY BE CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY—that it rests absolutely for its protection and very existence on the express sanctions of public law. Whatever destroys the neutrality of the Constitution in the warfare of conflicting creeds will ultimately impair or destroy the personal liberty of all except those whose creed the Constitution is perverted to favor. This must be the slow-working, but inevitable, result of the lately-proposed Bible amendment, if adopted at last. Carelessness or ignorance as to this tendency of it is stupid even to the verge of criminality. The religious issue sprung upon the nation by the United States Senate last month ought to appear what it really is—infinitely the most important issue now before the people for decision. The liberties of the human mind itself are at stake; for in the long run these liberties, like all others, depend on Constitutional provisions. Anglo-Saxon institutions, as every intelligent student knows, owe their character to the gradual enlargement of Constitutional liberty; and it is precisely this which, despite the blindness of the people, is in greater peril than it ever was before in this country. What Tennyson said of England, when he described it as—

"A land of settled government,
A land of just and old renown,
Where Freedom broadens slowly down
From precedent to precedent,"—

is just as true of the United States; and the precedent of recognizing the Bible in the Constitution will be one which must exert in the end a power for evil that is simply incalculable. It will dry up the fountain of freedom at its very source; and when the establishment of this precedent is so imminent, it is almost enough to create despair of all human progress that so few persons perceive or heed the magnitude of the issue so suddenly raised. Think what we may, the fact remains that the signs of the times point to the introduction of a new element into politics from this time forth, and that this new element is a determination on the part of Evangelical Protestantism to assert its political supremacy in the United States government. If it succeeds, the future has in store for this people an experience of the bitterest and perhaps bloodiest kind, before the conditions and precedents of Constitutional liberty are—as they will be—re-established. How much better to be wise in season!

GOV. HAYES AND THE AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

The New York World recently published a statement which lends new interest to the American Alliance. It is as follows:—

The American Alliance adopted a series of resolutions which said of the nominations of Messrs. Hayes and Wheeler that they were "hereby endorsed by the American Alliance Conference," and that the Alliance earnestly advised all who are in favor of American principles, as advocated and set forth in these resolutions, to give these nominations an active and determined support."

"These resolutions" were sent to Mr. Hayes, who returned the following reply, dated July 5, 1876, addressed to "Samuel J. Tyler, Secretary of the American Alliance."

"I have just received your letter informing me of my election as a member of your admirable Alliance. Return my thanks to the Alliance, as I deeply sympathize with its principles. I remain your fellow-citizen,"

R. B. HAYES.

Now here is one expression of the principles of the Alliance of which Mr. Hayes is proud to be a member, and with which he "deeply sympathizes:—"

"An amendment to the naturalization laws limiting suffrage to persons born in this country or of American parents; the election of American-born citizens only to official positions in this country; opposition to the interference of the Roman Catholic organizations in the political affairs of this nation; and opposition to the formation of political organizations composed exclusively of foreign-born citizens."

If some subscriber who knows Mr. Tyler's address would be so kind as to forward it, or to procure for us a copy of the Constitution of the American Alliance, we should be greatly indebted to him. It is our impression that the defence of the Bible in the schools is one of its fundamental principles. If so, that fact should be known in connection with the above letter of Governor Hayes. The avowed sympathy of the Republican candidate with a definite anti-Catholic and pro-Evangelical movement is surely a fact worthy of very thoughtful reflection.

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY R. C.

In concluding his address at the dedication of the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, last week, Professor Huxley referred in pregnant sentences to the problem of the future of our country. After mentioning our "strings of great cities" and our "marvellous resources in everything that tends to the welfare and riches of mankind," he asks: "What are you going to do with all these things? To what purpose will you put this great store of material wealth and this vast amount of human intelligence and capacity which is among you to deal with? The question is one which, it seems to me, no man has a chance of answering with the remotest probability at the present moment. You are undertaking the greatest political experiment that has ever been performed by any people whatever. You are at this present century a nation of 40,000,000 of people. At your next centenary rational and probable expectation may look to see you 200,000,000, and you have before you the problem whether 200,000,000 of English-speaking, strong-willed people will be able to hold together under the form of republican institutions and under the real despotism of universal suffrage; whether State rights will hold their own against the necessary centralization of a great nation, if it is to act as a whole, or whether centralization will gain the day without breaking down republican institutions. The territory you cover is as large as Europe, as diverse in climate as England and Spain, as France and Russia, and you have to see whether, with the diversity of interests, mercantile and other, which arise under these circumstances, national ties will be stronger than the tendency to separation; and as you grow more people, and the presence of population makes itself manifest, the spectre of pauperism will stalk among you, and you will be very unlike Europe if communism and socialism do not claim to be heard. I cannot imagine that any one should envy you this great destiny—for a great destiny it is to solve these problems some way or other. Great will be your honor, great will be your position, if you solve them righteously and honestly; great your shame and your misery if you fail. But let me express my most strong conviction that the key to success, the essential condition to success, is one and one only; that it rests entirely upon the intellectual clearness and upon the moral worth of the individual citizen."

We desire to commend the last sentence of the above extract to those among our readers who have been disposed occasionally to find fault with some of our political criticisms. We fully believe that our future as a nation depends more "upon the intellectual clearness and upon the moral worth of the individual citizen" than upon the triumph of any party, or the election of any man, or the success of any particular measure of reform. We acknowledge, of course, that we have our favorites among parties, and men, and measures; but we refuse to approve of cant and sophistry although mustered in defence of our favorite party; we positively decline to admire the actions of every immoral scamp who supports our chosen candidate; and we shall not scruple to expose any kind of sham or falsehood which is lodged into the service of the most desirable project.

At the recent meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Professor Huxley stated that America furnishes, in some respects, a better field than Europe for purposes of scientific investigation. The discoveries of fossil remains, for instance, which have been made in this country, are unsurpassed in importance. The collection of Professor Marsh at Yale College he pronounced unequalled by any in Europe, and went so far as to assert that evolution, hitherto regarded as a scientific hypothesis, is no longer a theory, but has been changed by American discoveries into a demonstrated fact.

Politically, the week has not been a good one for the Democrats. The elections in Maine and Ver-

mont showed that no change of importance has taken place in public sentiment in those States since the last presidential election, but that the Blaine and Ingersoll style of argument—that is, the old and familiar Republican war-cry, which knows nothing of the currency or of a reformed civil-service—is still effective in certain localities. Mr. William Lloyd Garrison, for instance, re-echoes it loudly in a letter to a colored voter who expressed a desire to vote for Tilden, but, before doing so, applies to his old leader for advice. Democratic prospects continue to be affected badly, also, by Mr. Tilden's long silence with regard to the income-tax charges, explanations of which given by various newspapers being decidedly unsatisfactory. Nothing but a detailed explanation by Tilden himself—similar to that by which Hayes disposed of analogous charges—can now be satisfactory to many people. The record of Dorsheimer, Mr. Tilden's Lieutenant-Governor, has been looked up, and some things therein do not look well for a man who is now a pronounced reformer. He appears to have had the knack, for instance, while acting as United States District Attorney in New York, of making some wonderful charges for constructive mileage. The Seymour blunder, moreover, in New York was a blow from the effects of which the party has not yet recovered, notwithstanding the nomination of Lucius H. Robinson in place of Seymour. Chandler, who is head of the Republican machine, predicts—although of course his predictions are not accepted by Democrats—that the Republicans will carry the doubtful States of Ohio and Indiana as well as California and Oregon, in the North, and Florida as well as North and South Carolina, in the South.

Massachusetts politics continue to present interesting phases. The advocates of woman suffrage have organized a political party with all the necessary improved machinery, and as predicted have nominated the candidates of the prohibitionists, who, by the way, have also been accepted by a faction of labor-reformers. Mr. Adams accepts the nomination of "those opposed to the present administration of national and State affairs," and "Hayes and Adams," the ticket advocated by the Springfield Republican, will probably receive the votes of many Independents. Perhaps the most significant fact of the week, however, is the absolute repudiation of Butler as a Republican by such decided party papers as the New York Times, and the Boston Journal and Advertiser. Although some of the arguments of these papers might be employed with woful force against several other Republican candidates, we nevertheless look upon their opposition to Butler as a very encouraging symptom of our national politics.

A report which was current at our last writing, that "Boss" Tweed, the notorious chief of the New York Ring had been arrested in Spain, appears to be confirmed, with the important addition that by the courtesy of the Spanish government, he will be returned to the United States. Without doubt there are many persons in New York City who would prefer to have Tweed remain in exile, as there were not a few in Boston who inwardly rejoiced at the failure of our government to bring back Winslow from England. The probable effect of Tweed's return upon the politics of New York State is already a subject of newspaper discussion, but we do not expect that the "dreadful disclosures" which he is said to be able to make will greatly effect the prospects of either party.

The National Unitarian Conference at Saratoga was addressed by a colored bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Unitarians decided to continue their pecuniary assistance to that denomination in order to help save the Southern negroes from the Catholics. A new sign of the present tendency of the various Protestant sects to put out of sight their theological differences and unite as Christians, was seen in the offer of a Methodist minister to open his church for the use of the Unitarians if they should meet at Saratoga another year. Some of the essays read at the Conference, from the nature of the subjects discussed, should be of interest to the members of all religious sects, as well as to those who have no denominational connection, but recognize, nevertheless, the need of denominations in the present condition of religious thinking and feeling. Among these may be specified "Free Churches," by James Freeman Clarke; "The Labor Question," by Calvin Stebbins; and "The Essential Piety of Modern Science," by J. W. Chadwick.

The Old South Church building, the beginning of the destruction of which we announced some time ago, has been saved from demolition through the earnest efforts of those interested in its preservation. The owners—the members of the Old South Society—have sold the ground for \$400,000, to a committee of gentlemen who agree that the building shall not be used for commercial purposes and that the doors shall not be opened to the public on Sunday for thirty years. This last stipulation, we should state, is not made out of any especial regard for the assumed holiness of Sunday, but in order to prevent the formation of a rival "Old South" society. The building will be used, probably, for a historical museum, or something analogous thereto.

Dr. George B. Windship, who died last week in Boston, enjoyed for many years the unchallenged distinction of being the strongest man in the world. He was better known to the general public, perhaps, some dozen years or so ago than during more recent years, his feats of strength at that time attracting a great deal of attention, and being described, if we remember aright, in an article in the Atlantic Monthly. He was frequently urged by publishers to write of

edit a work upon muscular development as illustrated by his "lifting" process, and entertained the plan favorably; but a natural indolence of disposition and confirmed ill-health prevented its execution. That by his process a man's strength, or, at least, his lifting capacity, could be permanently doubled or trebled in a very few months is an undoubted fact. Dr. Windship began his experiments in order to overcome constitutional weaknesses, in which, however, he was only partially successful, his death taking place at the early age of forty-two. He was a Harvard graduate, diffident but intelligent in conversation, and evinced a deep interest always in mechanical pursuits and enterprises. He was under, rather than above, the average stature, and was by no means strong-looking; in fact, he always maintained that almost any man of large frame and muscles could be trained so as to lift a much larger weight than he had been able to raise. This last, we may state for the benefit of the curious, was somewhere between 2,000 and 2,500 pounds.

There is at present some prospect that the war between Serbia and Turkey will soon end, it being reported, as we write, that the Sultan has ordered a cessation of hostilities until further notice, and that Prince Milan has followed his example. This cessation of hostilities has been brought about by the urgent demands of the several European powers, which have given the Porte to understand that the war could not be allowed to continue. The conditions of peace proposed by the Sultan are not at all acceptable to the powers, although they are the result of the deliberations of first one and then another council, the latter being an extraordinary council of eighty called by the Sultan to alter, if possible, the decisions of the former one. It is reported by the English government that the Porte has resolved to punish the perpetrators of the Bulgarian atrocities—having already caused the arrest of fifteen ringleaders and their transference to Constantinople for trial,—and that ample restitution will be made to Christian sufferers.

Communications.

GLASGOW LETTER.

GLASGOW, August 25, 1876.

DEAR INDEX:—

I don't remember ever hearing of the existence in America, where all sects nearly have representatives, of that body of religious believers known as the "Peculiar People." Most of your readers are perhaps aware that their distinctive tenet is that in cases of sickness the treatment prescribed by the Apostle James is the only one permissible to believers in the Christian Scriptures. And I think it is indisputable that they are correct in this, and are thus the only consistent believers in the Scriptures being the guide of a Christian's life. But the administrators of the law here don't take the same view of the matter. And when, as does happen, some member of a family, holding the tenets of the Peculiar People, dies, notwithstanding the prayers of the saints and the anointing with oil, the head of the family has to stand his trial for culpable homicide. Most people will, no doubt, think that the legal authorities act on a reasonable view of the matter. So would all, were it not for the fact that the same law which prosecutes this offender upholds and pays for the teaching on which he conscientiously acts, and might (although the progress of liberal opinion renders this almost impossible now) prosecute any one for saying that the advice on which he acts is foolish. It is astonishing that, with such cases recurring again and again, the eyes, or minds, of the people are not opened to the absurdity of maintaining, at immense cost, a national church to instruct the people, who, if they act on the instructions thus furnished to them by the State, subject themselves to a criminal prosecution by the same State.

That there is some dim suspicion to this effect, however, may be inferred from the fact that juries seldom, if ever indeed, convict in such cases. I notice, however, that the head of a family who has already been tried once or twice on this charge, is again in trouble, when, I fear, he will not be so likely again to experience the tender mercies of a Christian judge and jury. Assuredly, were I on the jury, I should refuse to convict the man so long as the State, through its church, taught him and others that in doing as he had done he was obeying a divine and infallible precept.

But this is only one instance of the inconsistency between Christian profession and Christian practice, which is almost universally prevalent throughout the Christian world. Where is the Christian who, when smitten on the one cheek, will turn the other also? or who chooses his guests or lends his money on the principles inculcated by Christ? If such an one could be found, is it saying too much that he would be the butt and laughing-stock of the Christian world? and that his fellow-believers would write him down a fool? It is only the other day that an eminent English preacher published a volume of sermons in one of which he attempts to show the compatibility of war with Christian principles. Now does not such a state of matters indicate the disintegration of Christianity? Is not this exactly the state which prevailed among the religions of Rome and Greece when Christ appeared? We are told by Christian advocates that the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount are metaphorical. But the only reason assigned for this statement is what you are constantly urging against them: the impossibility of living upon them in this world. In a world of angels they might be practicable, and if practicable would, in my opinion,

be exceedingly desirable; although I quite agree with you that the attempt to practise them in our present state of society is most deleterious to the moral standing of a man. Still if the impossibility of living up to Christ's precepts is sufficient to prove them metaphorical, will the impossibility of proving the facts of Christ's life be admitted by professing Christians as sufficient ground for believing them mythical? The two things seem to me to furnish a parallel. The development of Christianity, as this abandonment of the teachings of Christ is called, seems to me to be simply an evaporating of Christ out of Christianity. We have, to be sure, in the present day, any amount of believing about Christ (and very little good does it do the believers), but believing in Christ, if the phrase means, as to every rational mind it must mean, acting on the principles which Christ lived and taught, is by no means quite so common. A little of this on the part of Christians would go a much greater way to secure respect for their religion than any amount of zeal for the sanctity of the Sabbath, or any quantity of howling in "the praise of our Redeemer."

Sabbatarianism is a peculiarly Scotch institution. Nevertheless, it has lately met with a check here which it is a pity it did not also meet with in the case of the Philadelphia Exhibition. The Sabbath Alliance League some time ago petitioned the trustees of the Leith Docks to prevent the sailing of pleasure-boats on Sunday. The trustees wisely took eminent legal advice before granting the prayer of the petition. Which legal advice, much to the chagrin of the Sabbatarians no doubt, was to the effect that the duty of the trustees was to facilitate, and not to obstruct, traffic at any time or season.

Great excitement prevails in Glasgow over three cases of perversion, on the part of congregations and pastors combined, from the Free to the Established Church. In a previous letter I related the steps which the Established Church had taken to bring about this consummation, and with what poor result. But these three cases occurring all within a week, yet apparently without concert, make people think that the bait is taking. One of the cases is rather amusing. This pastor, it seems, has been maturing his plan for some time. Thinking, or at least alleging, that he was shabbily treated by the Finance Committee of the Free Church to whom he had applied for a grant in aid of a new church he was building, he turned for assistance to the late James Baird, the munificent patron of the Established Church. Laying before Mr. Baird the change which was working in his opinions as respected the rival claims of the two churches, and delicately hinting his growing preference for the Establishment, he was somewhat bluntly, it must be confessed, met by Mr. Baird's strictly business and to-the-point inquiry, "Will ailler dae't?" Thus rudely brought to face the material question, the minister confessed to the soft impeachment that it was only money that was required to buy him and his congregation. Then came Mr. Baird's second practical query, "Hoo muckle?" for which the figure of £11,500 was quoted as a reply,—showing, that though willing to be sold, they were not to be sold for naught. Mr. Baird stickled a little at this, remarking, "That's a lot o' siller for ae kirk!" but at last completed the bargain for £9,500. The minister and congregation perhaps congratulate themselves on their bargain, but no one else seems inclined to do so—the Established Church being almost as unanimous as the Free in reprobating the whole affair as a disgraceful transaction. Yours cordially,

JAMES BOYD.

A REMARKABLE LETTER.

HERRON, Ind., August 11, 1876.

MR. ARBOT:

Sir,—My object in writing to you at present is to present some things for your consideration. I have no doubt your object and aim is to promote the welfare and happiness of the human family; this also is mine, but we cannot work together; for while you believe their happiness lies in following a certain course, I am urging them to take the very opposite direction. You think the world would be far happier, if the Bible was entirely removed. [No, but if it was rationally used.—ED.] I think that the teachings of the Bible are calculated, when well understood and closely followed, to turn the world into a paradise. It is evident that one of us is wrong, but is there any way to find out who it is? I have been thinking for some time that we might arrive at some certainty respecting this, by planting two small colonies somewhere in the West,—the members of one of them to bind themselves by oath or covenant to aim to make it their whole business to follow the directions of the Bible in every thought, word, and act; the other to have no Bibles and to be as far as possible composed of men who have never read the Bible and know nothing of its teaching, but otherwise intelligent. We should expect this government to give them the privilege of forming their own civil governments, the one strictly according to the Bible, the other as they please. This would give us a little chance to see how our paper models would work. Mine seems perfect in all its parts, when I look at it on paper, and no doubt yours does to you; but will they work? That is the question.

Another proposition I want to make is that you assist me in forming an organization that I think will one day destroy your organization. You will say, "That is rather cool!" But hear me out. You say Christianity and Republicanism are in direct opposition to each other, and I say so too; a people claiming all power are in open rebellion against Christ, for he certainly claims all power. If this is the case, it must be a very heinous sin for a Christian to take part in this government. Now if you open your columns to me, I think I can prove this position

to a demonstration, both from Scripture and reason. The effect of it would be to divide the Christian element in this country, and place the power in your hands, which I expect you would not be slow to use in freeing yourselves from what you consider the bands and cords of Christianity. Of course it is not division that I am working for; but, as all are now on the wrong track, and it is impossible to get all at once on the right track, I would rather see some right than all wrong.

What I want is an organization every member of which will place himself publicly, by oath or covenant, entirely under the authority of Christ, giving his time, talents, property, and life wholly into his hands, to be entirely under his direction and at his disposal; and Christ, on his part, engages to supply all their wants. These are the conditions of the treaty that God proposes to make with his rebel subjects, fully contained in these words of the apostle: "All things are yours and ye are Christ's" (I. Cor. iii., 22, 23). This is our condition after we have publicly and fully accepted his terms. But as God is the proposer of the terms, it is plain that they must be fully accepted before it is a bargain; otherwise God is not bound to fulfil a single promise, for his promises are all made to such as have fully accepted his terms. This, I think, is the condition of the Christian world at present; they have not fully placed themselves under the direction of Christ, and he is therefore not bound by his engagement to direct them, and it is plain that it is not for his honor to show them favor while they are in this state. This, I think, is the cause of their divisions. This organization that I am speaking of, I expect to be "the stone cut out of the mountain without hands"; it will be a beautiful, polished stone, and men will do it. But their social, civil, and ecclesiastical organization shall be so completely under Christ's direction that it will not show the least hammer or chisel-mark of man's device.

I expect but little advantage from the present National Reform Association; it is certainly not for the honor of Christ to be the captain of such a company. All except the Reformed Presbyterians are connected with this government in open rebellion against Christ, and they, though believing it sinful, keep their mouths shut on this subject, hoping to carry their point through the committing of this sin by others. As a firm believer in the Bible, I have no faith in such practices. You will ask me how I expect to reform the government, if I drive off the Christian element from taking any part in it? I answer that I cannot tell. Our business is just to place ourselves entirely under the direction of Christ as our captain, and through his direction and assistance we expect to bring the whole world under his authority. I would calculate to lay no plans of our own or follow anything of our own devising. I expect that for a time you will have everything your own way, but the triumphing of the wicked is short. [We are grateful for this good opinion of our character.—ED.]

There are at present three claimants for sovereign authority: the Pope, the civil powers, and Christ. I think the time for settling these claims is not far distant. The Bible tells us how they will be settled. It says the ten horns (or civil powers of Europe) shall hate the whore, and make her desolate and naked; they shall eat her flesh and burn her with fire. Then it says these shall make war with the Lamb, but the Lamb shall overcome them. It is evidently against this claim of the Lamb, set up by his followers, that they will contend. This claim is now very feebly and partially set up by the National Reformers; but when the stone organization is formed, then it will be fully set up. We see the hatred between the Pope and civil powers of Europe increasing rapidly, and even spreading in this country, which shows that the end of the Pope is not far distant.

You will ask why I apply to you in this case and not to some religious editor. The reason is plain: they will give me no chance. They are all devoted to the principles of their sects, and will print nothing but what agrees with their principles. If the Bible is not true, then the proposition that I make will certainly be for your advantage, providing we succeed in drawing off a number of Christians from connection with the government. But if the Bible is true, and we succeed in forming a right organization, then we shall certainly be your ruin. But of course you feel no danger from that source, and I therefore expect you to help me, and I have no doubt you will say, "If the Bible is true, then the sooner our organization is destroyed, the better."

You are the only editor I can think of that would be likely to discuss this subject. You do not care how irreligious or Satanic I prove this government to be; none other, either secular or religious, will allow anything to be said against the government, except perhaps the Reformed Presbyterians, but they will print nothing but what is in strict accordance with their creed, and I cannot be bound, and also tell the whole truth.

A Christian civil government is one that gives Christ all that he claims; and that is, not merely supreme authority, but all authority. All judgment belongs to him, and he is the one or only law-giver. The command to do everything in his name extends to every situation and relation in which we can be placed. When we once engage in the service of Christ, we never can be our own masters again, no, not for a single moment. Then the people, as Christ's servants, not as sovereigns, obeying his commands, will choose out just such men as he tells them to choose for rulers and judges. These officers are wholly engaged officially in the service of Christ; they are not by any means the servants of the people. Everything in the government must be done in the name of Christ and according to his directions. This you will think an awful state of slavery, but the Bible calls itself the perfect law of liberty, and

when we understand it aright, we shall find it to be so. I think you will now understand what I want, and if you can and will assist me, please to let me know.

JOSEPH MCFARLAND.

P. S.—I am candid. I hold no principle that I am afraid or unwilling to reveal openly, and, as you have that character, I expect to be treated with candor.

[We feel an involuntary respect for the calm and rigorous logic of the above very remarkable letter. The utter antagonism between Christianity and Republicanism is frankly conceded, and the latter is rejected for the former. We differ only in reversing this choice. This country, in the end, will discover that Christianity, true to its own despotic imperialism, involves the denial of those individual rights and liberties on which Republicanism rests; and therefore, by the very law of its nature, the Church is impelled irresistibly to plot ruin to the Republic. The grasping and sagacious ambition of Rome, the equally grasping but more confused ambition of Protestantism, both aspire to vanquish science and equal civil liberty. Mr. McFarland is welcome to these columns, though we cannot help him to his "organization"; for there is something very refreshing in his transparent sincerity and profound loyalty to his own Master. He tells above some home truths, after all. The perplexity he gets into, however, lies here: how is he ever to know what his "Christ" commands? Is every Christian to be his own infallible Pope? If so, his "colony" of Bible-believers would be at loggerheads in ten minutes, and would end in a Kilkenny-cat tragedy in about fifteen.—Ed.]

CHRISTIANITY'S DEBT TO CIVILIZATION.

ELORA, Ontario, Sept. 4, 1876.

SIR:—

In the last Annual Report of the Free Religious Association we have the eloquent address of the president; and in this address we have the following statement: "It is my firm faith personally that Christianity, as a religion, owes more to modern society, to modern civilization, to the modern age, than these owe to Christianity." This thought has, no doubt, occurred to the minds of many who had not the courage to give it utterance—the thought being in such direct antagonism to the popular belief.

We have been, from our earliest years, taught that everything good in theory or practice is due to religion; and that human nature is so corrupt that nothing pure or virtuous can emanate from it.

This, and much more, if more could be said, in derogation of poor human nature has been pressed upon us as a matter that admitted of no doubt; and it is probable that there are men of very liberal views as to religion who have not yet freed their minds from all belief in this vile and false doctrine. So difficult it is to discard prejudices so early and so persistently instilled into us by parents and parsons!

Immediately after giving utterance to the above statement, the president adds: "When we speak of the influence of Christianity on the world, we must remember that the effect of the world on Christianity has never yet been fairly described."

I know no subject that could more worthily engage the pen of a competent writer than to show what the Christian religion was, as left us by its author, its subsequent modification by Paul, and finally the changes and perversions introduced into it by the "Fathers" and by the "Church." The effect this system of religion has had on a world advancing in arts and sciences, and in all kinds of knowledge, and the reciprocal effect of such a world upon the religion, would then be described.

We might thus have a volume as interesting and important as any work in English literature. The eyes of those who now stubbornly close them against any work not in unison with Orthodox views might here and there be opened, whilst men of liberal tendencies, but of imperfect knowledge, would have their vision and knowledge both greatly improved.

To an ordinary reader, the theism and the ethics of the Gospels and the Epistles do not seem difficult of comprehension. The conceptions regarding the Deity seem to have been much the same as those of the Old Testament; with the addition of "Father" as an attribute of love and mercy foreign to the Deity of the patriarchs, however. This theism, combined with the morals of the Gospels, would seem to constitute the religion left us by the Founder.

Perhaps I should apologize for touching on a subject so far above my reach, but I need not offer any excuse for indicating my wishes to see such a work as I have mentioned executed.

I am, sir, yours, etc., J. FINLAYSON.

"CONSCIENCE VOTES."

ITHACA, N. Y., Sept. 9, 1876.

MR. EDITOR:—

You say, in your last issue: "I am resolved to cast a conscience vote." So am I, if possible; but how? No party represents the ideas which the crisis calls for. Who will organize one?

If honest men can be nominated, pledged to State secularization, civil service reform, hard money, and equal rights for all races, the ticket shall have my vote. I will not ask how the candidates stand upon other questions, as free trade or woman suffrage, for these can be postponed. Neither will I ask whether my vote, given in this important and doubtful State, may elect Hayes or Tilden; nor whether it may be the only vote for the liberal candidates. A "con-

science vote" is never thrown away, if, upon important issues which both the great parties refuse to recognize honestly, it represent a platform and purposes that are unmistakable.

J. E. OLIVER.

[Professor Oliver asks a difficult question. It would be presumptuous and impertinent for us to advise others how to answer it. All that is proper for us to do is to point out the public duty of preserving and perfecting the conditions of religious liberty; every voter must decide his own course for himself. But we can say that our own vote will not be cast for any candidate whom we believe to be unsound or doubtful on the question of State Secularization. If the treasury of the National Liberal League were well supplied, we should advise calling at once a public convention of its friends in New York city, to consider the expediency of nominating Presidential candidates of its own. That would give an answer to Professor Oliver's question which might satisfy many. But the National Liberal League cannot do its great work without abundant means. Perhaps it may possess them four years hence; now it must labor in a narrow field as best it can.—Ed.]

SECOND PHILADELPHIA LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 11, 1876.

MR. F. E. ABBOT:

Dear Sir,—I hasten hereby informally to report to you that the Freie Gemeinde of Philadelphia, at its regular quarterly business meeting last night, in accordance with a recommendation adopted by the convention in June last, constituted itself into a "local auxiliary Liberal League," at the same time electing me as a special secretary for the purpose of carrying on all the necessary business correspondence with the Board of Directors of the National Liberal League. I suppose it will, for convenience' sake, have to be designated as Philadelphia Liberal League, No. Two. Its president is Wm. Holdmann, 111 North Fifth Street, Philadelphia.

In addition to ratifying all the resolutions of the above-mentioned convention, the Philadelphia Freie Gemeinde also resolved to join the "Union of Radicals" formed at the convention held here during the last three days of June. Yours very sincerely,

A. LOOS.

THE INSULT TO INGERSOLL AN INSULT TO ALL.

WORCESTER, Sept. 11, 1876.

THE INDEX:—

Is there in the land a liberal who does not feel the insult to Colonel Ingersoll in the New York Sun? What does the Sun care for his "bold blasphemy," except as a means to subvert a low, partisan purpose? I subscribed for the Sun under the impression that it was a manly, independent journal, but it turns out a low, scabawag concern. "Moral pestilence"—"moral carion"! Can't the Sun see itself? Has it lost all power of introspection? Or had it never any to lose? I have never felt so strongly impressed with the necessity of the League organizations as now. There are enough intelligent men and women outside of, and opposed to, this modern paganism of the churches to be felt, if not feared, if they could only be brought en rapport with one another. Now they must submit in detail to the grossest of insults.

Oh, that every one of them would take THE INDEX, and come to feel some little connection and sympathy with their own mental kith and kin!

Respectfully, CHARLES NASH.

NO HELP IN THE PARTIES.

DEAR INDEX:—

I have just read the editorial in the last issue, on "The Republican Party and the School Question." I am a Republican, but have no faith in the party, on the question of secular schools. Neither party will, as a party, help us here; and, believing that this question is of more vital importance than all other issues of the day, I am ready to sacrifice all party ties, and vote for men who will be just and fair toward all. I am an infidel, but I do not ask that the Constitution of the United States shall declare that Jesus was but a man, and the garden of Eden a myth. I only ask that it remain forever silent in matters pertaining to religion. With liberty for all, none need complain.

Yours truly, F. G. JOHNSON.

TOWANDA, Pa., Sept. 10, 1876.

A VETERAN'S VOTE.

CLEARFIELD, Pa., Sept. 11, 1876.

DEAR INDEX:—

I helped to make the Republican party, served more than three years in the army in defence of its principles, always labored to the best of my ability for its success, never voted any other ticket, and would even now regard the election of Tilden and Hendricks as a national calamity. Yet after reading the quotations from the speeches of Hayes and Wheeler in THE INDEX of Sept. 7, 1876, I would suffer martyrdom before I would vote for either of them. The reason must be obvious. I regard religious liberty as infinitely more valuable than political or civil liberty. What is the attitude of Cooper and Carey on the vital question? The desired information would be thankfully received by

Yours truly, HARRY HOOVER.

Sanctuary of Superstition.

THE FUNERAL OF THE WORLD.—The bells of eternity have rolled up their doleful chasms, muffled in silence, as though waiting to toll the funeral of the world! The trump of God in its awful echo is retiring through the distant planes of eternity with a vibration which sends a tremor through the universe! All is still before the great white throne! Gnashing teeth and gnawing worms are paralyzed! Emotion, stagnated in its channels, lays trembling on the soul, and blasphemies choked in the throat of death! Myriads vast are being awed into silence, except, I think, the children of pious parents and highly favored sinners; and backsliders, as they look along the glorified ranks and change looks with ministers, parents, and Christians, utter a sigh too deep for sound. Behold the vast convocation of immortal, transparent bodies! Perhaps so transparent, that through the naked breasts of once mighty kings and common sinners may be seen the corpse of soul whose eyes look out despair—dead to God, to hope, to heaven,—dead, eternally dead, yet alive to sin and guilt, to pain and woe.—"Shocks from the Battery": a volume of Sermons by Rev. B. Pomeroy, of the Troy M. E. Conference, published in 1869.

A LITERAL HELL.—"I don't like hell-fire preaching," is often said by even professors of religion belonging to evangelical churches. Then they don't like the preaching of the Lord Jesus Christ, his apostles, or the prophets. They talked about the "lowest hell," "the damnation of hell," "the vengeance of eternal fire," and the day that would "burn" the wicked "like an oven," and an "horrible tempest," with a "rain" of "fire and brimstone," that should be the "portion of their cup." "Hell-fire," "lake of fire," "everlasting fire," and "I am tormented in this flame," are words used by the direction of the Holy Ghost, in an absolute manner, without ambiguity. When Christ talked to his hearers about heaven, he endeavored to assure them it was a place, just as they had been taught to believe, and said, "If it were not so, I would have told you." They believed also that hell was a place, and that punishment would be everlastingly inflicted upon the wicked, and that fire, of some kind, would be used in inflicting that punishment.

Now if the doctrine of a literal hell, as described in the Bible, is not true why did not Christ correct his hearers of their error in this matter, for it is generally believed that the Jews held to this doctrine, and why did he send apostles to continue preaching this doctrine if it was erroneous? And why did he not tell them that the prophets had made a mistake in their utterances on this subject of future punishment? These questions will not be easily answered; they cannot be answered. If it can be shown that Christ allowed his hearers to believe erroneously, and confirmed them in so doing, then it will be easy to take away his character as a good and correct teacher. Our repugnance to the doctrine will not make it any the less true, nor will our unbelief prevent the wicked from being "driven away in his wickedness," and "turned into hell," no more than the unbelief of the Jews prevented the burning of the Temple. We may say it is unreasonable, but that will not alter the fact.—*Zion's Herald (Methodist)*, April 11, 1872.

A LIGHTNING-BOLT WRITING GOD'S NAME ON A BLASPHEMER.—Some of our contemporaries seem disposed to question the truth of our statement that a negro man who was killed by lightning a few days ago, in Campbell county, had the letters "GOD" on his body. Dr. Thomas E. Moorman, whose post-office address is Mt. Zion, Campbell county, has furnished the *Richmond Christian Advocate* an account of the circumstances, from which we extract the following:—

"On the evening of the 6th inst., Perry Jones and George Brown, colored men, notoriously the most profane, wicked persons in the whole community, with three other colored persons, took refuge, during the rain accompanied by a good deal of lightning and thunder, in a tobacco barn on the land of Mr. George Creasey.

"From their several positions one would have thought that two of the others were in more, and the third in as much, danger as Jones and Brown were. They, as their custom was, were engaged in cursing and swearing. Suddenly the lightning descended upon them, and while the other three were comparatively uninjured, Jones was killed, and Brown was stricken down senseless and almost lifeless for a time. He revived after a few minutes, and soon seemed to have regained all of his strength, but was dumb and bereft of his mind for several hours. The lightning had set fire to his clothing, and he was burned on his chest and left side and arm before the fire was extinguished. In his maniac efforts to free himself from those who were restraining him the skin was rubbed from the burned flesh and presented the following characters, GOD,—very close representation, to say the least of them, of the capital letters used in printing the name of Deity, while around and between them the skin was unremoved, and apparently not burned. The above characters occupied the angles of an equilateral triangle, which, as you are doubtless aware, was in ancient days the symbol of Deity. This man then appears to have been branded with the name of his Creator in the symbolic language, it may be, of his forefathers three thousand years ago, and in the printed language of the nation to which he belongs."—*Lynchburg (Va.) News*, quoted in the *N. Y. Sun* of Aug. 9, 1876.

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of the liberal advertising public is respectfully solicited for THE INDEX. The attempt will be honestly made to keep the advertising pages of THE INDEX in entire harmony with its general character and principles, and thus to furnish to the public an advertising medium which shall be not only profitable to its patrons, but also worthy of their most generous support. To this end, all improper or "blind" advertisements, all quack advertisements, and all advertisements believed to be fraudulent or unjust to any one, will be excluded from these columns. No cuts will be admitted.

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Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America—that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country,—is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large." And later still: "I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest."

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ARTICLE IV.—Any person who shall pay one dollar into the treasury shall be entitled to a certificate, signed by the President and Secretary, as an annual member of the National Liberal League. Any person who shall pay twenty-five dollars or more into the treasury shall be entitled to a similar certificate as a life-member. All the persons present as members at the Centennial Congress of Liberals, at which this Constitution was adopted, are hereby declared permanent or charter-members of the National Liberal League.

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And let the live Liberals of

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in the country unite without delay to forward their

APPLICATION FOR A CHARTER

as a local auxiliary Liberal League, in order to be all ready for action as soon as the necessary papers are prepared.
Before New Year, let a

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to the United States Constitution. The

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party are scheming and laboring more busily than ever for the adoption of their

Christian Amendment,

which would ultimately DISFRANCHISE and DISQUALIFY FOR OFFICE every honest Liberal in the land, and trample under foot the people's most sacred rights of conscience. It is time to rouse the people to an effective defence of their religious liberty, and the Liberal Leagues must do it.

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THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church; in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.
2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.
3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.
4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.
5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.
6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.
7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."
8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.
9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.
10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.
11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.
12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.
13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental ideas on which it is built.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

CLERGYMEN BLAMED General Newton for exploding Hell-Gate on Sunday. But is not the explosion of the gates of hell their own regular Sunday business?

SEVERAL CITIZENS of Jacksonville, Illinois, have just applied for a charter as a local auxiliary Liberal League. Mr. A. W. Cadman, Mrs. D. M. Cadman, Mr. S. W. Sample, Mr. David Prince, and thirteen others have signed the application. They are moving in a good cause, and we receive promises of similar action in many other quarters.

MR. GEORGE LEWIS, of Providence, who represents Rhode Island on the Executive Committee of the National Liberal League, reports the organization of the State Executive Sub-Committee as follows: George Lewis, Chairman; Charles W. Livermore, Secretary; Elsieha S. Aldrich, Treasurer; B. A. Ballou, Mrs. Sarah E. H. Doyle. Mr. Lewis adds these words, full of the spirit which befits the hour: "Rhode Island hopes to do her duty in the coming struggle."

PROFESSOR HUXLEY made this emphatic declaration in his third lecture in New York, September 22: "The doctrine of Evolution at the present time rests upon exactly as secure a foundation as the Copernican theory of the motions of the heavenly bodies. Its basis is precisely of the same character—the coincidence of the observed facts with theoretical requirements." It is about time to discontinue the apologetic reference to Evolution as a mere "working hypothesis." As Professor Huxley said a little later in his lecture, "the whole evidence is in favor of Evolution, and there is none against it."

JUDGE McCUE, of the Brooklyn City Court, recently refused to marry a man to his deceased wife's sister on the ground that such a marriage is forbidden by the Catholic Church, though not by the State of New York. That is, his religious views interfere with the proper discharge of his official duties, and so far neutralize his oath to administer well and truly the laws of the State. There is no reason to blame Judge McCue personally in this case for obeying his conscience; but he had no moral right previously to pledge himself to perform functions which he cannot conscientiously discharge. That is a just cause of blame. If the State law contravenes the Church law, no Catholic ought to take the oath of office; if he

does, he does wrong by his own moral standard, and is justly censurable.

THE NEW YORK Sun continues its insults to Colonel Ingersoll, as this paragraph in its issue of September 12 illustrates: "Colonel Bob Ingersoll, the loud-lunged man who disbelieves in God and puts his trust in James G. Blaine, repeated in the Cooper Institute hall last evening the campaign speech which he has been delivering down East. It is a peculiarity of Ingersoll's oratory that he cannot address an audience without obtruding blasphemy enough to shock one-half of his hearers and to disgust the other half." But when other orators "obtrude" their Orthodoxy in their speeches, that is a matter of course, and entirely proper! There is one rule for Christians, and another rule for freethinkers; if the former speak their religious convictions in public, it is "piety," but, if the latter do the same, it is "bold blasphemy." This insolent contempt for equal rights in religion has its root and seeming justification in the semi-union of Church and State; and it can never be abolished until the two are totally separated. Will liberals never get tired of being publicly and ignominiously kicked? When they do, they will be ready to assert and establish their equal rights like men.

THE WISCONSIN STATE FAIR, at Milwaukee, has been opened on Sunday. Mr. Robert C. Spencer, of that city, was especially earnest and influential in securing this result, speaking calmly and forcibly in the State Agricultural Society on behalf of the opening, but being greeted by "Christians" with disgraceful cries and interruptions. The *Evening Wisconsin* of September 15 refers to him in this brutal style, which shows exactly how much Christian respect is accorded to liberals, if they dare to advocate liberal measures in public: "An insult to America, to morality, to decency, was the expression of that State Fair barnacle last night, when he said that it would be anti-American to close the Exhibition grounds on Sunday." Mr. Spencer, be it remembered, is one of the most respected citizens of Milwaukee, the principal of a Commercial College of high reputation, and a staunch friend of THE INDEX from the beginning. But he is publicly stigmatized as a "barnacle," just as soon as he speaks a public word for equal religious rights in public institutions. The result, however, seems to indicate that the Wisconsin Society is more liberal than the Centennial Commission on the Sunday question.

THERE WAS something intensely amusing, if not wholly pleasing, in the adroit diplomacy of Professor Huxley at his first New York lecture, September 18, when he referred to the Creationist theory not as the "Mosaic cosmogony," or the "Biblical cosmogony," or the "cosmogony of Genesis," but merely as the "Miltonic hypothesis." There was a delicious irony in his allusion to the elastic interpretations of Genesis by the theologians, when hard pressed by the facts and arguments of men of science. He professed to be quite unable to decide nice points of Hebrew scholarship, but made a very sly thrust when he said: "A person who is not a Hebrew scholar can only stand by and admire the marvellous flexibility of a language which admits of such diverse interpretations." That is really cruel to the distracted Doctors who have so ingeniously twisted the Bible out of all resemblance even to itself! But, although he could thwack John Milton before a popular audience a little more undisguisedly than Moses or the Bible, every well-informed hearer knew that he was hitting the latter over the former's back. We cannot help preferring the proud dignity of science, disdaining to stoop to a clever expedient, to the ingenious arts of indirection. The truth is that Milton fairly reproduces the Biblical view of creation; and it is the Bible, not *Paradise Lost*, which will feel the effect of Professor Huxley's masterly argument.

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N.B.—For further information, apply to the Secretary, as above.

RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE,
 AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fairs shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

Religion in Politics and in the State.

A DISCOURSE IN THE FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH,
 NEW BEDFORD, JULY 16, 1876.

BY WILLIAM J. POTTER.

It is customary for those who advocate the separation of all religious institutions from the domain of the State to plead the case in the interest of liberty. And this argument is entirely proper and strong. But an argument to the same end, equally legitimate and cogent, may be made in the interest of religion. And it is to this side of the question that I propose to address myself in this discourse. I believe that religion, no less than liberty, demands the entire separation of Church and State, and that this principle of separation, which has always been theoretically the policy of our national government, should be applied practically wherever among us in public custom the old tradition of ecclesiastical and governmental union still exists.

I say that the interests of religion, no less than those of liberty of thought, demand this separation. And I say this as one who believes in religion, and who would think its degradation and overthrow the greatest possible peril to mankind. Not that I care very much for the word *religion*, but that I do care very much for what the word genuinely stands for. Religious faith is a phrase that, to my mind, covers the highest impulses of human action; and I regard the highest hopes and welfare of the human race as involved in the continuance of such faith. I do not mean the religious faith that is necessarily attached to certain forms of ecclesiasticism and to certain schemes of theology, but that faith which, under whatever form of church or creed, or of no-church and no-creed, does attach itself, with a tenacity which no obstacles can shake or break, to an ideal law of truth and right, clear in insight and courageous in purpose, let come what will, to make that law the standard of conduct and character. I mean that kind of religious faith which binds the conscientiously weak and imperfect human self to "the Power in the universe not ourselves," and thence to sources of power, and life, and progress, and perfection that are as inexhaustible as they are wonderful. I mean that kind of faith which, in all periods of human history and under every form of religion, has taken men and women out of selfish aims and out of their material interests, has made them actually forget self and their own happiness, and life even, and has sent them forth up the rugged steep of duty, the consecrated champions of an idea, to live or to die for truth and human welfare. This is what I mean by religious faith; and I think we must admit that in the past it is a quality of character that has in the main been connected with some phase of historical religion, and that to historical religion, notwithstanding all its errors and corruptions, credit is to be given therefor. It is frequently found, it is true, and especially in our age, outside of the prevailing theologies and churches. But I should deem it an irreparable loss and a fact of the gravest possible disaster to mankind, if this kind of faith were to be sensibly diminished.

And doubtless it is from an apprehension that harm is somehow to come to religious faith from what is now called the secularization of the State and the public school, that so many people oppose the further application of the principle of secularization, and begin almost to doubt whether the American idea of the separation of Church and State is a true and safe theory. They see that religion had an immense deal to do with the settlement of this country, and with the formation of the character of its early inhabitants, and the establishment of free and orderly Constitutional government among them; and they argue that, if our politics are now growing more corrupt, if our national and State governments seem to have lost something of their pristine virtue, it is because religion is not connected so vitally with them as once it was. And so they deprecate any further separation of religious custom from the domain of civil government, and even begin to agitate, under the name of reform, for some more formal recognition of religion, and indeed of a very Orthodox view of the Christian religion, in the national Constitution.

Now so far as the views and apprehensions of this party rest upon the assumptions that there is and always has been a very close and vital relation between religion and civil government, and that religion cannot be safely divorced from politics, but should be a dominant element therein, holding politics and governmental administration to a higher law of rectitude than is furnished by the poor policies of expediency and availability, they have truth for their foundation. But in the assumptions that religion is to have this purifying power in politics, and that this vital relation between religion and government is to be preserved or even furthered by the formal recognition of certain religious beliefs and the observance of certain religious practices in the domain of government, these persons grievously err, and, in my opinion, are doing the very harm, both to religion and government, which they are seeking to avert. Admitting that there is much of truth in their premises, I yet deny their conclusions and the logic of their method. The truth of their premises is, that *religion*, historically and in its essence, has a very close and vital relation with civil government. Their conclusion is that the recognition by the State of certain views of theology and of certain religious institutions is necessary to good government,—and this is the conclusion they are attempting practically to enforce.

But between these two propositions there is no logical connection. Religion and theology are two very different things; and the official recognition of

the latter does not at all imply the possession and power of the former. Let us look at the subject historically, and see if we cannot find some common ground for national opinion and action in this country. I think we shall find these three propositions to be justified:—

First,—Religion and civil government originated in the primitive era of human society side by side, very nearly at the same time and, to a large extent, from the same source, and, up to a certain stage of civilization, they have developed institutions conjointly, forming a close alliance of Church and State.

Second,—A tendency manifests itself in the course of human development towards a separation of civil and religious institutions, and this separation, at a certain stage of progress, becomes complete.

Third,—The separation of civil and religious institutions becomes complete, to the end that religion may the better occupy its legitimate field of improving and elevating individual character, and through character may go into politics and government.

To consider the first of these propositions,—historically religion and civil government have been very intimately blended. We can hardly take up the history of mankind anywhere, whether in its more civilized or in its more rude and barbarous phases, and not find that this connection exists. As a general rule, it is very difficult indeed to separate the two elements of religion and politics, so closely have they intertwined in the historical development of the race. Sometimes a nation—as the Hebrews—has made no attempt, even, to separate the institutions of religion and civil government, but has believed in their practical union; and in treating of such nations it is impossible for the historian to make any such separation. Their civil history and religious history are one and the same. And in Asia, before there was any interference from abroad with the natural development of institutions, this seems to have been a common fact. In Hindostan, before the British government got the control of affairs, the religious and civil institutions were essentially one. The Brahmins, or priests, were recognized as the highest and most powerful class. They were really the political rulers as well as religious, and the other castes were their servants. The government, in fact, was a species of theocracy,—not so purely defined a theocracy as that of the Hebrews, but essentially of the same order. Buddhism adopted a theocratic form of government, even though early Buddhism endeavored to ignore the problem of Deity. In Tibet a theocracy exists to this day. Religion and government are one. The Grand Lama is not only civil ruler, but he is high priest of religion. He is God's representative on earth; and believed to be not simply of human birth, but of divine origin,—a veritable incarnation of Deity. The Grand Lama is a Pope; and spiritual and temporal affairs are more nearly harmonized in his kingdom than they have ever been in the Roman Catholic Church. But the Roman Catholic Church is another illustration of the historical connection between religion and civil government. For centuries after the Christian religion got possession of the Roman Empire, there was no historical movement of any sort in Europe which was not either purely ecclesiastical or did not come somewhere in contact and connection with the Church. And to-day it is the idea of the ruling party in the Church of Rome, in spite of the hopelessness of the prospect of realizing it, that State and Church should be one; that is, they would institute a theocracy.

Nor have people who have become Protestant entirely abandoned the idea of an organic union between religion and government, though the Protestant doctrine of private judgment has helped towards such separation. But this was not one of the issues directly and consciously involved in the Protestant Reformation. The notion of the divine right of kings has been upheld by Protestant nations even more strenuously than by Catholic. It was one of the old points of contest between the Pope and the princes of Germany,—the latter claiming to be divinely-appointed rulers as well as the former. The Protestant king of Protestant Prussia to-day claims to reign by the grace of God. The new title of Queen Victoria runs, "Victoria, by grace of God Queen of England, Defender of the Faith, and Empress of India." And the great Protestant rationalistic philosopher, Hegel, advocated and developed in his philosophical works the idea of a union between State and Church,—not merely of a formal union, but of a union in essence. He believed that Protestantism, through its rationalistic phases, would naturally develop a pure theocracy again, in which the State should be the Church. Calvin, three centuries before, had practically acted upon this idea in the government of Geneva. And our Puritan forefathers in New England acted upon it, a century after Calvin, in their honest attempt to establish a sound and stable government in the new world. They, too, believed in theocracy. They would have the Church and State one, and the Church chief, though the power should be administered through democratic forms. They went to the Bible, not only for their religion, but for their code of civil laws. And that connection which they established between Church and State, though long ago overthrown in form, has not ceased yet as an active element in the civil administration of our country.

These facts might suffice to show how close has been the historical relation between religion and civil government; but as the point is an important one, let us look at two or three other facts. In Greece and Rome, when they were at their best days, the institutions of religion and of government had become to a considerable extent separated; yet not entirely so. The political and military leaders of Athens were expected to consult the oracle at Delphi in regard to public measures, and they did so. Socrates was put to death on a charge (in part) of denying the divinities of the State. And in Rome the Sibylline

books, the Sacred Scriptures of the nation, were entrusted to a governmental commission and were to be inspected by order of the Senate, whenever any great public exigencies should arise on which their wisdom might throw light. It must, however, be confessed that the light was thrown so sparingly that the historian, even so keen-eyed a one as Niebuhr, has been left mainly in the dark as to what were its constituent rays. The truth is, the enlightened and ruling classes of Greece and Rome had outgrown the religious institutions of their time, and those institutions were only maintained by the State for the satisfaction of the common people. China is in somewhat similar condition at the present day. The cultivated and governing class of people in China manifest, it is said, very little of religious sentiment as anything distinct from ethics and humanity. Reverence for ancestors is about the only form of worship that can be called common to all classes. Yet the mass of the people have their religious ceremonies and institutions, and these are upheld and protected by the State apparently as a police regulation. This seems to have been to some extent also the condition of things in ancient Egypt, though religion there was more in the ascendancy. But in all these countries, and everywhere—and this is the important point to be noted,—whether religious and civil institutions have become extinct or have existed together under a theocratic form of administration, if we trace back their history, we find their roots, in the dim land of tradition and mythology, mingling so inextricably together that no antiquarian's skill is equal to the task of severing them. Historically, religion and civil government have developed together. State and Church have seldom been separated, perhaps never entirely separated in practice.

Now this fact, as it seems to me, points back to a very important truth; namely, that religion and government have originated in the same way,—that they both had a natural origin in the human mind itself, far back in the primitive ages, when it first began to meet and struggle with the experiences of conscious existence. We are much accustomed to think of religion coming by some distinct, full-rounded revelation,—by some articulated sound spoken out of the Infinite silence, pronouncing the name God or Jehovah; but the alleged revelations themselves contradict any such hypothesis. Look at the Hebrew religion, for instance. Read the very first line of its sacred book,—“In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.” It assumes, you see, the existence of God; it assumes that people had the idea of a created Power, and begins with telling what he did. This, therefore, represents a comparatively late period in the history of human development, and tells nothing of the long ages previous through which man must have been working up to this idea of God and of his creative work. So, too, we are apt to think that government must have begun in some quite specific institutions. Many persons, indeed, think that government was originally instituted by special revelation, just as they think religion to have been. But if we look at the institutions of government at any point where their authentic history begins, we shall discover that they assume a fund of previous knowledge, which recent investigations into primeval ages will not allow us to consider a gift by miraculous inspiration, but which was the product of centuries of slowly accumulating experience. It is customary to say that government begins with the patriarchal form, which readily passes into monarchy. And for ordinary usage this may be sufficiently accurate. But in fact the germs of government appeared before they took shape in patriarchal institutions. There are tribes of savages now existing that have scarcely so high a form of government as the patriarchal, and yet are controlled by rules and customs which, though not written, are very stringent. Some of these rules and customs are plainly enough the result of the primitive maxim—hardly yet obsolete even in civilized society—that might makes right. They relate to privileges that belong to the strong, and prohibitions made against the weak. But others as clearly originate in some rude idea of justice, of honor, of moral right,—some idea of a compact between a man and his fellow-man, which both are bound to keep.

Civil government, in fact, though its primitive shape may be rude, begins in a sense, however feebly it may be expressed, of a higher law and of a more universal authority than that of individual caprice or will. Human law is an attempt to give utterance and force to a common sense of right to which individuals recognize their allegiance. Even the primitive rules and customs that exist among quite barbarous tribes, and are the first show of government, have to a large extent this moral significance. They have, in truth, the same origin that religious institutions have. They begin in a sense of obligation to some higher and larger power than that of individual will,—the difference being that while civil institutions and laws attempt to express this sense of obligation in relations between one man and his fellow-men, religious institutions attempt to express it by establishing some direct relations between man and the Being or beings who are supposed to be the embodiment of this higher and more universal power. But in a primitive state of society this difference will hardly be recognized. Hence we find the first rules and customs of a people including indiscriminately both civil and religious affairs. And since the two originate so close together and have in one respect a common origin, they naturally for a time develop together, making an alliance of Church and State,—a natural fact of human history that, however much of evil we may think has grown out of it, we cannot quarrel with in the past.

But this historical survey has already given us hints of our second proposition,—which is just as historically true and just as natural,—that, as society

progresses in civilization, there is a tendency to a separation of civil institutions from religious. They naturally develop together up to a certain stage of progress, and then they as naturally and inevitably separate. And for this separation we may find an obvious reason. Religious institutions and observances—not necessarily religious character and conduct, but religious institutions and observances—are associated with certain religious beliefs and opinions which, being of the intellect, necessarily change as mental perception enlarges and intellect becomes educated to different and more correct views of the universe. But civil institutions rest for their validity on the common sense of right or justice—that is, on the moral sense,—which, though capable of increase of power and of extension in practical application, is always substantially the same in essence, and does not change with men's mental beliefs, nor depend upon them for its validity. And because of this difference in respect to connection with and dependence upon intellectual opinions, the civil and religious institutions of a community will tend to separate as the people progress in knowledge and civilization.

As an illustration of this distinction note a curious and instructive fact in the Mosaic commandments. The first four of the ten commandments are religious,—that is, they relate to religious beliefs and observances, and were peculiar to the Jewish faith. The remaining six are ethical and broadly human. We find essentially the same in other religions. But the specially instructive fact about them to be noted is, that for the religious commandments a reason is given: in addition to the commandment some statement is added as if to commend them to the rational understanding of the hearers; while the ethical commandments stand in their naked simplicity, strong enough without a reason. They rest firmly upon the moral sense, which tacitly gives its decisions without any needed confirmation from the understanding. “Thou shalt not kill.” “Thou shalt not steal.” “Thou shalt not bear false witness.”—so the ethical commandments run. “Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image, . . . for the Lord thy God is a jealous God, visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon the children;” “Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy, . . . for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, and rested on the seventh day, and hallowed it,”—so run the religious commandments.

And this illustrates a difference which exists between civil and religious institutions all through history, and a difference which tends more and more to manifest itself practically as history proceeds. Religious ceremonies and institutions, as I have said, are connected with beliefs which differ according to differences of mental perception, and which may therefore be outgrown and changed as mental perception is enlightened and improved in other directions. Civil institutions—laws, jurisprudence, government—rest primarily on the sense of justice between man and man, of which the field of application may be indeed enlarged, but the essential character of which remains the same. There may be appeals to the rational understanding, especially after civil institutions have developed into the complexity of modern civil government, to decide whether this or that proposed measure is a measure of justice; but this being determined, the ultimate appeal in law is not to the understanding, but to the common sense of right. The Jew may outgrow, and is outgrowing, the religious commandments of Moses, and especially the reasons on which they were based; but the ethical commandments abide with him as firmly as ever, and are as enduring as the stone upon which they were written. When progress in mental development has taken a people beyond the conditions amidst which their religious beliefs and observances were formed, then most surely will begin a separation between their religious institutions and their civil life.

This separation takes place in substance just as soon as the mind of the cultivated and influential class has outgrown the established institutions of religion, though a formal union may be longer tolerated for the sake of the less enlightened populace. But ultimately a complete separation will be decreed in the interest of honesty, sincerity, and harmonious government. The era of separation in substance had come in Greece and Rome in their palmy days, though not recognized in form. It has come in substance in China. Protestantism has been hastening it in all countries of Protestant Christendom. It seems quite near at hand in England. It is only delayed in Germany and France because so much of the substance of it is recognized. It is even getting recognition in Catholic Italy, where the temporal power of the Pope after a long contest has been lost. But the United States is the only important nation where the separation has been formally proclaimed and constitutionally established. And this separation was no mistake. It was wisely designed. The men who framed our federal constitution knew what they were doing, when they left religion without governmental recognition or support. And their action in this matter was the legitimate result of the progress which mankind had been making towards a truer perception of the different functions of religion and of civil government. And it is action that needs to be crowned by the consistent and entire application of the principle in all the departments of the national government and of the separate States, to the end that all existing traditional relics of the old idea of union of State and Church may be abolished.

And this being done, the conditions will be reached for our third and final proposition,—which is that religion will do its noblest work and most effectually serve government by improving the characters of individual men and women.

It is a view of religion as pitiable as it is erroneous, to suppose that its influence upon civil affairs in this

country is confined to the few formalities of religious observance that government allows or maintains, or depends at all on such meagre instrumentalities. Let all such observances, which, to a large extent, are but empty forms and hollow mockeries, be discontinued, and government would suffer no loss in religion, while religion would be a gainer in honesty. Can any one very seriously believe that religion, as a power in shaping our national and political life, very much depends on the formal prayers, which so few legislators listen to, in Congress and the State capitals, or on the oaths that are gabbled and garbled in custom houses and courts, or on the official duties of the chaplains in our navy, or on the exemption of ecclesiastical property from taxation, or even on the Bible-reading and the concert-recitation of the Lord's prayer in our public schools? Suppose all these religious formalities to be abolished from this time forward, neither government nor religion will be put in any jeopardy. On the contrary, both government and religion will in time be benefited; benefited by the fact that a blind and delusion will have been removed and people's eyes will be opened to the real nature of religious influence on affairs of government.

So long as these formal religious observances are maintained by government, they have a tendency to pacify the religious consciences, and make people feel that the nation is really religious at heart. They tend, indeed, to belittle and degrade religion into a formal observance apart by itself, and often into a very empty and dishonest form, instead of making it the grand, ennobling element of character and conduct which in itself it really is. I do not think much of the religion of a political convention which is opened with prayer, if the convention make a platform which means this thing or that thing according to the section of people who read it. All the services of all the chaplains that have ever officiated in Congress do not make our government religious; it is only true and honest men in office, men reverent before truth, incorruptible by any bribe, and denying self to serve their country and mankind, who can give the government that character. This nation gave evidence of its religion more by the one act of emancipating the four millions of bondmen in the South, than it would by the establishment and maintenance of a State church. A people that do justly and love mercy show by that behavior more than by their formal prayers and oaths that they walk humbly with God. And religion goes as a vital power into our schools and into the education of the young, not through the daily reading of Bible and prayer nor instruction in religious doctrine, but through the subtle and constant though indirect influence of a teacher's character who is all alive with the noblest aspirations and impulses, and is felt as a power lifting the young mind to holiest ideals of life.

In a word, if these formalities of religious observance in the domain of government are abandoned, it is because religion is capable of so much greater and better service. Far be from us the cry that religion has nothing to do with government and civil institutions. In truth, it has so much to do with them that its work cannot be measured by the petty religious observances now maintained by government, and is only hampered by them. Our doctrine gives no encouragement to the timid conservatism that declares religion to have no concern with politics,—that it is for Sunday and the Church and not for legislative halls or political parties. On the contrary, religion has so much to do with political and legislative bodies that it will not be pushed out upon the mere fringe of their action, but demands that its very substance be woven into the warp and woof of all their thought, and motive, and doing. The American theory is that religion goes into the government and into the national life through character. Our country has no established religion save that which is established in the convictions and hearts of individual citizens, and which establishes them in the ways of rectitude and truthfulness. Religion manifests among us its chief power in elevating and purifying the motives of individual men and women; in redeeming souls out of the degradation of ignorance and vice; in making men and women as individuals see more clearly what is true, love more earnestly what is good, and do more faithfully what is right.

And individual men and women are the citizens of a State. They are the State. They make the government. They enact the laws and put them into execution. And the laws, in our country, are the average common sense of what individual citizens believe to be right and just. Religion has, then, to do, and something very vital to do, with the very sources of government. It is a power felt at the very fountain of law. It enriches and clarifies the primary springs of national life. Let individual character be ennobled, and the nation is ennobled. Let religion, through the teachings of church, and home, and the press, do its duty with the hearts and lives of people—let it teach a more self-denying virtue, a more incorruptible integrity, a finer motive, a more sacred regard for truth and justice,—and the State may be safely left to fulfil all its great trusts, both for the present and for coming generations.

IN A CERTAIN GOOD old Puritan town of New England lives a wealthy deacon. One Sunday morning a neighbor applied for a quart of milk. The placid face of the good deacon's wife appeared, and she, after listening to the request of the boy, replied: “We don't sell milk on Sunday.” As he turned away, evidently disappointed, she said: “You'd better see if you can get it somewhere else. But if you can't get any in the neighborhood, I will let you have a quart; but I shall be obliged to charge you two cents extra, as it is Sunday, for we don't intend to sell milk on Sunday.”

PHILADELPHIA LETTER.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—Brazil, in Agricultural Hall, is even more interesting than in the Main Building. It is so long since some of us studied geography that perhaps we have forgotten that this empire is second only to Russia in extent of contiguous territory, covering an area of three millions two hundred thousand square miles. Agriculture being the chief industry of its people, it naturally follows that the agricultural products of Brazil are its principal source of national wealth. A large variety of these products are here on exhibit, showing at once the immense agricultural resources of this vast empire, and the luxuriant fruitfulness of her soil.

The visitor to the Exposition is everywhere gratified with the wonderfully artistic manner in which the most unattractive and unartistic materials are here placed on exhibit. So noticeable is this feature of the Exposition that it would be an almost satisfactory exhibit of art, if there was no Art-Gallery.

Brazil's display of coffee and cotton, her two principal articles of export, is not an exception. A pavilion is made and decorated with raw cotton, some specimens of which are exceedingly fine. The fleecy whiteness of the cotton, in striking contrast with the national colors, here as elsewhere bounding the space allotted Brazil, renders this pavilion especially attractive. In the centre is a pyramid-stand upon which are displayed one hundred specimens of coffee, put up in glass jars of various sizes,—the smallest jar forming the apex of the pyramid. These coffees are of various forms and sizes, the smallest closely resembling a kernel of wheat. Every one has seen a grain of coffee, but few individuals appreciate of the delicious beverage made from it, which Bacon says "comforteth the heart and brain and helpeth digestion," know how the coffee grows. Just inside the pavilion on the right is a large glass case, in which are dark chestnut-brown berries of the size and shape of a cranberry. As you take one in your hand, so hard is the covering that you think it a species of ground-nut; but upon opening the shell you find two grains of coffee separated by a partition wall, each again enclosed in a light, thin but horny encasement. Brazilian coffees received, at the Paris and Vienna Expositions, the highest award given; and yet they are still sold in the markets of the world as coming from other places. In 1873 and 1874, the United States alone received about one hundred and ninety million pounds of coffee from Brazil; and this was a little more than half the amount exported. According to Professor Agassiz, "more than one-half of the coffee consumed in the world is of Brazilian growth"; and yet your grocer will tell you that the Mocha and Java coffees which you buy come directly from the country whose name they bear. These facts increase our interest in this exhibit. The cultivation of cotton in Brazil has become an important industry only since our late civil war, as prior to that there was no market for it.

Sugars and syrups made from the various kinds of sugar-cane grown in Brazil, caoutchouc or India rubber, with many gums and resins from Brazilian trees, grains, fruits, vegetables, wools, skins, vegetable fibres used in the manufacture of textile fabrics, are here on exhibit. These fibres, some pink, some white, some taken from vines, others from the inner bark of palm-trees, with specimens of fabrics made from them, were sent to England several years since for examination by scientists and manufacturers. The report being favorable, it is believed they will be utilized for the markets of this country and Europe. Some of them are almost equal to silk in appearance and are said to be of easy cultivation, and superior to flax in strength and elasticity. Catalogues containing historical notes of these vegetable fibres, textile plants, and the products of the Brazilian forests, will be furnished you by the attendant. The exhibit of the products of the forests of Brazil is wonderful for its variety, value, and beauty.

It has been well said: "The display would be wonderful if made by the world." Some of these woods are planed, polished, and varnished, showing their quality as decorative woods. Many varieties of the palm are here exhibited. The palm furnishes good building timber, yields wax, oil, starch, a vegetable wool used for cloth and cordage, bears valuable fruit as the cocoa-nut; and from the roots, flowers, and sap medicines are prepared. Here is also the *Bertholletia excelsa*, the large tree which bears the celebrated Brazil-nuts; the *Mimusops elata*, or India-rubber tree; several species of the *Euphorbiaceæ*, the latex of which is used as a substitute for milk in tea and coffee, or dried and used for India-rubber; the incense tree, whose aroma is similar to the incense of Asia; the quassia-tree, from which drinking glasses are made which impart a bitter taste to the waters drunk from them; the papyrus tree, the branches of which cover themselves by exfoliations of the epidermis with sheets of paper of a peculiarly original appearance; the *Eriodendron samahuna*, the largest tree of the Amazon, the fruit of which contains flocks of silk much sought for mattresses; the silk tree of Rio de Janeiro, and many others, interesting for the beauty of the woods taken from them and capable of being utilized for the necessities and comfort of mankind. I should not forget to mention the *Herva maté*, of which Brazil exports thirty thousand pounds annually. This product is the leaf of the maté-tree and is used by a large part of the native population as a beverage. It is a cooling drink, well calculated to quench thirst, and is less exciting and much cheaper than tea or coffee. Four dollars' worth of it is said to be equivalent to eighteen dollars' worth of coffee. This is an item of account in these times of no work and no money. It comes to market in broken leaves or in powder, and will, it is said, independent of any other nourishment, sustain strength

and vigor during whole days. It, with the palm, will furnish the food, drink, shelter, and clothing necessary for the sustenance of man.

In Machinery Hall is the army and navy display of Brazil, which does not equal ours: two machines used in the Brazilian mint, one for the cutting and marking of the coins, the other for the milling of the edges; and a private exhibit of silk and silk-worms with the appliances for the reeling of the silk from the cocoons.

This exhibit is exceedingly interesting and instructive, showing the whole process of silk culture as an agricultural pursuit, from the dusty moth-miller which deposits its eggs upon the leaves of the *Palma Christi*, upon which the larvae feed, through each stage of the development and growth of the worm, from one day old to the twenty-second day, when it commences to spin the cocoon; and still farther on through the spinning of the cocoon, the preparation of it for reeling, the reeling, and finally the braids of silk, many of which are here shown in glass cases by the side of similar hanks from Japan, China, and California. The comparison, in point of fineness, gloss, and beauty of silk, is not unfavorable to Brazil. This miller or butterfly is abundant in nearly all parts of the Brazilian Empire, and produces in each generation an average of two hundred and forty cocoons, each cocoon containing thirty grains of good, strong, elastic silk.

The Art exhibit of Brazil is in the annex to the Art Gallery. It is not large, nor is it attractive, either in design or execution. The religion of Brazil and her battle-fields are of course here represented. One very large picture, by Victor Merellies, entitled "The First Mass in Brazil," attracts considerable attention. An altar is represented surmounted by a large cross, in front of which stands the officiating priest; European soldiers and others are kneeling in adoration, while surrounding them are a large number of Indians in postures of wonder and curiosity. A miniature head of the Virgin, painted upon ivory, hangs by its side. The best painting is a half-length, life-size portrait of the Emperor Dom Pedro II. But one piece of statuary exhibited by Brazil is worthy of note. This is entitled "The Recollections of the Tribe." It represents an old Indian seated upon a rock, his left hand holding a tomahawk, the arm hanging negligently over his knee, while the face wears a life-like but regretful expression.

In the Woman's Pavilion, Brazil exhibits embroidery, needle-work, specimens of lace and knitted work, artificial flowers made from feathers, wax, fishscales, and leather. Most of this work is that of the inmates of orphan asylums and pupils from the college of the Imperial society. Some of the needle-work is by the Vicountess de Stamaraty. It is very fine, but in no way represents the real work of woman in Brazil or in any other country. The Brazilian villa at the head of the Landedowne ravine is beautiful and interesting as a specimen of the architecture of that country.

Brazil has contributed to the fullest extent to the success of our Centennial celebration. Her exhibit is not only fine, but exceedingly interesting as the exhibit of a young and progressive monarchy, whose chief, although called an Emperor, has together with his ministry less arbitrary and irresponsible power than our four-years despot whom we are pleased to call the President of this American Republic. Some of the features of the Brazilian government engrafted upon our republic would result in the increased intelligence and independence of our people.

The republics of Peru, Chili, the United States of Venezuela, and the Argentine Confederation complete the contribution of South America to our exposition. All these republics existed prior to 1823, yet their history to date is but a history of internal wars and conflicts with neighboring States. Of course their exhibits show the possibilities of these countries rather than their developed industries.

The Argentine Confederation and the United States of Venezuela are modelled after our government, both consisting of States or provinces federated for common defence; the former, like our own government, has maintained its confederacy at the expense of civil war, while in the latter a continuous struggle has been going on since 1847 between those demanding a strong central government, a republic still, and those striving to maintain the sovereignty of the States. The Roman Catholic religion is the predominant religion of these four republics, and the only one tolerated by law in Peru and Chili. In Venezuela and the Argentine Confederation other religions are tolerated; in the latter, ministers of some other denominations are paid by the government. Will those liberals who do not believe it possible for a State religion to be here established because our government is a republic take note of these facts?

The exhibit of Peru is in an unattractive enclosure near the south-west entrance of the Main Building, and consists of a few agricultural products, extremely fine Llama wool; guano from the Guano Islands, said to be of the best quality, yet without the disagreeable odor of that usually found in our markets; cases of minerals, including two large specimens of silver ore from her very rich silver mines. In one of these cases is a representation of the crucifixion, cut in a piece of sulphate of lime by a half-breed Indian.

Among the agricultural products is a small glass jar of the dried leaves of the coca, a small bush which grows wild upon the slopes of the Andes, and which is largely cultivated in Peru and Bolivia. The native Peruvians claim that the coca contains all the principles necessary for the sustenance of life; they perform laborious work and travel long journeys, taking no nourishment for many days save that obtained from the chewing of the leaves or the beverage made from them. This beverage is much used by travelers to prevent the difficulty of respiration in ascending the Andes; its use often produces interperence and insanity, like the use of opium and alcoholic liq-

uors. So intoxicating is it, that young men becoming addicted to its use forsake civilized people and abandon themselves to savage life with the Indians. The properties of the coca leaf are now the subject of discussion in English medical journals. Some visitors suppose the coca here exhibited to be the same as the cocoa, from which chocolate is made. This is a great mistake. In the centre of the enclosure is a case of mummies supposed from the geological evidences surrounding them to be those of the Incas, and upwards of three thousand five hundred years old; also some skeletons of the Ancient Peruvians, which with household divinities, quaint pottery, implements and weapons have been taken from more than fifty mounds to send here to our Centennial Exposition. The unearthing of these mounds of the dead to complete the exhibit of Peru at this Exposition of the resources and industries of the nations is itself quite as complete an exhibit of the undeveloped condition of Peru to-day as of the customs of ancient nations.

The exhibits of Chili and the Argentine Confederation in the Main Building are located side by side between Peru and the main aisle, and are quite similar. The most attractive exhibit of Chili is a very tastefully arranged mineralogical cabinet, in glass cases under a decorated canopy, in the centre of which is a pyramid of ores with a fine specimen of the condor upon the apex. This cabinet is the exhibit of a private citizen of Chili, and is both beautiful and instructive. Here are one hundred and fifty specimens of native silver, many specimens of copper ores, alabaster, malachite, cobalt, and rock taken from different levels in the silver mines. One specimen of Proustite of silver or ruby silver, containing hundreds of rhomboidal, translucent crystals, is valued at \$4,000 and is considered the gem of the cabinet.

By the side of this cabinet, fronting upon the main aisle, is the mineral exhibit of the Argentine Republic. The Argentine government, it will be remembered, received the gold medal at the London Exhibition for her exhibit of gold, silver, and copper ores, of which she makes a fine display here, though less attractive than Chili's. The manufactured goods of these two republics, as here exhibited, are of a primitive character and inferior in both quantity and quality, excepting the one specimen of a Panama hat exhibited by Chili valued at \$200; some Manila rope and cordage, a fine alabaster table-top and two mosaic table-tops; a travelling trunk, also a sideboard and dressing-case containing many combinations expressive of some inventive power exhibited by the Argentine Republic. Both exhibit cases of embroidery as woman's work, while Chili adds hand-made lace. She also exhibits silk cocoons, floss silk, and silk in skeins, raw cotton, cotton thread, a few books, periodicals and topographical maps which are creditable. The most noticeable agricultural products exhibited by Chili are her grains which are of a very fair quality.

In Machinery Hall, Chili exhibits a miniature amalgamating machine for the amalgamation of gold and silver ores. This model was erected for the Chilean exhibition of last year, at a cost of \$13,000, and is one-sixth the size of the original machine erected at a cost of \$230,000.

The exhibit of the Argentine Confederation in Agricultural Hall is a very creditable exhibit of her natural but undeveloped resources, in kind not unlike those of Brazil. It consists of grains, grasses, several specimens of both plain and decorative woods, gums, resins, coffee (of which she exhibits one hundred specimens), tea, spices, *hera maté*, tobacco, preserved fruits, and meats, native wines, extract of coca, hemp, flax, cotton, wool, silk and silkworms. Animal products from the principal exports of this republic, and wool-growing is her leading industry. It is, therefore, natural that her most noticeable exhibit should be wool and skins of animals. Of wool there is here a remarkable display. Some of the fleeces are of Llama wool and Angora goats' hair, and are very fine and heavy. The frame-work enclosing the section is covered with the skins of animals; some of these are untanned, others tanned with the fur, hair or wool left on and include the domestic animals, also sealions, tigers, and other wild animals. Upon the right are large sacks of animal skins filled with *hera maté*. It is in this form that this product is brought into their markets.

The Art display of this republic is in the annex of the Art Gallery, and is only noticeable from the heavy coloring of the paintings.

The entire exhibit of Venezuela is situated near the south-west corner of Agricultural Hall, and is enclosed by a high framework from the centre of which is displayed the national flag. Upon the sides are festooned the national colors, red, blue, and yellow. The flag is composed of three longitudinal stripes of these colors with a constellation of seven white stars in the middle of the central blue stripe.

Venezuela exhibits many varieties of tropical fruits preserved in alcohol, specimens of grains, peas, beans, a fine quality of loaf sugar, chocolate, and the cocoa bean from which it is made, and especially coffee, of which there is a large display in glass jars and which is known in our markets as the La Guayra coffee.

A variety of woods and tree products, also cotton, (one specimen of which has a pink color), a vegetable fibre resembling cotton, the product of the silk cotton tree; the *cocutza fibre* resembling hemp, though finer, dyed, bleached, and in braided skeins, a large cable made of a coarse kind of grass resembling horse-hair; the tortoise-shell is taken from the animal, skins of animals tanned and untanned, boots and shoes, soaps, candles, vegetable oils including the cocoa-nut oil are here exhibited. Several hammocks are swung between the posts of the enclosure. These hammocks are made of braided strands of flax or

hemp, the fringes ornamented with embroidered leather flowers.

Embroidered handkerchiefs, floral designs made from the plumage of birds, a case of wax fruits and flowers, illustrating the growth of the coffee-berry, are tasteful in design and well executed. By the side of the latter is a large design in half-work representing Washington, crowned by the Goddess of Liberty, under which is the inscription in hair, "Antonio Guzman Blanco, President of the United States Venezuela, to the country of the immortal Washington: 'first in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen.'" An equestrian statue of this first President of the United States of Venezuela, is in the main passage way of the Art Gallery. It is, however, by a Philadelphia artist.

The mineral exhibit of Venezuela, consisting of gold, silver, platinum, antimony, copper, iron, salt, etc., is well arranged; the specimens, labelled, show the richness of their mines. Venezuela makes no effort at an exhibit of woven or knitted goods.

The United States should find a market for her surplus manufactured goods in these South American countries, rich in mineral and agricultural resources, but as yet incapable of utilizing their vast natural wealth.

CARRIE BURNHAM KILGORE.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 12, 1876.

THE GAY CAPITAL.

REV. MONCURE D. CONWAY IN PARIS.

PARIS, Aug. 4, 1876.

When Emerson was in Paris, twenty-eight years ago—one of a then more youthful company of social philosophers and idealists, Monckton Milnes, Arthur Clough, and W. H. Foster,—he came, writes Rev. M. D. Conway to the Cincinnati *Commercial*, to a conclusion which he expressed in these words: "The French will have things theatrical. God will have things real."

The words came into my mind just now while standing in front of an old house a few doors from my hotel (Louvois), in Richelieu Street, one end of which is now turned into a monument of Molière. In that house Molière lived and wrote the most of his great plays, and now he is seated there in marble, with nymphs around, and a fountain ever singing of how he refreshed the people with his genius; nay, how he refreshes them still, for even now, when "Cloture" and "Relache" are written on two-thirds of the theatres, "Tartuffe" still has a good run at the Comedie-Française. Molière made a good thing out of the mimic world he created for Paris. From Nov. 3, 1658, to Easter, 1659, he received £1540; 1659-60, £2995; 1660-61, £2478. Then he demanded a double portion, and it was accorded by the theatre to his wife, if he should marry. He married in 1662, and for the ten following years he received £67,648. This makes his receipts in Paris alone from one theatre, and in thirteen years, when the money was worth more by a third at least than now, £84,667.

But the opening of this century found in that very same house another poet dreaming a dream which he aimed to throw upon the great stage of the world. There sat St. Simon, creating, in imagination, a new heaven and a new earth; a France organized after the Golden Rule, *sevents* to be the only priests, churches to be turned into schools and libraries, all—men and women—to have congenial occupations and every comfort provided by the State. When St. Simon had followed his glowing dream until he had it fairly on paper, he raised his head and found that his fiery pillar had led him in the wilderness of pauperism. He looked from his Pisgah in the Rue Richelieu, and saw no land flowing with milk and honey for him; but the cry of his children for bread was audible enough, and his means had all gone to print books which stocked the booksellers' shelves. Nobody bought, nobody read them; so he concluded that it was about time to die. He loaded a pistol one morning, and determined that when the hand pointed to a certain hour he would commit suicide. He then devoted his remaining hours to correcting and annotating his works, and some of the finest things in the poor Count's works were written there when his clock was moving on by death-ticks to a tragedy such as Molière never imagined as he sat, one hundred and fifty years before, in the same room. At last the hour struck, and St. Simon fired at his own head. Some hours later two of his friends—one being the famous Auguste Comte, then young—found him terribly mangled. They shouted for aid. When the surgeon came and began his attentions, St. Simon said: "How can a man live—and think—with seven slugs in his brain?" Yet live he did, strange to say, seven years longer, and wrote admirable books. Such were the differences in the payments which Paris gave for a new theatrical world, and a new world meant to be real.

If Voltaire had only kept to writing plays France would have kept on crowning him in the theatre, and surrounding him with splendor beyond monarchs. But he began to be serious, wished to overthrow the chief of all theatrical institutions with its solemn *dramatis personæ* of priests, and it hunted him out of the country.

Revolutions did not change this. In 1840, Rachel received in Paris 60,000 francs for three months' acting, more than any author or statesman ever received in a year by solid work. In all of which France keeps up the tradition of the Latin races. At Athens, Polus, the comedian, received a half-talent per day (2700 francs); at Rome, Roscius received from the public treasury 300,000 *livres* a year, and Dionysia 50,000 crowns. The actor *Æsopus* left his son 20,000,000 sesterces (\$1,000,000). Paris now represents the Latin races, and Paris is itself a theatre. Its theory still is that what cannot be done can

be said, what cannot be said can be sung, and what cannot be sung can be danced.

Only out of such a constituency could have come the poetic priest Renan, able to lay before the world such a dramatic drama as that which half-scandalizes, half-amuses his readers. It is that the advance of science will be such that at length a few *sevents* will combine and compel the obedience of the millions by threatening, if they rebel, to blow the earth to atoms! M. Renan had evidently been meditating on Thomas-son, and imagined the earth as a ship floating through space with a group of scientific dynamitologists on board. But the cynical dreamer knows that it is perfectly safe to tell his dream to Paris, for the Belleville *ouvriers* would be willing to be blown up themselves if their tyrants should also be blown up,—always provided it were done spectacularly, terminating with a brilliant *feu d'artifice*. Up to this time, however, the crafty politicians of France have been able to rule Paris by the easy plan of providing fascinating displays, and making scenic felicities cheaper than bread and meat. The attempt of the late emperor to vary the amusement with a grand military drama was hailed with delight in the first act. The piece cost too much, and was not a success, but with better actors a similar variation has several times succeeded. But that the attempt had to be made is significant, as showing that although the theory I have been stating is true, it is only true up to a certain extent. Even conserve of roses cloys at last. I do not know whether the present rulers of France have consciously taken a leaf out of the late imperial drama or not, but it appears to me that during none of the last seven or eight years of the Empire was there a freer rein given to the pleasures of the people than now. The notorious Jardin Mabille has been broken up this season, by reason of the fact that the whole Champs d'Élysées is turned, every evening, into a free exhibition of much the same character. If any one wishes to see the can-can it is only necessary to pay a franc or two at the entrance of one of the open-air spectacles, whose ten thousand lamps now fringe with light that avenue along which the Prussians marched the other day, when they became masters of the city called Beautiful. For a few pennies all the gamins of Paris can see the Twelve Danish Beauties displaying their charms in diaphanous dresses in one place, or the Chiarini Marble Ladies in another. The boulevards and shops are more brilliant than before the war. The Parisian merry-go-round, actual and allegorical, does not pause long enough for the people to think of Versailles and what goes on there. Though the time must come when it will pause, and the people will find out why the capital of France has been fixed at that distance, by the constitution, until 1880.

While Paris has been amusing itself, and reading on its walls every day the words which no government dares to erase, "*liberté, égalité, fraternité*," the so-called French Republic has given up real power over the nation to the one party which is united—the clerical party. There are in France forty thousand priests, and they act as one man. Orleanists, legitimists, imperialists, republicans, may divide into rights, and lefts, and centres, but the priesthood knows no division, and they are absolute masters of the situation. In an interview which I had with Prince Napoleon, he was conveying an impression of how very different Corsica was from France generally, and he could not describe it in a more startling way than by mentioning that though the priesthood, as a body, voted against him, two or three priests actually came to him and said, "We mean to vote for you, but we vote as citizens, not as priests." Prince Napoleon added: "You see, therefore, Corsica is not priest-ridden."

This term, "priest-ridden," is rather vague. Just now, when so many in America are trying to reverse the effect of that blow which our fathers struck at ecclesiastical power over the State, it may be well to give some succinct statement of what the term used really means in France. The Church has now exclusive power to grant degrees. This means that it is solely by a vote of Catholic priests that a young man can get his degree, either as a physician or a lawyer. It was formerly in these professions that freedom of thought flourished; but now no student can be admitted to the bar or to the practice of medicine, unless he has satisfied a theological faculty as to his Orthodoxy. Thus the matter stands by the recent vote of the Senate. At a stroke, all the great paths of preferment are placed under control of priests, except only the army. But even here the priests have the highest power, by reason of their prestige in possessing such general influence. It is an actual fact, that no poor young man in France can marry an heiress, however moderate her fortune, unless he first secures the consent of the girl's priest. It is his business to take care that no money goes out of the Church, and the young suitor has to begin to undergo his cross-examination with the vicar before he asks consent of the parents. The priests rule over the women of France to such an extent that it is an opinion I have heard from one of the ablest French statesmen living, that to give women votes in France would, since they number one million more than men, be equivalent to turning the Assembly into a Legislature of priests.

Nor can there be any prospect of anything better, so long as the tone of even most literary men in France is that "the vocation of women is to be pious and pretty," whilst this sudden throwing of the medical profession into clerical hands bids fair to bind every household to the priest by a new fetter. Every youth now knows that "to get on" means to be on good terms with the priest, and to keep the tongue Orthodox whether the heart be so or not. So one may look out for that deluge of vipers which M. Toussennel prophesied would overrun France in the

form of a double-tongued generation of students and professional men. The outlook is felt to be sad by all the genuine republicans, and those I have met are in more distress for their country than at the close of the war. Marshal MacMahon's intellectual imbecility has placed the main power in the hands of his wife, a fiery Orleanist in her sympathies and an intriguing Roman Catholic. She is coarse, masculine, talented, energetic, and is the central power around whom such reactionists as Dufaure, etc., cluster.

However, the republicans of the Assembly are very strong men, and they mean to make a hard fight to recover the ground just lost,—that is, to recover from the Church its despotic control over professional degrees. What one most hears of now is "the grand conflict,"—that is, the conflict between the Assembly and that infernal Senate, which no French radical can ever forget was sprung upon France in the name and by the example of the United States. The men whom universal suffrage, working through vast constituencies, has elected to the French Assembly are such as may be taken into account when the philosophy of the right electoral power is to be settled. In the cities, the largest *arrondissements* have always chosen the best man intellectually, and, as a rule, the best man morally.

It is within my personal knowledge that John Stuart Mill and Louis Blanc once had a long consultation on this matter of suffrage. Mr. Mill held that there ought to be some gradation of electoral power, by which every man should have a vote, but a more learned man should have two votes, a professor three, a statesman four, and so on. Louis Blanc said to him that if he (Mr. Mill) should go into a popular meeting of six hundred comparatively ignorant men, and should explain to them the issues of their vote, and convince them how they ought to vote, he (Mill) would thereby have and would cast six hundred votes. M. Blanc contended that Nature had determined all the gradations of political influence and power, and I believe that Mr. Mill was afterwards inclined to regard his view of "degrees" with less confidence. In the last elections it was abundantly proved that the workingmen of Paris were resolved to have great men as their representatives. Some of the eminent left-wing republicans came to the conclusion that it might be a political advantage to have a laboring man in the Assembly, and an *ouvrier* named Quinet, having appeared as a candidate, the eminent man withdrew from that *arrondissement* (the thirteenth) in favor of the laborer. But it made no difference. The workingmen, who entirely controlled the election, refused to vote for their own comrade, Quinet, and elected in his place one of the eminent, scholarly radicals who had withdrawn. Next to the compact unity of the priesthood, the Bonapartists possess the most combined force, and though they are comparatively few, they are still formidable, especially since the recent triumph of their natural allies, the clericals. It is plain the government does not regard them as a party which has ceased to be formidable, and hesitates to break with them. Here is one little proof of this: Having not been in Paris before this for two years, I have been surprised to find that some of the finest streets still preserve their imperialistic names, one being named after the Empress, another after the Empire, a third after the Duke de Morny, etc. On inquiring for the reason of this, I find that repeated protestations against the retention of such names have been made by all the municipal bodies, but that the Prefet had refused to change them. The protesting bodies are elected by the people, the Prefet is appointed by the government, and is responsible to them. The power over street nomenclature in each department is vested in its Prefet, but it is known to be impossible for such an officer to act without sanction of the government in such a matter as the retention of these imperialistic street names in a city where such names are ordinarily changed with even inconvenient rapidity.

Still Paris is amusing itself and the world indefinitely. *Vive la bagatelle!*

Poetry.

GIORDANO BRUNO:

BURNT FEB. 17, 1600.

Full high-advanced, Truth's banner bright he bore
In a still priestly age, which fagots piled
Around the Sons of Light, whose spirits soar,
By fires ecclesiastic, undefiled,
Into the heaven of fame, whence rule they now
The realm of thought with sovereign, kingly sway,
Hierophants of Truth, before them bow
The nations,—gladly their behests obey.
Immortal Bruno! haply yet will stand
Over the ruins of the Roman Baal,
Whose minions burnt thy flesh, thy statue grand,
For full enfranchised times and men to hail,
When hierarchies proud no more can bind
With slavish dogmas e'en the common mind.

B. W. BALL.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 23.

E. R. Spurrier, \$3; H. Blanchard, \$3; Isidor Bush, 60 cents; D. Ferguson, \$1; Olive N. Preston, \$1.50; S. E. Whitney, \$3.20; S. P. Andrews, \$3.20; T. C. Cornet, \$3.20; Alan Greenwell, \$4.01; W. M. Mackay, \$1; Mrs. H. B. Bird, 50 cents; Chas. Storrs, \$5; J. M. P. Bachelier, \$1; George Stickney, \$3; G. E. Corbin, \$1.20; Henrietta Hyde, \$1; R. Wilkin, \$3; Joseph Treat, \$3; John A. Todd, \$3; G. Fraustein, \$5.30; T. Bush, 50 cents; O. H. Green, \$3; W. S. Babcock, 50 cents; A. W. Cadman, 75 cents; Stafford Bolton, \$2.75; S. C. Gale, 25 cents; W. H. Ovington, \$3.30; John H. Platt, \$3.30; Robert Davis, \$3; P. Pillsbury, 34 cents.

The Index.

BOSTON, SEPTEMBER 28, 1876.

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REMOVAL.

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Joe. York and friends in Meadville, Pa.....	10.00
D. G. Macgill, Baltimore.....	5.00
	\$1211.08

CARRIE BURNHAM KILGORE, Ch. Com. Phil. L. L.
605 Walnut St., Philadelphia.
PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 18.

ALL FRIENDS to the "Paine Bust" enterprise will rejoice at its successful conclusion, as shown by the above report. The sum proposed has now been raised. Mrs. Kilgore writes: "I presume the enclosed report of the Paine fund is the final report of moneys. I shall, of course, make a report of its presentation. Mr. Kilgore has seen the Mayor, and he promises to lay the communication before the Council when they meet, which is about the ninth of October. If more moneys are sent, I shall accept them until Mr. Morse's own contribution [of \$100] is made up. This is right." To this last suggestion we heartily say amen; and we congratulate the liberals on this highly gratifying termination of their efforts. Now it will be seen whether the city of Philadelphia will honor itself by cordially accepting this mark of honor to Thomas Paine.

AN UNKNOWN friend sends us an extraordinary extract, simply marked on the margin, "Victor Jacquemont's Letters, 1824." It is characterized by all the mental vigor of De Tocqueville, who nowhere exhibits a superior insight. Although the allusion to Franklin's name is not strictly correct to-day, M. Jacquemont understands American religion far better than most Americans do. The passage is as follows: "There is, in fact, a State religion in the United States. Instead of being the Catholic communion as in France, or the Episcopal as in England, it is the Christian religion in the widest acceptance of the word; but that matters little. Here, as elsewhere, the religion of the greater number lays down the law for the minority, and oppresses it. Moreover in Europe—at least in France—these absurd and tyrannical laws have no other defender than a few officials who at heart despise them; whereas in the United States the greater part of the population, from zeal or from hypocrisy, sees to their observance. . . . In a country where the majority is religious, and where that majority disposes of all official appointments, any man who has political ambition is obliged to seem religious. Every career would be closed to an honest man if he were a philosopher—or, as they call it here, an infidel. Such is the execrable hypocrisy which poisons this society that the name of Franklin is scarcely ever mentioned because Franklin was an infidel! However, these odious and absurd prejudices, being instilled into children from their earliest age, regulate the sincere religious opinions of the masses, and make them religious. Perhaps you may fancy that American society is better on that account? Indeed it is not. What I have seen in the United States has made me relinquish an opinion which you, I believe, hold: that religious ideas may be useful instruments for moralizing mankind. I have long been disposed to think so myself, but I have ceased to think so now."

NOTICE.

On receipt of \$3.20, THE INDEX will be sent to any name not already on its mail-list, from the present time until January 1, 1878. This is an excellent opportunity for friends of the paper to increase its circulation among their acquaintances; and it is hoped that they will not neglect to render in this way some greatly-needed assistance to the important cause it represents.

THE SECRET OF UNION.

Why is it that liberal societies and organizations are wont to have so frail and brief a tenure of life? The fact is evident enough to those who have watched the fortunes of such societies during the past ten or twenty years. Multitudes of them have come up like mushrooms to disappear again as quickly. What is the matter? Is it because, as the Orthodox exultingly infer, liberal principles and liberal religion are not really adapted to the wants of humanity—do not contain the seeds of social permanence—fall altogether to minister to the deeper cravings of the human soul and to the deeper necessities of human society? If that is the reason, then liberal principles are false and liberal religion is a delusion. Shall we believe this? If so, Catholicism is to be the final goal of every truth-loving spirit; and, as extremes are said to meet at last, Rome is destined to swallow up Reason.

That conclusion is not what observation and experience and reflection have taught us. The lesson is quite a different one. We believe, on the contrary, that the force of liberalism has spent itself hitherto in fostering an extreme individualism, to the comparative neglect of the social side of human nature. It has manifested itself disproportionately in one direction. It has been centrifugal, and not sufficiently centripetal. It has fostered diversity rather than unity, not because this is necessarily characteristic of liberalism, but because men are seldom liberals in the present state of human development without being stronger on the intellectual than on the social side of their natures. But there is nothing necessary in this. In the long run, freedom will prove productive of a far finer fellowship than ever grew out of subservience to authority. Time will yet exhibit a Commonwealth of Man far nobler, sweeter, and stronger than any possible Church of Christ.

It is because liberal societies as such have hitherto been deficient in public spirit, unconsecrated by a common self-dedication to the needs of the race, altogether too much wrapped up in themselves and too little absorbed in purposes which embrace the whole community, that they have proved so ephemeral. It is the missionary spirit which has given to the Church all its vitality. Just so long as its creed can create that, and fire individuals with a supreme contempt for their own happiness in comparison with the "cause of Christ," so long will the Church thrive, and so long ought it to thrive. There is no miracle about it; the secret is an open one. Whoever loves humanity above himself, even though it be in the ignorant way of a creed-worshipper, proves himself the moral superior of any man who (as a highly gifted thinker once phrased his confession to us) does not "care a damn for his fellow-citizens." Devotion to universal ends just as surely draws men together as gravitation aggregates atoms; and liberalism will create a host of social organizations the very instant that it becomes conscious of a universal common work to do, and responds worthily to the high obligations such a work imposes.

Now the work of the Liberal League is exactly such a work as that, for it grows necessarily out of the very heart of the liberal principle itself. It is essentially a public work, and will appeal to nobody whose soul is too small to take in the length, breadth, and depth of a vast public purpose. The separation of Church and State underlies every one of the special reforms about which men and women busy themselves to-day; not one of them can succeed, if the State is bound down by the creed or subject to the control of the Church. So long as the spirit of ecclesiasticism dominates the national life, just so long are human reason and conscience struggling in vain to find scope for their own free expansion—knocking their brains out against a prison-wall of adamant strength. The separation of Church and State, in the vast sense of the Liberal League movement, is the re-habilitation of the human soul itself—its restoration to the dignity of self-ownership; for no citizen of an enslaved State is free. If he fancies himself free merely because his own individual legs or arms

are not separately manacled, he only befools himself and excites the secret derision of his master, who is quite willing to humor his infatuation. Humanity will never know what life in liberty really is, until the chain of its great collective bondage is at last broken; and it is self-consecration to the task of abolishing this bondage, for the sake of the glorious life that shall ensue, which is the soul of the Liberal League movement. Depend upon it, whenever the inspiration of this mighty purpose has once fairly streamed into the now torpid liberalism of America, Liberal Leagues will start into existence like the leaves of the forest in the spring sunshine; for it is the veritable "enthusiasm of humanity."

Next week we shall publish with comments the plan of local organization which has been carefully matured, in order to be submitted to the rapidly increasing number of liberals who discern both the ideal greatness and the practical feasibility of the Liberal League. We believe that the combined simplicity and comprehensiveness of this plan will win for it many friends.

FREE POLITICS.

I see that one, at least, of the readers of THE INDEX objects to "political articles" and discontinues his paper in consequence of the recent political discussions in its columns. None of us, I suppose, would like to see our INDEX turned into a partisan political sheet; but that any one who has understood the principles of free religion should not perceive that those principles inevitably touch social and political problems, is indeed strange. In the times of the anti-slavery conflict, it was the most timid conservatism that used to cry out against the introduction of the subject of slavery into the pulpit, and into ecclesiastical gatherings, on the plea that religion was an affair by itself and had nothing to do with politics. But it was the glory of free and liberal thinkers that, as a class, they claimed that religion was not a mere matter for Sunday and the church and the pious newspaper, but something that concerned the daily conduct of men and women and that ought to enter into all the relations of human life, whether domestic, social, or political.

And that certainly seems a very narrow view both of religion and politics which does not see that they blend together in their practical results. "The separation of Church and State is a very different thing from the separation of religion, rightly understood, from political action. To separate Church and State is to emancipate the State and politics from the authority of certain instituted creeds and rites, in order that, so far as government is concerned, religion may be left a free matter of individual conviction and character; but the more religion becomes a matter of individual conviction and character, and the less it is bound by formal beliefs and observances—that is, the more free it becomes,—the more thoroughly will it enter into political motives and doings and identify itself with all the practical affairs of life. Authoritative religion means allegiance, first of all, to certain beliefs and forms and churches. Free religion means, first and always, with whatever beliefs and institutions it may be associated, practical allegiance to the highest ideal of living. Whatever else it may mean, it must mean at least the dutiful following of truth, the practical observance of reason, right, honor, justice, love, in all the relations of human society. One of the direct results of free religion, therefore, must be free politics."

And is anything more needed in our day for the purification and reform of politics, than just this free individual application of the highest principles of reason and right to political problems? The bane of our politics is partisanship; not necessarily party-organization, but *partisanship*,—the spirit that subordinates truth to party expediency, reason to passion, principle to policy, honesty and candor to party-victory. There is sectarianism, bigotry, intolerance, the pressure and yoke of authority in politics as in religion; and not a few of the evils that afflict modern politics spring from the fact that party is worshipped before political truth and integrity. We need the same freedom, the same emancipation of thought and reason, in respect to political action, that we claim and are striving for in religion.

And I know of no question on which free and rational thinking independent of all party bias or party claims to authority, is more needed than on this question of secular or sectarian schools—or the whole question of the relation of our government to religion which is so rapidly coming to the front in our politics. The politicians, it is evident, do not yet look at the question as anything but a party foot-ball.

They are studying only how to hit it so as to win for their side the most votes by it. But I have yet to see on the part of any politician, in Congress or out, any speech that indicated either a mental or moral appreciation of the nature of the question. They are indifferent to the question except as it affects party-supremacy. They manifest in the matter no mental conviction, no moral earnestness; and the very objectionable religious amendment to the national Constitution came very near passing the Senate recently, because of this subservience to party rather than to freethought and conscience.

For one, I am glad that the editor of THE INDEX is striving to arouse people to independent thought on this great question. He does not ask them to conform their action to his thinking, but to lift this question up out of the mire of party-policy into the clear atmosphere of truth and right. All things considered, I do not agree with his conclusion that it is wisest to make this the first issue in the coming Presidential vote, but I do agree with him as to the importance of an immediate rational consideration of the subject.

W. J. P.

"THE BIBLE AND WOMAN'S RIGHTS."

With great pleasure we give place to the following letter from Mrs. Stanton, in reply to Mr. Hoover's recent letter addressed to her:—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—At the inauguration of the woman's suffrage movement, the Bible was constantly quoted by clergymen in their pulpits, and in our conventions, against the demands for woman's equality.

Instead of being frightened with the unctuous "thus saith the Lord," echoed on every side, women began with new zeal and discrimination to study the Bible for themselves, and in due time were fully able to rout their opponents with their own weapons. At a woman's convention in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1853, the Bible argument was exhaustively discussed. William Lloyd Garrison, being one of the principal speakers, had shown conclusively that it could be fairly interpreted on the side of justice, liberty, and equality. A clergyman present became so exasperated with his calm, complacent exposition of Scripture truths, in opposition to his own narrow dogmatism, that, on meeting him in the street, he caught Mr. Garrison by the nose and shook him violently, much to his astonishment and discomfort.

In reading a letter in THE INDEX of Sept. 7, addressed to me, containing a column of quotations from our Protestant Scriptures to show the profound contempt all those writers had for women, accusing me of "groping in the ashes of the dead past, and throwing scraps to the Orthodox Cerberus," because, forsooth, I had claimed the Bible on the side of human equality, I felt, Mr. Editor, very much as I imagine Mr. Garrison did when seized by the Rev. Dr. Nevin, of Cleveland, Ohio; not that I was violently shaken by your correspondent in my opinions, for I still feel quite sure I am right.

The Bible, like our Declaration of Independence, United States Constitution, and system of jurisprudence, is susceptible of various interpretations, and if we yield our opponents what they claim, that all these authorities which bind the world's conscience establish man's right to tyrannize over woman, where can we rest the moral lever with which to lift the masses into higher creeds, and codes, and customs? I ponder the letter and breathe in the spirit of our famous Declaration of Independence, and feel that its broad principles can shield and protect the rights of all humanity.

It is vain that men tell us that "its authors had no thought of woman."

Those universal sentiments of liberty, echoed and re-echoed round the world, cannot be recalled,—their power revoked or limited to any one class of mankind. So men may quote and argue on certain sections and articles of the Constitution, to prove that "the fathers never meant liberty for women"; but in these first hours of inspiration, having achieved independence for themselves, they uttered sublime truths of universal application, that neither reason nor sophistry can explain away.

Again: the general principles of our system of jurisprudence provide absolute justice for all alike; and yet the special legislation for woman is cruel and oppressive.

The fact that one can quote volumes of unjust laws from the statute books of every State in the Union does not prove our theories of justice false and valueless, and make it our duty to throw Blackstone, Story, and Kent to the winds.

Even so with the Bibles of all nations; their fun-

damental principles and declarations are of universal import, just for all times and latitudes, and, rightly interpreted, are in favor of human freedom and equality. If isolated texts here and there are opposed to these underlying principles, we must let the texts go for what they were worth at the time uttered, and balance them with others directly opposed; but to repudiate the eternal truths that have been echoed through the ages in the Scriptures of all peoples and countries robs the reformer of one of the strong arms of power by which to move the masses. Your correspondent says: "The men that wrote the Bible never dreamed of woman's rights." Galatians iii., 28, proves the contrary: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus."

If there were nothing in the Bible but the Golden Rule, I should claim it on the side of woman suffrage. If Deborah and Huldah were the only characters to illustrate the spheres woman had the right to enter, I should consider Paul's strictures answered by their example. If I had the time and patience to copy them, I could double and triple the texts your correspondent quotes on the other side of the question. But it is as absurd to study the Bible with a concordance as it would be to read history with a dictionary, or explore the solar system with a microscope. But to give you one example of his quotations: For the creation of woman, he goes to Genesis ii., 21, where woman is formed from a rib. It is easily seen why men gravitate to that view of woman's advent into the world.

They think, no doubt, with Paul, that, as man was created first, as the woman was of the man, therefore her place should be one of subordination; forgetting that the historical fact has been reversed ever since, and the man has been of the woman. Therefore, according to that logic, his place should be one of subordination evermore.

However, this view of the creation of the race is regarded by all thinking minds as a mere allegory, opposed to common sense; and the more scientific view of the great event is given in Genesis i., verses 26, 27, 28. In this account man and woman are a simultaneous creation, invested with equal dominion over all living things. Here the first title-deed of this green earth was given alike to the sons and daughters of God, and not one word is said of man having dominion over woman. And after this crowning work was completed, and our progenitors placed, according to the record, in conditions of complete equality, the whole panorama of creation being critically and complacently surveyed, it was pronounced very good.

Respectfully yours,

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUE.

The subjoined letter written by a gentleman of large influence in political circles, whose intimate relation to leading Republicans all over the country entitles his views to the most careful consideration, will be sure to interest our readers. He takes a hopeful view of the probable action of Congress on the School Amendment, "when again introduced, as it will be at the coming session." But he rests his hope on a "faith" that "no effort will be spared upon the part of those who have this matter at heart to have it rightly and intelligently understood." The universal circulation of the "Patriotic Address" of the National Liberal League, and the increased circulation of THE INDEX by the efforts of its friends, is certainly an effective, and we believe the most effective, manner of securing the needed popular enlightenment on the great question now at issue. Without such popular enlightenment, the passage of a measure embodying the worst feature of the Christian Amendment next winter seems to us as certain as anything in the future can be. Can you serve your country in any wiser way?

The writer of this letter fully appreciates the situation; and it is encouraging to find that religious freedom and equality have at least one sincere friend among those whose opportunities of service are great. We share his hope that the needed "efforts" will be made, and trust that the staunch van-guard of INDEX readers will not be behindhand at this hour. One of them promptly ordered a thousand copies of the "Patriotic Address" at his own expense, and many others have also ordered large packages. The *Christian Statesman*, the Christian Amendment advocate and organ of the National Reform Association, is sent by the hundred to public men at the expense of friends of that nefarious project; why cannot disinterested liberals do as much for THE INDEX and the equal justice it represents? Every Congressman

should have this paper sent to him regularly, and every other man whose position or ability makes his influence felt. There is here a great opportunity of popular "enlightenment," and true it is, as the writer of this letter well points out, that on popular "enlightenment" alone must this great issue depend. But here is the letter:—

COLUMBUS, Ohio, Sept. 11, 1876.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT, Esq.:

Dear Sir,—The pressure of a large correspondence, and other responsibilities connected with the political campaign now in progress, has prevented upon my part a further interchange of views with you upon the status of the school question, as affected by the recent action of Congress. The gratifying news reached me on the way West, immediately after our hurried interview at Boston, that Congress had adjourned without the passage of the resolution for the submission of the Senate Amendment to the people. The duty now to be discharged is the enlightenment of public opinion, to the end that the amendment upon this subject, when again introduced, as it will be at the coming session of Congress, shall be all it ought to be.

My conviction is clear and decided that no amendment to the Constitution will ever receive the sanction of Congress, which is in any respect unjust, unfair, or reactionary in the estimation of any portion of our people, however limited their number. I have an abiding faith upon this point, and I take occasion to express it here, for mutual encouragement. It is a faith, however, which, as I am obliged to confess, rests largely upon the fact that no effort will be spared upon the part of those who have this matter at heart to have it rightly and intelligently understood by all who are called upon to act with reference to it, by the members of Congress themselves, and by influential and controlling minds among their constituents throughout the country.

It is evident from the debate upon the subject in the Senate, that the main objectionable feature of the proposed amendment—serious, radical, and untrue to the spirit of the Constitution as it was—escaped attention. Wide-ranging, elaborate, and earnest as the discussion was (leading Senators of both political parties taking part in it repeatedly), the only allusion to the question of the Bible in the schools was an inquiry as to what Bible the proviso clause contemplated, and the reply that it might be indifferently the Protestant or the Douay version; and a statement that the clause was only negative and non-prohibitory in its effect. It is not at all satisfactory to say that there was evidently a want of political discernment on the part of the Senate, as to the all-important principle involved in this proviso. Be this as it may, the fact is beyond question that a marked injustice to all among us who do not derive their religious faith from the teachings of either of the sources referred to was only obstructed and prevented by the votes of Senators who not only voted with no such purpose as this in view, but whose political affiliations, and in some instances whose direct and most earnest sympathies, are all with those who are strenuously opposed to all schools in which their own religious faith is not taught.

With respect to the position of the Republican members of the Senate upon the question it is not a little surprising that this particular point was so entirely overlooked.

I am well-satisfied that the general sentiment of Republicans throughout the country is decidedly in favor of an amendment that shall be open to no objection on this score by any one. This is the only course that is consistent with the nature of the interest in the subject of our public schools, which has always characterized the Republican party. With a very earnest desire that an amendment may be so framed that it shall be free from every reasonable objection whatever, I have embraced every proper opportunity which has offered since the adjournment of Congress to present the subject for the consideration of our leading Republicans residing in various parts of the country, and I have not met as yet any one whose preference is not in favor of an amendment strictly of this description.

I trust, when the occasion recurs for Congressional action upon the subject, we shall have such action as will fully accord with the wise and just tolerance and the enlightened spirit of absolute impartiality with which the Constitution itself was established by our forefathers, and with which its integrity has hitherto sacredly been maintained by those who have undertaken to enlarge or to define more clearly its provisions.

Very truly,

P. S.—My hasty note is not written "for THE IN-

dex"; but, if all or any portion of it will subserve the good cause by insertion, do not hesitate to make such use of it as you think best, withholding the name of the writer, as is my preference under present circumstances.

Reading yesterday the proceedings of the Ninth Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association, I was impressed with the singular completeness and beauty of statement with which the Secretary, in two brief, concise paragraphs, on pages 14 and 15, under the heading "Breadth of the Association," tells the whole story of the purpose of the Association. I read and re-read it, and read it again to my wife. The question is often asked by letters of inquiry to THE INDEX, and often ably answered—"What is the object of the Association? What do you propose to accomplish by its instrumentalities?" I am inclined to make the suggestion to you to place these two paragraphs, as a standing answer to the inquiry, in every number of THE INDEX, on its first page, as a preface or introduction to its contents.

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY R. C.

From every direction come gratifying reports of increased business activity, and the monotonous wall of "hard times" appears to be almost stilled. This increased activity, moreover, is not a result of speculation, nor is it the feverish result of additional inflation, but arises from the normal operation of the laws of trade. In many departments, the immense over-production of stock, which was the principal cause of the long depression following the panic, has been consumed, and there is now, therefore, a healthful demand for reproduction. In consequence of this demand, wool, for instance, has advanced in price, recently, nearly twenty-five per cent.; many cotton and woollen mills, long silent, are again in operation; and some of the Eastern companies have already added ten per cent. to the wages of operatives. Coal has not risen in price, and another auction sale of one hundred thousand tons is announced for the present week. Within a very few days, also, a wonderful change has taken place in the business of producing crude petroleum. Production for a long time past has not been equal to consumption, and the call for increased production has occasioned the starting of an extraordinary number of new wells, and the pumping of old wells to their fullest capacity. The sudden rise in the price of crude oil has placed an unexpected fortune in the pockets of many persons. It is evident, moreover, that England will need all the wheat we may be willing to spare, and a large export trade is confidently anticipated. The crop of Indian corn is large and excellent in all parts of the country. Altogether, therefore, there is abundant reason for believing that the long and painful period of business depression has come to an end, and although its effects will not immediately disappear, they will cease to seem omnipresent and irremediable.

Hell Gate is, as is well known, the name of a portion of the East River alongside of the upper part of New York Island, or, more properly, of a dangerous portion of the passage between the East River and Long Island Sound. The navigation of this channel has been much improved during recent years, but there still remained a bad ledge of rocks, mostly under water, stretching from Astoria on Long Island out toward the New York shore. For seven years General Newton has now been engaged in an attempt to dispose of this ledge of rock by blowing it up. To effect this purpose a shaft was sunk into the ledge (of hard gneiss rock), and from this shaft radiated numerous tunnels, each tunnel being fourteen feet in width and from seven to twenty-six feet in depth. These tunnels were connected by galleries, and these by other cross-galleries, until at last there was left only an immense excavation covered by a roof of rock ten feet in thickness and nearly three acres in extent, the roof being upheld by something less than two hundred pillars of rock. Above the roof of rock was a depth of water varying from nothing, or almost nothing, to over twenty feet. Into the excavation were closely packed, in numerous distinct charges, over twenty-six tons, or fifty-three thousand pounds, of preparations of nitro-glycerine, in the forms of dynamite, red-rock, and vulcan powder. All the charges were connected by wires with an electric battery; water was let into the excavation; and public notice given that this fearful mass of nitro-glycerine would be exploded on Sunday, the 24th instant, at precisely 2.50 o'clock, the hour of high tide. No such explosion, or anything analogous thereto, had taken place in the history of the world, and we may well believe that throughout this country, as well as in Europe, news of the result was awaited with intense interest. Throughout New York City deep anxiety was added to the feeling of interest, many dismal prophets having predicted a terrible destruction of life and property. The result of the explosion, however, was exactly in accordance with the predictions of those having the affair in charge. The force of the nitro-glycerine in relation to the superincumbent mass of rock and water was calculated with remarkable precision, and the work of seven years became in an instant a wonderful success. General Newton has become the hero of the hour.

Theological bigots have a way of making their appearances at unexpected times and places, but no one could have imagined, in advance of the fact, that the explosion at Hell Gate could have been made an

occasion for a ridiculous exhibition of religious narrowness. Among the celebrities of New York is the Hon. William E. Dodge, a wealthy iron-merchant, of highest respectability, an honorable and well-meaning man, the pet of ministers and sentimental reformers, and President, we believe, of the International Convention of Evangelical Christians. With all his excellencies, Mr. Dodge may be described as a besotted Christian, whose bigotry led him to write an extremely foolish letter to General Newton protesting against the firing of the mine on Sunday as an unnecessary "desecration of the Sabbath." But for once the bigot found his match, as appears from the following well-merited letter:—

"HALLETT'S POINT, Sept. 28.

"MR. WILLIAM E. DODGE:

"Sir,—I received a communication from you, dated Sept. 22, in which you decline an alleged invitation from me to witness the explosion at Hell Gate, on Sunday, the 24th inst. As you take a great deal of pains to go out of your way to violate the common courtesies of social intercourse, I take this occasion to inform you that I did not invite you, nor even know of your invitation until the receipt of your refusal of acceptance. The truth is, I left the matter of invitation to the Chamber of Commerce and to Lieutenant Willard, United States Engineer, with instructions to invite a certain number of gentlemen. I regret to find that in one case he has made a mistake.

"Your obedient servant,

"JOHN NEWTON.

"Lieut. Col. Engineer."

Since the death of Custer, the campaign against the Indians, as we have before intimated, has been a decided, and, as it appears at this distance, a very unnecessary failure. With whom the responsibility rests—with Generals Terry and Crook, or with their superior, General Sherman, or with the government at Washington—we do not know, but the failure is none the less a shameful one. The Indian warriors, some of them in their war paint and with defiant speech, are now returning to the various agencies, and although they are formally disarmed and made prisoners, they will of course be fed and sheltered during the winter, and put in good condition for another massacre next spring. Meanwhile another Indian uprising is threatened on our Oregon frontier, and a commission has concluded the farce of a new treaty with the Ogallalla and Brule Sioux, the Cheyennes and Arapahoes at the Red Cloud Agency. The speeches made upon the occasion of signing the new treaty by Young-Man-Afraid, and Swift-Bear, and Little-Wound, and Red-Dog, and Big-Foot, and other chiefs with the absurd names which play so important a part in "dime" novels, are enough to convince any sane person of the utter folly of the whole proceeding. Each one signed evidently with full belief that thereby his extravagant demands upon the Great Father would be complied with, and ready, of course, to take the scalp of the first white man he may meet when assured that his unreasonable desires are not likely to be satisfied.

Since the letters of Mr. Lewis H. Morgan upon the Indian Question, a brief abstract of which we gave in these columns, other letters upon the same subject have been written by Bishop Whipple, General M. A. Miles, and Mr. Thomas Sturgis. From these letters it is evident that the country does not lack able and faithful men who thoroughly understand the Indians and the method of treatment which should be applied to them. There is a remarkable unanimity in the letters of these independent observers with regard to what should be done with the Indians, as well as with regard to the fatality and wickedness of our present methods of treatment. Bishop Whipple states that the present cost of each Indian scalp is \$500,000, and the lives of ten soldiers. Mr. Sturgis writes that "the policy that places two bodies of men in the field against each other, equipped by the same power, their rifles and ammunition supplied by the same work-shops, their provisions and blankets stamped by the same inspector, . . . is of so puerile and suicidal a nature as to be rejected by any reasoning mind of whatever shade of pro-Indian or anti-Indian feeling. The Indian is not a ward to be consulted, a child open to good influences, to be gently led aright; but a lunatic, whose impulse is dangerous, and who must be restrained, but whose cure is possible, . . . if he be not allowed, by his own violence, to destroy himself and to injure us in the process." Despite the rant of politicians like Logan, and the vapors of sentimentalists like Seelye, the Indian should be made, first, to comprehend fully that which at present he has no belief in at all, namely, the overwhelming power of the government. Then should follow a strict enforcement of the reservation system, with such modifications as may be necessary to convert the Indian gradually into a stock-raising, or pastoral, or agricultural, or factory-working being. Panics, and rifles, and ammunition should be taken away and positively forbidden them, being dangerous articles for which they have no use whatever, their living being assured by government; and, at the same time, the strictest regard for law and order should be persistently inculcated. In this, or some analogous manner, the Indian might at last be changed from a disgusting and dangerous savage into a decent and self-supporting and useful being. It is evident, at once, that this long-delayed and urgently important work cannot be done by those now having the Indian in charge. The first step must be the formation of a new Indian Department, or the transfer of the present Indian Bureau to the educated and accountable officers of the War Department.

Judge Sinnott has written, upon request of Mr. Abram S. Hewitt, a long and detailed reply to the

income-tax charges of the *Times* against Mr. Tilden. As Judge Sinnott was the confidential law clerk of Tilden during the whole period covered by the income-tax law, this reply may be accepted as that of Mr. Tilden himself. The *Times*' statement consisted of thirteen distinct items, which are taken up in order and considered by Judge Sinnott, who declares that twelve of the thirteen "are wholly or mainly fictitious." The reply of Sinnott will be accepted as conclusive by the friends of Tilden, and will be refused as inconclusive by those opposed to him. The *Times*, in its rejoinder, withdraws a few of the items, reiterates the larger number, and adds one more of importance, declaring that Tilden "has attempted to conceal perjury by falsehood, and to hide fraud by the arts of the pettifogger and shyster." Without going to the extreme of the *Times*, it must be admitted that Sinnott's explanation is not thoroughly satisfactory; but perhaps the admission should also be made that from the complicated nature of Mr. Tilden's business, a thoroughly satisfactory explanation could not readily be furnished. We believe, however, that a much better one could be made (on the supposition of Mr. Tilden's innocence) than any yet given, and regret that it does not appear to be forthcoming.

The condition of affairs in Serbia and Turkey is by no means encouraging. The soldiers of Tchernajeff's army have taken advantage of the temporary cessation of hostilities to proclaim Prince Milan King of Serbia, a defiant act which, under the circumstances, can have no good effect. Mr. Disraeli, in defending the course of the English Government with reference to Turkey, states that "Serbia in its relation with the Porte has violated every principle of honor and morality." After speaking of what has been done, he declares that the next step is to settle the relations of the Porte with its Christian subjects, and not attempt to drive the Turks out of Europe, which would lead to a general European war. It is evident that Serbia does not really wish for peace, but desires to maintain her ground, if possible, long enough to bring about the interference of other nations, hoping thus to gain her independence. Were it not for the Bulgarian atrocities, however, it is difficult to understand how any nation could find a pretext for interfering with Turkey in her punishment of Serbia. But these atrocities have been so shocking that sympathy has been instinctively elected for the Servians who might be exposed to similar barbarities. The Porte is earnestly urged by the powers to proclaim a formal armistice to succeed the temporary truce, but this he has thus far declined to do, unless the powers will first express some opinion upon his propositions for peace, which the powers have unanimously declined to do, and, as we write, the prospect for peace is a gloomy one. In the meantime, Russian soldiers and officers continue to enter the Servian army in large numbers, the plague is reported to have broken out among the Turks, and before this reaches our readers, some important event, at present beyond conjecture, may already have taken place.

Communications.

A SHORT METHOD WITH THE INFALLIBILITY OF THE POPE.

Doubtless, when the Pope is truly fulfilling the function of Supreme Pontifex, of Pontifex Maximus, he is infallible; for it is only when he makes no mistakes that he is fulfilling that function. So every other man, when doing rightly his supreme *devoir*, is infallible, for the same reason. It is only when a man is off the tripod that he makes mistakes, because to make mistakes is to be off the tripod.

STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

CATHOLICS AND DEMOCRATS.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Will you permit a correction of a misstatement of my position on the Catholic question, in your comments on my letter in your issue of Sept. 14th, which might mislead those who did not read, or do not remember, our original discussion?

I have never denied that the Democrats held certain "relations" to the Catholics in this country which are not held by the Republicans; or, in other words, that a large majority of Catholic voters side with the Democratic party. On the contrary, I admitted that fact in my earliest letters on the Ohio contest. What I did deny, and still deny, is that this "relation" between Catholics and the Democratic party is likely to influence that great party in favor of a division of the school-fund, or in favor of any policy dangerous to the principle of complete religious freedom. The Catholics naturally side with a party which is willing to treat them fairly and justly, instead of trusting a party which, as in Ohio, is dominated by a bigoted Orthodox Protestant influence, which insists on retaining the Protestant Bible in the public schools, and nominates for President a man pledged to sustain and perpetuate this injustice. The bigoted bias of General Hayes is also indicated by the boasting announcement made by his friends that "he never visited a theatre in his life."

That I am not alone in my view of the Catholic question, I call to witness a former editorial contributor of THE INDEX, Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson, whose views I find thus stated over his well-known initials:—

"I must say again what I have long said, that I believe our liberals are making a serious mistake in policy, in leading themselves to revive the vehement anti-Catholic agitation of twenty years ago. At pres-

ent, the Catholics, like the Jews, are virtually on our side, because their main claim is, like ours, to be let alone, and not have their children compelled to take part in Protestant religious services against their will. Grant that the Catholic Church would, if it had the power, demand much more than this. As a matter of fact, there is not the slightest chance of its having the power; so strong and permanent is the anti-Catholic prejudice that any ill designs of that Church are sure, at any time, to be defeated by being unmasked. That question will take care of itself. For liberals to join in the 'No Popery' excitement is simply to throw the country back on the old Protestant ground—"the Bible in the schools,"—as a defensive measure against the very dangers the liberals have been so ardently depicting. It is in precisely this way that the 'Religious Amendment' became transformed; it was brought in under a false cry, the 'No Popery' cry; and it presently took a form that alarmed its inventors. I do not know that the 'Christian Amendment' people had much to do with this; if they did, they were wise in their generation. They must have smiled to see liberals aiding in their work, by becoming illiberal against the Roman Catholic Church, and so bringing on a battle under the old flag and on the old ground."

I am certain that we all earnestly desire the same end, the absolute secularization of the government in all its branches; thereby rendering it, not godless as our opponents falsely assert, but more truly godly, or godlike, by removing out of the way the petty little personal and sectarian images and definitions of Deity which each sect sets up, and would command us all to bow down and worship. Wherein we differ is simply in respect to the best, fairest, and speediest means of securing this end. Perhaps only the event can determine which of us is right. I am certainly willing to abide by the event. I submit, however, that it is not a matter of trivial importance that we adopt the right way, and pursue our object steadfastly to the speediest possible conclusion. Therefore I object to the snap-judgment that I am "enamored of an unreal phantasm," that I "delude myself," or that I "fondly imagine" things that are not. Let us fairly and honestly discuss the question, and let the event determine. I submit that the action of the Senate on the school amendment, its indorsement by the New York Republican convention and those of other States, and the nomination of Hayes, are significant indications of the correctness of my view.

You say that I do not "read THE INDEX aright" when I insinuate that you "denounce unjustly all Democrats and all Catholics." Yet in the very same paragraph you assume to declare that "there is no such thing as liberal Catholicism. There are liberals at heart (more or less) who stay nominally in the Church; but they are not Catholics, and have no influence whatever on the course pursued by the Church."

I submit, in reply, that these "liberals at heart" who "stay nominally in the Church" still partake of its communion, and themselves claim to be Catholics. No power in the Church assumes to excommunicate them for their liberal views. By what authority, then, does the editor of THE INDEX assume to do so? To attempt an escape from the charge that you "denounce all Catholics unjustly" on such a plea seems to me a quibble unworthy your usual fair and logical treatment of a question.

I am glad you intend to cast a "conscience vote" for President. But the query suggests itself, How is this to be done? We cannot vote for President directly; only through casting our votes for Presidential electors. Will the editor of THE INDEX meet in convention and nominate a full set of electors for Massachusetts, and vote for them? I, too, desire to cast a "conscience vote." If none other were cast by any citizen, the country would be the better for it.

I am no partisan defender of the Democrats. Nothing can exceed the contempt which I feel for the manner in which the Democratic newspapers have attacked our friend Colonel Ingersoll for his religious views. Though not sympathizing with his extreme partisan defence of the Republican party, or his support of Hayes, I attended his recent meeting at Cooper Union, New York, purely out of condemnation for this spirit of religious bigotry. His brave words for religious liberty were but coldly received; while his claim that the Republican party had done "no act for which we need be ashamed—not one,—not one," was applauded to the echo. Surely, the Democrats do not lack arguments in reply to his indiscriminate laudation of the party in power, that they need to descend to petty and contemptible appeals to religious prejudice and bigotry.

Sympathizing with you heartily in all attempts to weaken the allegiance of liberals to any political party whose principles or candidates are opposed to religious freedom and a secular government,

I am yours faithfully,

LEWIS G. JAMES.

NEW YORK, Sept. 18, 1876.

[1. We are sorry to have misunderstood Mr. James, if we did so. We supposed he referred to "relations" between the Democratic party and the Catholic Church; as he reduces them now to the mere fact that "a large majority of Catholic voters side with the Democratic party," we see that he does not admit any "relations" at all between the party and the Church as such. Nevertheless, such relations exist whenever Catholic priests, as in New Jersey, instruct their flock to vote the Democratic ticket, or whenever Democratic politicians, as in New York, secure sectarian appropriations for Catholic institutions out of the public treasury. "The Catholics

naturally side with a party which is willing to"—make such appropriations.

2. The quotation from Colonel Higginson is wholly irrelevant. We know of no such "liberals" as he describes, or such as are doing the bad things he points out. They may exist—but we suspect they exist only in his own imagination. If he refers to THE INDEX, he makes an inexcusable misrepresentation; and we by no means assume that. To resist the Catholic attack on the schools is anything but attempting to "revive the vehement anti-Catholic agitation of twenty years ago"; and we credit Colonel Higginson with too much perspicacity to suppose him capable of any such blunder as confounding things so dissimilar.

3. Mr. James ought frankly to withdraw his charge that we "unjustly denounce all Catholics." He tries to sustain it, on the contrary, by quoting our statement that "there is no such thing as Liberal Catholicism." Now we respect all Catholics who, while they remain in the Church, believe the creed and obey the laws of the Church; and, strongly as we oppose the policy on the school question to which their Church commits them, we never "denounced" them at all. Let Mr. James cite, if he can, some passage in which we have "denounced all Catholics," or else recall candidly his hasty charge. We have not even "denounced," though we do not greatly respect, the few Catholics who evade the creed and laws of their Church by coquetting with liberalism; but even if we had "denounced" them, that is not "denouncing all Catholics." If Mr. James considers this a "quibble," we suspect that his readers will apply that word to his own reiterated, but unsubstantiated, charge. The talk about "excommunication" has nothing to do with the question.

4. How we are to "cast a conscience vote" is a matter we reserve for our private decision. We only say that we shall not vote for such candidates as we believe to be opposed to State Secularization.—ED.]

"THE WORLD'S SAGES, INFIDELS AND THINKERS."

This is the title of a new and very valuable biographical compilation which Mr. D. M. Bennett, the indefatigable publisher of the *Truth Seeker*, has just presented to the radicals of America. It is a very respectable volume of one thousand and forty-eight pages, and contains biographical sketches of the "leading philosophers, teachers, reformers, innovators, founders of new schools of thought, eminent scientists, etc." divided into four parts. The first Part, "from Mena to Jesus," treats of the ancient reformers and philosophers; we have here brief accounts—yet containing all the essential facts and even extracts and passages from their writings—of such great characters as Buddha, Confucius, Solon, Socrates, Plato, Diogenes, Aristotle, Cicero, Virgil, Seneca, and others. The second Part comprises the epoch "from Jesus to Thomas Paine," and here we meet the Nazarene innovator, Plutarch, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, Mohammed, Roger Bacon, Giordano Bruno, Francis Bacon, Shakespeare, Descartes, Spinoza, Newton, Leibnitz, Voltaire, Franklin, Rousseau, d'Holbach, d'Alembert, Kant, Priestley, Gibbon, and many other great thinkers. We pass on to Part three, the period "from Paine to Lord Amberley," and from the total number of (seventy) sketches, we may mention those of Thomas Paine, Herschel, Ethan Allen, Thomas Jefferson, Goethe, Laplace, Volney, Mary Wollstonecraft, Saint Simon, Madame de Staël, Schelling, Hegel, Robert Owen, Fourier, Mary Somerville, Abner Kneeland, Frances Wright, Auguste Comte, Josiah Warren, Heinrich Heine, Harriet Martineau, George Sand, Feuerbach, John Stuart Mill, David F. Strauss, Maxmill, Margaret Fuller, Charles Sumner, Horace Greeley, Buckle, Austin Holyoake, Winwood Reade. Part four introduces us to the "living characters," and here we have the life-ports of ninety-six eminent men and women who, when the book was published in August, 1876, were still among the living. Some may, perhaps, find fault with the arrangement; we should have liked a complete, alphabetically-arranged index, in addition to the table of contents, but as the author begs his readers to exercise leniency, since the work is really the result of only four months' labor, we may expect that in another edition this matter will be attended to. The fourth Part would have been more complete if it contained, for instance, sketches of the following eminent persons, also: Schünemann-Pott, Carl Schurz, O. B. Frothingham, Rabbi Wise, and others; and in Part three we miss the names of Schopenhauer, Bruno Bauer, Samuel Ludwig, Gerrit Smith. Yet, all in all, the selections have been judiciously made, and the labor of compiling the same was evidently a labor of love. Very interesting to many readers will be the encouraging discovery to find so many illustrious co-workers in the ranks of progressive thinkers, so many noble souls who, sacrificing comfort and following the dictates of their consciences, have dared to be true to themselves!

In speaking of B. F. Underwood, the author says truly: "It was not a rose-straw path he had chosen. How hard he found it for a year or two, no one but himself probably knows. But we can guess what it must have been. To stand up firmly but still respectfully against superstition, bigotry, and religious zeal; to conquer in the popular mind the horror raised in

it by the word infidel; to be courteous and calm under insulting and furious religious rant; to enforce a hearing in the most untoward localities by a persistent, respectful manner, but indomitable will; to be 'instant in season and out of season,' travelling long distances between appointments in inclement weather, at whatever pecuniary loss to himself,—these are but a few of the many hard things he had to do. But he did them all without a murmur or complaint, and failed not; and to-day he finds himself able to obtain a respectful and earnest hearing before large audiences wherever his appointments take him; and his appointments have already included nearly every State from Maine to Oregon. The leading dailies of the large cities no longer sneer at infidelity and materialism, but give his lectures large space and respectful mention, often publishing the 'infidel's' lecture entire."

We believe every reader of our INDEX will approve of Mr. Bennett's dictum when he says (page 1025): "Like all radical and reform journals, THE INDEX has had its troubles and difficulties, but it has performed its duty faithfully; it is adding materially to the advancement of Radicalism in America. It fills a niche in the great public field of thought which, perhaps, no other paper has so long and so ably filled. It has been the organ of what is called the Free Religious movement; an organization whose religion is entirely free from supernaturalism and superstition of all kinds. It is radicalism in the freest sense of the term."

HUGO ANDRIESEN.

THE DIFFERENCE.

PASSAIC, N. J., Sept. 12, 1876.

The following extract from Col. Ingersoll's speech at the Cooper Union is from the New York Times of this date:—

"I want free schools, and I want them divorced from sectarian influence. [Tremendous applause and cheers.] I want every school-house to be a true temple of science, in which shall be taught the laws of Nature, in which the children shall be taught actual facts; and I don't want that school-house touched, or that institute of science touched, by any superstition whatever. [Applause.] Leave religion with the Church, with the family, and, more than all, leave religion with each individual heart and man. Let every man be his own bishop, let every man be his own pope, let every man do his own thinking, let every man have a brain of his own, let every man have a heart and conscience of his own."

With the above we may all heartily agree; yet Col. Ingersoll, no doubt, wishes the schools non-sectarian with the Bible out, and the average Republican wishes them non-sectarian with the Bible in. Is not the conflict between the two ideas irrepressible?

MERCHANDISE OF SOULS.

The Bishop of Peterborough, in describing the abuses of the law of church patronage, added a statement of fact as to the working of those laws for which he could personally vouch. Since he had been a bishop he had been called upon to institute in that diocese four clergymen, of whom one was paralytic, another was so aged and infirm that, on the ground of his age and infirmity, he asked for leave of perpetual absence from the important parish to which he (the bishop) had just been compelled to institute him; a third was a reclaimed drunkard who was presented to a benefice situated only a few miles from the scene of his former intemperance where the scandal of it was, unhappily, notorious; the fourth—he could hardly bring himself to say it, but things had come to such a pass that he was resolved that there should be no further concealment—the fourth had resigned a public office that he had formerly held sooner than face an investigation into a charge of the most horrible immorality, the truth of which he did not dare to deny. In each of these cases the facts were perfectly well known to the respective patrons. As regarded every one of these he was legally advised that he had no power to refuse institutions; and as regarded the last, it was simply the fact that the man to whom, at the risk and under the threat of a lawsuit, he refused institution, could the next day have bought, across a counter in London, with the same ease and with more secrecy than he could have bought a railway ticket, a cure of souls in the shape of a donative on which he might have at once entered without any human being having the right to ask him so much as a single question. Shocked at such facts as these, and knowing they were by no means solitary ones in the Church, he asked for a committee of the House of Lords to investigate the state of the law which allowed of it; he embodied in the bill those reforms which this committee declared on evidence to be really necessary, and he was forthwith greeted with a cry of horror and condemnation, as if he had committed an act of sacrilege.—*Leisure Hours for July, 1876: "Varieties,"* p. 478.

A PROMINENT clergyman of Brooklyn, while taking one of a course of boxing lessons for exercise received what the boys call "a jolly black eye." On Sunday he chose his text from Timothy, fourth chapter, seventh verse: "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course."

DURING a recent examination of a class of youngsters in one of the Chemung County schools, the teacher asked: "What is a monarchy?" and was immediately answered by a bright, little, eight-year-old boy: "A country governed by a king." "Who would rule if the king should die?" "The queen." "And if the queen should die, who then would be ruler?" "The jack."

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WILLIAM H. SPENCER, Sparta, Wis.

MRS. E. D. CHENEY, Jamaica Plain, Mass.

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Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America—that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country,—is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large." And later still: "read the numbers of your INDEX with 'increasing interest.'"

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WM. J. POTTER Sec. F. R. A.

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INDEX ASSOCIATION,

AT

No. 231 Washington Street, Boston.

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FRANCIS KILLINGWOOD ABBOT.

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O. B. FROTHINGHAM, New York City.
W. J. POTTER, New Bedford, Mass.
W. H. SPENCER, Sparta, Wis.
MRS. E. D. CHENEY, Jamaica Plain, Mass.
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To increase general intelligence with respect to religion;

To foster a nobler spirit and quicken a higher purpose, both in society and in the individual;

To substitute knowledge for ignorance, right for wrong, truth for superstition, freedom for slavery, character for creed, catholicity for bigotry, love for hate, humanitarianism for sectarianism, devotion to universal ends for absorption in selfish schemes.

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ARTICLE II.—The general object of the National Liberal League shall be to accomplish the TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE: to the end that equal rights in religion, genuine morality in politics, and freedom, virtue, and brotherhood in all human life, may be established, protected, and perpetuated.

MEMBERSHIP.

ARTICLE IV.—Any person who shall pay one dollar into the treasury shall be entitled to a certificate, signed by the President and Secretary, as an annual member of the National Liberal League. Any person who shall pay twenty-five dollars or more into the treasury shall be entitled to a similar certificate as a life-member. All the persons present as members at the Centennial Congress of Liberals, at which this Constitution was adopted, are hereby declared permanent or charter-members of the National Liberal League.

ARTICLE V.—All charter-members and life-members of the National Liberal League, and all duly accredited delegates from local auxiliary Liberal Leagues organized in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution, shall be entitled to seats and votes in the Annual Congress. Annual members of the National Liberal League shall be entitled to seat, but not to votes, in the Annual Congress.

LOCAL AUXILIARY LIBERAL LEAGUES.

ARTICLE XIII.—The Board of Directors shall have authority, as often as they receive a written application signed by ten or more persons and accompanied by ten dollars, to issue a charter for the formation of a local auxiliary Liberal League.

ARTICLE XV.—Local auxiliary Liberal Leagues organized under charters issued by the Board of Directors shall be absolutely independent in the administration of their own local affairs. The effect of their charters shall be simply to unite them in cordial fellowship and efficient co-operation of the freest kind with the National Liberal League and with other local Leagues. All votes of the Annual Congress, and all communications of the Board of Directors, shall possess no more authority or influence over them than lies in the intrinsic wisdom of the words themselves.

ARTICLE XVI.—Every local auxiliary Liberal League organized in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution shall be entitled to send its President and Secretary and three other members as delegates to the Annual Congress.

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In the country unite without delay to forward their

APPLICATION FOR A CHARTER

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Before New Year, let a

Thousand Liberal Leagues

be thoroughly organized and actively at work for the adoption of the

Religious Freedom Amendment

to the United States Constitution. The

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party are scheming and laboring more busily than ever for the adoption of their

Christian Amendment,

which would ultimately DISFRANCHISE and DISQUALIFY FOR OFFICE every honest Liberal in the land, and trample under foot the people's most sacred rights of conscience. It is time to rouse the people to an effective defence of their religious liberty, and the Liberal Leagues must do it.

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THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.
2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.
3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.
4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.
5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.
6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.
7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."
8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.
9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.
10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.
11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.
12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practicing the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.
13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

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PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body, of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

CAN YOU not secure one new subscriber for THE INDEX before its next issue?

THE SPANISH Catholic clergy are agitating for the suppression of all Protestant schools.

CHARLES ELLIS will lecture on "Death" at Paine Hall next Sunday forenoon. The public are invited.

MR. FROTHINGHAM has returned from Europe with greatly improved health, as multitudes will rejoice to hear.

IT IS DENIED that Governor Hayes is a member of the American Alliance, as appears from a communication on another page. We hope sincerely that the denial is correct.

THE CHURCH was alarmed lest the great Hell-Gate explosion on Sunday should destroy her. Why did she not remember the Scripture promise that "the gates of hell shall not prevail against her"?

MRS. WOODHULL was denied the privilege of speaking last Sunday in Boston in any hall but Paine Hall. It was a shameful denial, whatever she might have to say. Where speech is free, truth only can hold its own. Boston tolerates too many iniquities to be so virtuous all at once. "Methinks she doth protest too much."

WHO is it that mends the Sabbath so industriously? Every week somebody breaks it all to pieces, yet it always gets mended in season for the next performance. It "comes up smiling" after every mauling. President Grant broke it, General Sherman broke it, Secretary Taft broke it, General Newton broke it (with a terrific crash); and now the pet of Orthodoxy, General Hawley, has been breaking it for the second time. We are getting worried over the conundrum—"who does the tinkering?"

HON. BENJAMIN RODMAN, of New Bedford, died on September 29, at the age of over eighty-one years. He was one of the earliest, most interested, and most generous friends of THE INDEX, and his memory will be tenderly cherished by one who last May was welcomed to his charming home with a hospitality never to be forgotten. Bred a Quaker, he was a radical by nature and by mature conviction, and possessed a mind and character of great force, combined with a geniality and kindness that were irresistibly attractive. Truly has it been said that free religion has lost in him "one of its oldest and best friends."

JAMES LICK, the philanthropist and one of the Vice-Presidents of the National Liberal League, died

at San Francisco, Sunday, Oct. 1, at the age of eighty years. He was born at Fredericksburg, Pa., Aug. 26, 1796, spent the years from 1821 to 1847 in commercial pursuits in South America, and afterwards accumulated the bulk of his large fortune in California. His donation to Paine Hall in this city is well known, as well as his conveyance in 1874 of \$2,000,000 to trustees for benevolent and scientific purposes—a trust subsequently revoked in order to be carried out more in accordance with his own ideas. The provisions of his will are not made public at this writing, but it is hoped that he did not abandon his philanthropic objects.

REV. S. W. SAMPLE, of Jacksonville, Illinois, whose influence had much to do with initiating the new Liberal League in that flourishing place, has published in the Jacksonville Daily Courier of September 11, 12, and 13, a very comprehensive and thrillingly earnest discourse on "The Defeated Constitutional Amendment," delivered before the Independent Religious Society. He depicts the situation very ably and thoroughly, and sums it up with great terseness in the words: "That amendment was defeated, not conquered." It is in the highest degree encouraging to us, in our too frequent disheartened moments, to catch the echoes of some eloquent voice like this, proclaiming aloud the same great principles which THE INDEX is resolved to labor for to the last. May the voices multiply and the echoes fill the air!

A NEW Liberal League has been recently formed in Houston, Texas. Mr. M. O'Regan, the Corresponding Secretary, writes: "It gives me great pleasure to report to you the formation of a Liberal League in this city, modelled after the pattern of the National Liberal League. . . . The subject of organization has been for a long time a matter of serious consideration; its desirability and necessity were felt, but many were timid and backward. The organization of the National Liberal League in Philadelphia has been the signal for general action, and this city cheerfully responds and falls into line." The first formal meeting was held on August 13, and, on August 20, the following officers were elected: Dr. J. J. Burroughs, President; Mr. Z. Emmich, Vice-President; Mr. T. C. Cornet, Recording Secretary; Mr. M. O'Regan, Corresponding Secretary; Mr. Charles Warnecke, Treasurer. The League has just ordered five hundred copies of the "Patriotic Address," and promises to be a vigorous and energetic organization.

A CORRESPONDENT inquires whether the National Liberal League, without holding a special convention, cannot suggest Presidential electors for each State who are known to be uncompromising friends of State Secularization. The plan is hardly feasible, partly because the National League could not wisely select the names, partly because not enough voters would regard the suggestion even if it could, and partly because the people of each State should nominate their own electors. It would be well for local Leagues to draw up lists of electors for their own neighborhoods, provided they are sufficiently in earnest. Before another four years are over, multitudes will do this. At present, the only way to "cast a conscience vote" on this issue may possibly be for the individual voter to draw up his own list of electors, and write on his ballot the reasons why he votes for them. There are undoubtedly some who will do this, and such votes will not be wholly "thrown away," as politicians like to assert. There are undoubtedly others who will vote under protest for one of the three prominent candidates. Others still, seeing no use in voting, will refrain from voting altogether. All that is needed is to have a quick and strong "conscience for liberty," which will manifest itself in some effective way—we care little what. But four years hence we may all know better what to do.

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fairs shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, undeviatingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

Proving and Holding Fast.

BY O. B. FROTHINGHAM.

An apostle charges his disciples to "prove all things, and hold fast that which is good." Reading the words with modern eyes, we find in them a direction to practise fearlessly the right of free inquiry, restrained only by the respect which all conscientious people must feel for moral principle. The least reflection corrects this impression. In the age of Paul, the rule of free inquiry in our sense of the term was unheard-of, at all events in the community to which he belonged. And no such idea occurred to him when he penned that sentence. The proving or testing that he recommended was simply discriminating between good and evil influences. The Christians believed themselves to be beset on one side and the other by good and evil spirits which often looked so much alike that a keen discernment was required to tell them apart. The power of discernment was a "gift" as they called it, that is, a faculty specially imparted to believers of the "holy spirit," which was sharpened by use, but blunted and even "grieved away" by neglect. The doctrinal test applied was simple, and would be wholly inapplicable to our time: "Try the spirits, whether they be of God. Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God; and every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is not of God. This is the anti-Christ." Precisely what was meant by this confession is disputed among the critics. It would be idle to make such a confession imperative now when definitions have become subdivided to a degree that in primitive ages could not have been imagined.

The rational rule of free inquiry is of modern device. It came in with the earliest uprisings of the human mind against doctrinal authority, and has acquired clearness and force as reason has gained supremacy. The claim to divine revelations is in conflict with the claim of reason, because it is based on the thought that reason needs divine revelation, and must therefore be incapable of judging it; fallible reason cannot test infallible truth, but can do nothing but meekly accept it. None but inspired minds can prove the validity of inspired teaching. Hence rationalism is a thing unheard-of and wholly inadmissible by churchmen and by creedmen and by Biblemen. Only when the principle has been fairly and fully admitted that reason has the right of eminent domain in the intellectual sphere, that no spot is too sacred for its tread, no object too holy for its vision and touch, is the principle of free inquiry well understood and securely established, and this is very far from being a state of things accepted by any very considerable number of religious people.

It is a good deal for religious people to allow that free inquiry may be tolerated in regard to secondary and incidental doctrines, in the way of explanation, definition, justification. It may be permitted to prove the doctrines of revelation true, not to prove them untrue; it may establish the claims of the Bible and the creed, but it may not invalidate them; it may answer questions, but not raise them. The rationalist claims more than this, a great deal more: he claims that reason has the right to "prove," that is to test, "all things," to bring them to judgment, pronounce sentence on them, declare them precious or valueless. He claims this not as a favor to which he is entitled, but as a right inherent in the human mind. Nay, he asserts it as a duty of the most solemn kind. He declares that men ought, as they prize truth, and would show their appreciation of it, to put it to the test, and the severer the test the better. Is anything alleged to be beyond the reach of proof? How do you know that, before you have tried it? Are some things too high? The more we test them the more will their majesty shine forth. Are some things too low? The more we test them the more will their insignificance and worthlessness be exposed. Is anything too sacred, or too old, or too deeply grounded in reverence? How do you know that, until you have put it to the proof? Is exemption claimed on the ground that the article has already been tested by the experiments of generations and has earned the title to stand unchallenged henceforward? There can certainly be no objection, then, to submitting it to the experiments of more generations, and so adding weight to its title, and extending its authority. He would be satisfied that established things are worthily established, that venerable things deserve veneration, that ancient things are to have a future as well as a past. Why should the privilege of passing uncriticized be accorded to age? Why should mere antiquity be esteemed a merit? It is very certain that some of the stupidest, weakest, falsest, most inhuman things are the oldest, that nothing is quite as old as ignorance, superstition, and delusion. And although new things are not always true, they are not likely to be truer for being imitations of old things. The proving and testing of things, whether old or new, is the only process by which the truth in them can be brought out.

The rationalist contends that, for his own sake and in his own interest, religion should invite proof. There is an impression abroad among keen-minded people of the world, that religion dreads inquiry and shrinks from it; and this impression affects the common mind most unfavorably. The charge of timidity is currently made; some hint at policy and interested motives of greed or ambition; others openly make accusation of hypocrisy. The whole subject is invested with an air of unreality that is most unfortunate for piety. Now and then a teacher of eminence frankly avows his opinion that some beliefs are too precious to mankind to be exposed to the dangers of criticism or controversy, the belief in personal immortality, for example, the belief in an individual God, in a particular providence, in a day of final account,—

and suspicion naturally fastens on these beliefs. There is no scepticism so terrible as the scepticism of distrust, no such disastrous confession as our apparent want of frankness. Much of the prevalent unbelief would be disarmed at once by an aspect of sincerity on the part of religious teachers. An open, fearless, cordial bearing towards honest and even dishonest thought would propitiate in advance intellects that begin by suspecting timidity and end by rejecting truth.

It is time men ceased to associate devoutness with a submissive, unquestioning, unchallenging mind, and a disposition to take accepted things on trust, as if passiveness and piety were synonymous terms, as if inertness were a sign of inspiration. But, honestly regarded, which requires the more faith, to question or not to question, to put things to the proof or to rest satisfied with their being improved? Can one, on reflection, hesitate on such a point? At first glance there is something sweet, tender, and touching in the attitude of one who yields up his reason to authority or prejudice. But a deeper glance discloses the fact that this passive disposition is largely made up of elements that are not creditable to the moral side of human nature; elements of indolence, indifference, timidity, and fear; love of ease and tranquillity; desire for popularity; the wish to be well-reputed among the conservative and fashionable, or the dispensers of social favor; a conceit of superiority; the dread of facing or causing wholesome pain, of encountering the natural consequences of disbelief, of disturbing the convictions of mankind,—the last often a pretence. But what is all this but infidelity? To doubt that truth can be found by those that seek it; to doubt that if found it will be a safe thing to have; to doubt that if safe for you it will be equally safe for others, for all without distinction; to doubt that men can live happily without delusions; to doubt that the intellectual universe will abide the shock caused by the tornado of your questioning breath, is to carry doubt as far as it can be carried. This is as good a description of infidelity as can be made. It requires no manliness to profess the creed of the lounge or the stand-still.

A man's faith is large in proportion as he ventures to put all things to the proof. It requires indeed immense faith to do this; faith in reason, faith in the object of reason, faith in the value of knowledge, faith in the future of the race, and in its past too, faith in the end and purpose of creation, faith in the divine leading of humanity, faith in the mind's power to make good all losses, to recover from all defeats. The great provers have been great believers. None perhaps have so magnificently affirmed as they who have courageously denied. The martyrs have all been questioners. The Christian martyrs questioned the beliefs of the pagan world. The Protestant martyrs questioned the authority of Rome. The Unitarian martyrs, for there have been Unitarian martyrs, criticised the faith of Protestantism. All martyrs are of the same order, the order of the provers. All were equally men of faith. They must needs have been so, to do what they did. Men do not willingly discard old and precious beliefs, or throw away hopes that have been dear to mankind. To whom can it give satisfaction to pull down buildings in which souls have found shelter and peace for ages? To whom can it give joy to set men adrift on a sea of speculation, to set themselves adrift also, to make themselves orphans in the world? Do men take pleasure in proving ill-will, hatred, persecution, death, and infamy after death, simply in order that they may indulge a propensity to belittle the world of their own being? Is it such a fine thing to be destitute of faith and hope in the universe, that men will lay down their lives for it? Is it true, as I read on some bitterly sarcastic page, that "the advanced thinker of our time takes an enlightened pride in his father, the monkey"? That "when he has sunk his pedigree as man and adopted as his family tree a procession of the skeletons of baboons, superior enlightenment radiates from his very person, and his place of honor is fixed in the illuminated brotherhood"? I know of none who profess that belief, but if there be such, what martyrs so devoted as they who are willing thus, in the cause of knowledge, to abrogate their humanity, to immolate their immortal being on the altar of creative law!

No; no. The great provers, the really great ones, have dared to prove because they were certain that their proving would result in the establishment of truth. They heated their crucibles and threw in their gema because at the bottom they expected to find the stone that turned everything to gold. They asked questions because they listened for answers. They doubted because they felt sure of a solution. They put off from shore because they were confident of the existence of another shore across the wild waste of waters. They withdrew the veil from before the holy of holies because they wanted the holy of holies and not the curtain. What do we not owe to the few who have done their best to "prove all things"? What have such men given to us, and how tenderly we should bear them in remembrance! They bore hard names through life, and after death harder names were piled like stones over their memories. They lived solitary and misunderstood; they knew the sadness of hope deferred, and the deeper sadness of feeling that their fellow-men regarded them as enemies and destroyers of souls. Some of them were driven by the spirit into the wilderness to be tempted by the devil; were called infidels because they believed more than their neighbors, and heretics because they chose the painful pursuit of truth to the idle luxury of their old theological home, and atheists because their deity was too large for definition, and image-breakers because they avowed the unseen spirit, and deniers of the Christ because they affirmed the eternal Word. What do we not owe to them who went about shaking their heads, and saying

"No" with their lips, their hearts all the while murmuring "Ay" to the immortals! These, after all, are the builders of our most beneficent beliefs. Almost all the rational faiths we hold we must thank them for. They have abolished for us the everlasting hell which consumed the hope of our immortality. They have taken the discord out of the heart of God, and made beautiful the aspect of his countenance. They have hunted the old phantom of Satan from place to place, from mountain-top and abyss, from the secret chambers of the air, from the substance of the elemental world, from the heart of human society and the hidden breast of man. They have delivered us from the thralldom of evil spirits, from witchcraft, priestcraft, and superstition. They have taught us to read the Bible with open eyes. They have interpreted for us the noble humanities of Jesus, and have helped us to understand the moral principles that govern our social being. They had, no doubt, their human infirmities, neither few nor small. Their talk was hard and they were but men. They must have been more than men to have kept the sweetness of their hearts from turning to gall, and the passion of their souls from becoming scorn in the persecutions they had to meet. But all this will in the future be forgotten and the service they rendered will be acknowledged. Speaking of the first French Revolution which has been associated in the minds of men for three-fourths of a century with infidelity running to the extreme of atheism, one of our latest historians, Mr. Lecky, says: "The Revolution of France bore the revolution of the world. All around us the spirit of that revolution is permeating the masses of the people with its regenerating power; many ancient despotisms have already crumbled beneath its touch; others are even now convulsed by the agonies of transformation, or by the last paroxysms of a despairing existence. Treaties have been torn, armies have been scattered, the spirit of liberty has survived." Victor Hugo, a writer of a very different school, in his novel *Ninety-Three*, recounts the services rendered to humanity by these terrible idol-breakers, and as we read the list of undertakings in behalf of the poor, the disfranchised, the oppressed, the enslaved, undertakings too fine and glaring to be carried out, we feel that after making all needful, reasonable, fair deductions from their merit, on the score of speculative excess, enough remains to justify their admission to high places in the ranks of men who have served their kind.

But it is unnecessary and almost impertinent to indulge this train of thought in the presence of people who are entirely convinced of its justice, and need no persuasion to follow it. These considerations are commonplaces among liberal people. Another aspect of the duty to prove all things waits to be presented here. The point which it becomes liberals to consider is the difficulty of the process, and the care that must be taken in properly conducting it. It is a common impression that to prove all things is as easily done as said; in fact, some seem to imagine that doing and saying are the same thing; that the claim once established that testing truth by reason is permissible, nothing more need be attempted. The proving may be left to do itself, or it may be assumed that the accepted views of truth, being doubted, may be dismissed. But the proving of anything whatever is a matter of great difficulty, and to prove the validity or the invalidity of any great human belief is so difficult that the task can never be considered accomplished.

What a number of processes, apparently disconnected with each other, must be gone through before a bar of steel is accepted as proved! What different sets of mechanics must employ their strength and skill on its manufacture! What baths and successive furnaces it must be submitted to! The process becomes complicated as the work becomes important and delicate. In the outer hall of our museum of art is a most impressive and beautiful statue representing the sick Napoleon, holding in his hand the map of Europe and lost in sombre thought. The comments of the visitors who stand around it show how many minds are required to pass judgment on a work of that class. One criticises the marble from which it is carved; another is lost in admiration over the perfect finish of the smallest details, the folds of the dressing-gown and paper, the plaits of the ruff, the wrinkles of the hands, the nails in the chair; a third, passing all this by, considers the historical accuracy of the representation, the resemblance of the portrait, the truthfulness of the attitude, the probability of the scene; a fourth regards the piece as a work of imagination, and entering as well as possible into the situation selected by the sculptor judges it as a poetic creation. Finally the accomplished artist must be listened to as he passes opinion on the work as a piece of sculpture, declaring wherein it transgresses or fulfils the legitimate rules of his art.

A private gallery of the city contains a very remarkable painting by Turner, called the "Slave Ship." Standing before it, one may amuse himself by collecting the criticisms of the observers, and noting the curious variety of tests by which they try the quality of the picture. What a motley array of judgments, and how positive they are! What contradictions between the reports of inner and outer eyes! Some pronounce the artist crazy and his production an unintelligible jumble of colors; others declare him inspired and his canvas a masterly triumph of genius. Some are bewildered, others illuminated. Some see no merit of drawing or perspective, others say they could sit hours admiring both. Some are at a loss to discover the idea that the artist wished to express, to others the idea burns upon the imagination. Some laugh and sneer, others wonder.

If so much vision is required to discern all the qualities of a painted canvas, what a process it must be to render full justice to a belief that has been im-

pressed on the mind of different nations and of many ages, and has been stamped there by the creative power of which the human mind is an expression! Clearly, no one set of observers or critics can meet that demand. Take, for example, the belief in personal immortality. No apology need be made for the frequent reference to this faith, for it is of vast interest and importance to mankind. Until recently, certainly until modern times, no systematic attempt has been made to put this belief to the test. It was received on authority of the Church and of tradition, and passed unchallenged, save by a few individuals whose doubts had no effect on the general mind. The rapid development of physical science has brought against it a power of suspicion and misgiving that almost immediately became denial. As secret after secret of the human organization was penetrated, as the mysteries of its mechanism were laid bare, the immortal soul which had been supposed to be its prime instigator and mover was compelled to retreat from one fastness to another, till at length no chamber remained unsearched, and its personality was nowhere to be found. Material forces and properties seemed to explain everything. Instantly the surmise sprang up that these were everything, and that the spiritual principle was an imaginary thing, without form or substance, an illusion or a conjecture.

The doubt became grave when the fact came out in full force that intelligence never manifested itself except in connection with physical organization, that it weakened as the organization failed, was disordered when the organization was affected by disease, wandered into insanity when certain parts of the organization were disturbed, and disappeared entirely when life departed from the organization and it was left to dissolution and dust. These facts carried with themselves a fearful import. To deny them was unavailing; to dispute them was audacious; to escape from their influence was impossible. The faith of mankind seemed to be at the mercy of the scalpel. The immense fabric of hope that had sheltered the race for hundreds, perhaps for thousands, of years seemed to crumble in a moment at the touch of the chemist. A species of stupor came over the heart of multitudes; existence shrank to the dimensions of a grave. The miracle of organization was suddenly deprived of its marvellousness, and the organization itself, being no longer regarded as a shrine to be revered and preserved inviolate, passed to the uses of a laboratory where men could study and make chemical experiments.

This new and surprising method of proof, so candid, so fair, so apparently exhaustive, naturally made a deep impression, and was accepted by great numbers as final. But is it final? Is the scalpel the final arbiter in this matter? Can any single test be reckoned conclusive in such a case? Are we not bound to consider that in such a concern, involving so many aspects and phases of being, we should not be satisfied till every method had been tried? It must not be forgotten that by the side of the physician stands the metaphysician, searching mind as the other searches body; that while the physiologist is explaining the laws and conditions of organic growth and change, the psychologist is explaining the laws and conditions of moral and intellectual change and growth. Facts in one department offset facts in the other, and facts in both departments are announced with an equal positiveness. Listen to the physician and you find yourself doubting if everything be not dust; listen to the metaphysician, and you find yourself doubting if everything be not delirium. Instead of sinking we soar, and instead of losing heart we are filled with joy.

From another quarter come in sentimental considerations which are paramount with the heart, and in all nations have been exceedingly weighty, especially in the so frequent seasons of grief from disappointment or bereavement. From other sides still come in moral considerations affecting the question of the moral constitution of the universe and the moral character of its originator, and spiritual considerations bearing on the aspirations, hopes, and high expectations of the noblest of the race. These are all entitled to respect in their place. A question that concerns the whole being of man can be finally answered only by the testimony of the whole being of man; and cannot be regarded as disposed of so long as any method of proof remains untried.

Moreover, the testimony of all the nations of mankind must be taken. We must have the verdict of the German mind, the French mind, the Italian and English minds. The genius of no single people is infallible in such a matter as this. The speculative, the practical, the meditative, the devout, are alike privileged to have a voice in the decision. The different ages and epochs must likewise be consulted, for these exhibit the various moods and phases of experience that mankind has passed through. No generation can answer for all generations. No mood is a substitute for all moods; no passage of experience exhausts experience.

It cannot with truth be said that this complicated, cumulative process of proof has been tried in this one belief. There are other beliefs that still wait to be tested in a similarly comprehensive manner; beliefs that have been hurriedly dismissed on the strength of some party protest, and must be reconsidered by the light of new knowledge. Indeed, it seems sometimes as if we never should know when the proof was concluded. The "Golden Rule" has been on the anvil of the race for some thousands of years. It has been under the hands of every kind of human artificer. The thinker has exercised on it his thought; the dreamer has mused on it; the man of feeling has held it close to his heart; the man of conscience has tested it by the sentiments of abstract right and wrong; the socialist has laid it against the natural relations that man sustains to his neighbor; the just man has used it as a rule of ideal equity

towards the wronged; the pitiful man has taken it up and tried it as a rule of mercy to the wretched and sinning. It has been thrust into furnaces of every form of construction and every degree of heat. It has been thrust for hardening into baths of tears and baths of blood. The practical Chinese took it; the philosophical Greeks took it; the law-worshipping Hebrews took it; the gentle-hearted Jews took it, announced it as a principle worthy of all acceptance, laid it down as the corner-stone of the celestial city.

Nevertheless, something is yet wanting to the perfect proving of the "Golden Rule." It has not been submitted to every conceivable test. It is still ideal, imaginative, sentimental. It has not become a tool or a weapon. No State has yet applied it to its criminals; no ruler has ever applied it to his subjects; no nation has ever made experiment with it in the regulation of its affairs with other nations; no government has ever held it out towards those who have resisted its authority and labored to overthrow its dominion. In fine, it lacks the authentication of practical life on any broad scale. A great many people doubt its applicability to business affairs, and are ready to discard it as a working principle.

Thus while the liberty to prove all things is exceedingly stimulating to the mind, and the duty of proving all things is exceedingly ennobling to the will, the difficulty of proving all things is humbling and at times discouraging. What! we cry. Is there never to be rest? Must we be forever on the march, forever doubting, forever questioning, forever listening to arguments? Can we never feel sure that the foundation of our being is not a quicksand which may sink under our feet at any moment, and let us drop into the nether abyss? An apprehension something like this terrifies multitudes away from the rational faith, and drives them back within the shelter of the older communions where the universe is taken for granted and no questions are asked. The ancient churches are made rich and powerful by the number and quality of these recruits.

But apprehensions of this kind are causeless. All are not expected to be provers. Few are capable of being so. The many must be content with what is established, so far as they can appreciate it, and for the rest must have confidence that in proportion as the proof is exhaustive, error and nothing but error will be overthrown. That confidence should be sufficient to allay all fears. When all things shall have been proved, all things will be finally justified. The explorers, so they be patient and persevering, will reach their goal, and their goal will be the truth. They who are not explorers, whose offices are at home, whose part it is to go about with untroubled and restful mind attending to the duties of the day (and these are the vast majority), have but to follow the other part of the apostolic direction, and hold fast that which is good. Goodness, simple goodness, proves itself by its own process; it needs no testing. Love is demonstration and verification of love. Kindness interprets and vindicates kindness. So long as man is man, so long as society is society, existence is existence, so long will justice, truth, fidelity, honor, continue to be worth all they ever were. Day by day these qualities will be found to increase in value, as day by day the need for them augments, and the occasions for practising them multiply. Perish what perish may, opinions, doctrines, beliefs, methods of inquiry, results of partial inquiry, systems of philosophy, systems of divinity, the relation of man to man will continue essentially what it is, while the world lasts; and that which maintains the relation and keeps it strong and sweet will also retain its virtue. Duty will never lose its sanctity; truth will never lose its dignity; love will never lose its graciousness; purity will never lose its gift of charming and cleansing, or its privilege of looking into the face of the absolute righteousness unabashed. The race of man may become unbelieving after the ordinary standard, misbelieving, disbelieving, spiritualist, materialist, theist, atheist, pantheist; in any and every conceivable event it will be nevertheless safe, wise, or consoling to do to your neighbor as you would have him do to you, to bless them that curse you, to do good to them that hate you, to pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you. Through all intellectual convulsions, humility and patience and self-forgetfulness will hold their own.

They will more than hold their own, for this terrible process of proving that so unsettles the intellectual world settles and confirms the moral. Good things and good people are continually coming out stronger. The evidence is accumulating that to hold fast what is good is to hold fast what is substantial and everlasting. It is time we outgrew the old notion that morality, that is, social equity, personal truth, is well enough if you can have nothing better; serviceable to hold on to when belief is shipwrecked; the ration of rice in the season of famine; the mouldy crust when the larder is empty and the fortune gone; a crumb or two to live on till better times. Away with a notion like that! Goodness is the root of faith, not the fruit of it; the beginning, not the end; the substance, not the shadow. Principle is the mother of philosophy. Without love is no light, for without love is no earnestness and no trust. Instead of consoling ourselves that this remains when all beside is gone, we might rather congratulate ourselves that this remains though all beside should go. They who hold fast to humanity hold fast to fidelity; so much purity, so much piety, so much justice, so much belief. The good life begets faith, as the fruitful ground brings forth grasses and herbage; uncultivated, it will cover itself with wild flowers; cultivated, it will grow tall beliefs that will brave the storm, and shelter the creatures, and give refuge to the birds of heaven.

OUR WISHES are presentiments of undeveloped capabilities,—harbingers of what we shall one day be able to accomplish.—Goethe.

AMERICAN DARWINISM.

A REVIEW OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF AMERICA TO THE EVOLUTION THEORY.

BY PROF. E. S. MORSE.

BUFFALO, Aug. 25.

By far the most striking feature of Wednesday's proceedings before the American Association for the Advancement of Science was the last address delivered in the evening by Professor E. S. Morse. It had been very generally whispered about that he would take the opportunity as a vice-president and the presiding officer of the section which includes natural history, to give a full and explicit declaration of his well-known faith in the doctrines of evolution. He thinks that the time for being mealy-mouthed in this matter is past. Especially is credit due to the American workers in this field of research. The main object of the address was to show what America had contributed toward the growth of the development theory.

He said that never before the present period has the study of animal life assumed so high dignity among the sciences. Chemistry could long since point to her triumphs in the useful arts; geology to the revelations of hidden wealth below the surface; but zoology was only valued as an adjunct to geological studies or looked to as a means for averting the ravages of insects. Now, the question of the origin of man is answered by the revelations from animal forms. No general review of American studies in this field has hitherto been attempted. The works on the subject which meet the popular eye are from English and German sources. Their references are largely composed of European observations, and the public has commonly inferred that these are the principal examples. Their remoteness prevents these evidences from carrying due conviction. Our native researches lie concealed in the proceedings of learned societies, and are only in a few instances made accessible to the ordinary reader of the literature of the day.

The development of zoological study in this country presents itself under two aspects. The first and earliest was the period when its votaries busied themselves with making an inventory of animals and plants, and arranging them under schedules of genera, species, and varieties. Very necessary work was this. Professor Agassiz likened it to the labor of bringing together the stones and bricks for a building. But these workers piled up their materials thus accumulated till they shut out the light of knowledge, and offered a barrier to those who would have built the edifice of the science itself. The words of Emerson describing science in England in 1847 were true of this country at a later date: "One hermit finds this fact, another finds that, and lives and dies ignorant of its value." The change from this period of preparation to one of direct work in building up the science of zoology dates from the arrival of Professor Agassiz in this country and the vast popular interest which attended his efforts to kindle the growth of knowledge. These efforts were largely directed toward elevating the character and aims of the papers contributed to our learned societies, and the success he met with was as noteworthy here as in the arena where he was more generally known to the public. Professor Agassiz made men. Previously they had been the slaves of their science, the mere hewers of wood and drawers of water. He taught Americans what Cuvier, Von Baer, and Leuckart had been doing. He urged, indeed, his hearty protests against evolution theories, but thereby he did good service in awakening attention to the subject and compelling further inquiry. Since then all the students whom he educated personally have, with scarcely an exception, become converts to those theories.

The first clear premonition of the doctrine of natural selection came from this country, or rather from an American, William Charles Wells, born at Charleston, S. C., in 1757. This appears in a paper which he read in 1813 before the Royal Society. It offers an explanation of the color of dark-skinned races of men. He cites the changes of animals under domestication, shows that varieties in men and animals were occurring exceptionally but constantly; that different breeds of animals were thus obtained by man's selective supervision; that a similar selection among men had been effected by the comparative immunity from certain diseases of those who had dark skins.

As evidences of the transmutation of species, Professor Morse here cited the instances where the seeds of Alpine plants sown in warmer regions gradually produced plants that had previously been regarded as of a different species. A kind of crustacean was similarly changed from one recorded species to another by gradually freshening the briny water in which it lived; in slowly altering thus it actually lost one of its segments. Mr. James Lewis discovered that a truncate form of mussel which had thus been distinguished from another form had taken its peculiar shape from the circumstances to which it had been exposed; namely, the abrasion of its edges and consequent retarding of its growth in the rapid currents of the Mohawk River; he also made similar observations on other mollusks under other influences. A. G. Wetherby called attention to changes of the kind in snails under like surroundings. Professor Agassiz urged that what are called "varieties" by naturalists do not really exist separately. He found a series of echinoderms in which the forms were graded insensibly from one to the other. The extremities of the series would have been called distinct species. Professor Parsons suggested that species might be done away with if all intermediate forms should be discovered; and Doctor Gray expressed the belief that all species might be thus eventually resolved into varieties. Doctor J. G. Cooper, and Messrs. Stearns, Bland, and Birney each described instances where

such changes in animals followed altered circumstances of heat or moisture.

In a broader field and respecting different classes of creatures, Professor S. F. Baird, J. A. Allen, and Robert Ridgway have severally found that marked differences in birds and mammals are due solely to their surroundings. Birds bred at high altitudes or at the North were thus shown to be smaller than those of the same kind at the South or at lower elevations; Western birds have longer tails than Eastern ones of the same species; the bills increase in size below a certain latitude; on the Pacific coast the birds acquire a darker hue. Similar changes in the ears and feet of mammals, as well as in their fur, are noted as dependent on climate. When these changes were tabulated and shown on a geographical chart, they were found coincident with variations already ascertained in the annual amount of rainfall in the different regions. The total number of species of birds was reduced about a fifth by these investigations; the number of species of squirrels diminishes one-half or more. Doctor A. S. Packard sees that this process of reducing species must go on while the gaps between them are gradually filled, and the genera must follow in this process of obliteration. He says: "The work of the systematic biologist amounts to little more than putting Nature into a strait jacket."

In producing new evidences for the doctrine of natural selection, Doctor Burt G. Wilder has borne a distinguished part. Anatomical changes have been closely observed. To this class of students belong also the essays of Doctor William K. Brooks, Doctor Englemann, and Professor Charles V. Riley. Professor Riley's proof of the interdependence of flower and insect in the case of the Yucca moth is one of these triumphs. Professor Grote has made a noteworthy observation on the alterations caused by use or non-use in the antennae of the butterfly. One of the most striking instances of the better knowledge which closer observation of Nature has conferred is that of the shape of the honey-comb. In the days of the Bridgewater Treatises it was demonstrated that the form of the cell, mathematically considered, was that which used space and material to the greatest possible advantage. The late Professor Jeffries Wyman spoiled this pretty theory by showing that a cell of this mathematical perfection is rarely, if ever, made. The cells are built unequally and in the greatest variety of shapes, due to incorrect alignment and many other causes. There is no geometrical accuracy about the structure. Following the list of cell-making insects, from wasps, hornets, and humblebees upward, we find that there are all grades from shapeless cells to those that approach but never reach perfection. Professor Wyman showed remarkable ingenuity in this research, making plaster casts of the comb, dissolving out the comb from the plaster, then cutting sections and taking electrotypes. The late Professor Chauncey Wright was almost equally fortunate in showing that the arrangement of leaves of plants along their axes was due to circumstances of growth, and not a result of blind law.

Among the examples of the survival of forms by adaptation to changed environment, Professor Morse mentioned the discovery by Ernest Ingersoll of marine mollusks and living salt-water crabs high up in the Rocky Mountains. Some of the crabs were closely related to existing marine forms. The researches of Professor Marsh concerning the sireon, an animal of the salamander kind, that loses its gills and becomes, when moved from its native habitat, one previously recorded under an entirely different genus (ambylostoma), has been described and figured in one of the earlier extras of the *Tribune*. For many years Professor Agassiz argued that the blind fish of the Mammoth Cave were a race created in their present condition. This whole matter has been removed from discussion by the accurate investigation and thorough researches of Drs. Packard and F. W. Putnam; and a series of fishes, from those with perfect eyes to those without any, including between them various deficiencies of vision, has been found in American caves and secluded waters. The discoveries of Professors Alpheus Hyatt and E. D. Cope, respecting the ammonites, were almost simultaneous, showing a parallel between the changes of form in groups and in the separate individuals. The numerous writings of Professor Cope, on evolution doctrines, deserve notice here. But we must hasten on to the great discoveries among the tertiary mammals of the West by Professors Leidy, Marsh, and Cope. They have filled wide gaps between older and existing forms, showing all the intermediate animals, so that we have nearly the whole ancestry of the horse, for instance, back to the five-toed animals not much bigger than a fox in the early eocene.

The positions taken by the earlier workers in zoology were then reviewed, and the latter half of the address set forth the present theories of Darwin and the evolution school. Professor Agassiz was driven to the expedient of belief in several different creations of men, in order to preserve his faith in the separate creation of animals, and was heartily reprehended for his views by the religious controversialists of that period. Since those days, innumerable facts have been brought to bear upon the controversy. Many of these were mentioned in detail by Professor Morse, but on the point as to the gradual development of the intellect of animals, the discoveries of Professor O. C. Marsh, in respect to the small size of the brains of the earlier mammals, are especially worthy of attention. He has shown that the animals of the earliest eocene formation have brains so small that they may be likened to those of a serpent, and relatively so diminutive that they can be passed through the neural cavity of the backbone. As we go upward in the strata the size of the brain steadily increases. Its development in the monkey tribe is regarded as the means by which those animals were enabled to

escape from the carnivora that then abounded; and intellect, even in that era, became superior to brute force. Due justice cannot here be done to the chain of argument by which Professor Morse illustrated the descent of the human race from ape-like forms. The principal feature in it was the prominence given to the intellectual needs and consequent development of the monkey. In respect to man, the necessity of care during the period of infancy was strongly dwelt upon; and it was shown that the long period during which young human beings have to be supported and cared for lies at the foundation of the family and of social life. Due credit was given to the workers in this field who have traced out, step by step, the necessities which are occasioned by the long continuance of human infancy, which calls forth alike the sympathies and the efforts of the parents. None of the inferior animals are long in acquiring the capacity for walking and procuring food. The monkeys, within a month of their birth, are as capable of walking as at mature age. Man, in his physical powers, is weaker than any of the lower animals that compare with him in size; his strength is in his intellect.

A mind unbiassed by preconceived opinion can scarcely resist the convictions that will be forced upon it by Nature's facts as to man's lowly origin. The massive skulls and coarse ridges for muscular attachment, the rounding of the case of the nostrils, the early ossification of the nasal bones, the small cranial capacity in certain forms, the prominence of the frontal crest, the posterior position of the foramen magnum, the approximation of the temporal ridges, the lateral flattening of the shin-bones, the perforation of the humerus, the tendency of the pelvis to depart from the usual proportions,—all these are characteristic of the earlier races of men. Associated with these race forms there is a rudeness of culture and the manifestation of the coarsest instincts. He must be blind indeed who cannot recognize the truths to which these evidences point.

We need no longer be surprised at the fatalism of the Turk, the cruelties practised by lower races, or the outrages that are attributed to total depravity among civilized men. They are not instigated by an evil spirit, but are the outburst of the savage nature inherited from their animal progenitors, and are still preserved more manifestly among the lower races of to-day. We are taught the folly of permitting criminals to roam at large or receive the benefit of legislative pardon. Society owes it to itself to keep its criminal classes in a confinement where they cannot propagate their kind.

—N. Y. Tribune.

W. C. W.

SIR W. THOMPSON ON AMERICAN SCIENCE.

Sir William Thompson has returned to England with the most favorable impressions regarding the progress of science in this country. In his recent address as president of the "Physical Science" section of the British Association he began as follows:—

"A conversation which I had with Prof. Newcomb one evening last June in Prof. Henry's drawing-room in the Smithsonian Institute, Washington, has forced me to give all my spare thoughts ever since to Hopkins' problem of precession and nutation, assuming the earth a rigid spheroidal shell filled with liquid. Six weeks ago when I landed in England after a most interesting trip to America and back, and I became painfully conscious that I must have the honor to address you here to-day, I wished to write an address of which science in America should be the subject. I came home, indeed, vividly impressed with much that I had seen both in the great Exhibition of Philadelphia and out of it, showing the truest scientific spirit and devotion, the originality, the inventiveness, the patient, persevering thoroughness of work, the appreciativeness and the generous open-mindedness and sympathy from which the great things of science come."

Warming with his theme, Sir William referred to some of our noted men of science in these words:—

"I wish I could speak to you of the veteran Henry, generous rival of Faraday in electro-magnetic discovery; of Preece, the founder of high mathematics in America; of Bache, and of the splendid heritage he has left to America and to the world in the United States Coast Survey; of the great school of astronomers which followed—Newton, Newcomb, Watson, Young, Alvan Clark, Rutherford, Draper, father and son; of Commander Belknap and his great exploration of the Pacific depths by piano-forte wire with imperfect apparatus supplied from Glasgow, out of which he forced a success in his own way; and of Capt. Sigbee, who followed with like fervor and resolution, and made further improvements in the apparatus by which he has done marvels of easy, quick, and sure deep-sea sounding in his little surveying-ship "Blake"; and of the admirable official spirit which makes such men and such doings possible in the United States naval service. I would like to tell you too, of my reasons for confidently expecting that American hydrography will soon supply the data from tidal observations, long ago asked of our own Government in vain by a committee of the British Association, by which the amount of the earth's elastic yielding to the distorting influence of sun and moon will be measured; and of my strong hope that the Compass department of the American navy will repay the debt to France, England, and Germany, so appreciatively acknowledged in their reprint of the works of Poisson, Airy, Archibald Smith, Evans, and the Liverpool Compass Committee, by giving in return a fresh marine survey of terrestrial magnetism to supply the navigator with data for correcting his compass without sights of sun or stars. I should tell you also of 'Old Prob's' weather warnings, which cost the nation \$250,000 a year, money well spent, say the Western

farmers, and not they alone; in this the whole people of the United States are agreed, and though Democrats or Republicans playing the 'economical ticket' may for half a session stop the appropriations for even the United States Coast Survey, no one would for a moment think of starving 'Old Prob'; and now that eighty per cent. of his probabilities have proved true, and Gen. Myer has for a month back ceased to call his daily forecasts 'probabilities,' and has begun to call them indications, what will the Western farmers call him this time next year?"

Sir William Thompson also observed that the "United States Naval Observatory is full of the very highest science, under the command of Admiral Davis." He referred in complimentary terms to the scientific apparatus he saw at Philadelphia, and frankly declared that "if Europe does not amend its patent laws, America will speedily become the nursery of useful inventions for the world."—*Tribune*, Sept. 28.

DR. SLADE EXPOSED.

A SPIRITUAL SEANCE IN LONDON.—THE WRITING ON THE SLATE.—HOW IT WAS DONE.—TWO EMINENT WITNESSES AGAINST DOCTOR SLADE.

[From the London Times.]

My friend, Mr. Serjeant Cox, having begged me to go and see the medium Slade, and having informed me that so distinguished a man of science as Dr. Carpenter had confessed himself "very much shaken" by what he had witnessed in Slade's presence, I wrote to that person, and obtained an appointment for last Monday morning. Slade's chief "manifestation" is of this kind:—

The witness and Slade being alone in an ordinary well-lit sitting-room, Slade produces a common slate and a small piece of slate-pencil, which are laid on the simple four-legged table, at one corner of which the witness and Slade are seated. Slade then shows the witness that there is no writing on either side of the slate. He then places the slate horizontally close against the table and below it, pressing the slate against the table, the little piece of slate-pencil being supposed to be between the slate and the flat under-surface of the table. The slate is so closely applied to the table that no hand or finger could possibly get between them in order to write. A noise as of writing is now heard proceeding from the slate, which is held by Slade or by the witness; the spirit is supposed to be at work. The slate is then removed, and a message is found written either on the under surface of the slate or on the surface which was facing the lower surface of the table.

I watched Slade very closely during these proceedings, which were repeated several times during my interview last Monday, paying no attention to the raps, gentle kicks, and movements of the table, of which I will say nothing further than that they were all such as could be readily produced by the medium's legs and feet. I simulated considerable agitation and an ardent belief in the mysterious nature of what I saw and heard. At the same time I was utterly astounded to find the strongest reason to believe that, with the exception of the first message, which was written by Slade underneath the slate with (I believe) one finger of the hand which was holding the slate, the rest of the messages, which were longer and better written, were coolly indited on the slate by Slade while it was resting on his knee, concealed from my view by the edge of the table, and that the slate was subsequently placed by him in the position where the spirit-writing was to take place with the message already written upon it.

I was led to form this hypothesis by noting the delay which always occurred between my being shown the slate with both sides clean and the placing of the slate against the table or over my head for the purpose of receiving the spirit-writing, which was then heard proceeding with the usual sound of scratching on a slate. This delay did not occur when Slade wrote with the finger of the hand by which he held the slate. During the delay Slade made various excuses; took up the little piece of pencil and bit it, and also invariably made a peculiar grating noise by clearing his throat. At the same time I heard distinctly on three occasions a low but perfectly recognizable sound of a pencil traversing a slate; and twice on looking quickly at Slade's right arm, the elbow of which was visible, while the rest was hidden by the table and purporting to be holding the slate, I saw movements from right to left and left to right which accorded with my hypothesis that he was using his hand in writing.

I left Slade with a promise to return to-day (Friday), and at once wrote to Mr. Serjeant Cox to tell him my explanation of the manner in which the thing was accomplished, and offering to put my hypothesis to the test by seizing the slate from Slade's hand when he professed it to be devoid of writing, and at the moment when the "spirit-writing" was about to commence.

This morning I went with my friend, Dr. H. B. Donkin, of Queen's College, Oxford, to test my hypothesis by this crucial experiment. I had determined to seize the slate at the critical moment—at the moment when Slade professed that it was entirely untouched,—and if the writing were already on the slate before the spirits were supposed to have begun their work, I considered that I should have a demonstration of the truth of my hypothesis which would be convincing to persons not already lost to reason. I explained to Dr. Donkin my hypothesis and my intention, and the result has completely justified my anticipation. As on last Monday, so to-day Slade allowed me to hold the slate against the table in order to receive the spirit-writing, saying that the spirit would probably write more distinctly for me than for him. The slate had been cleaned and was now declared by Slade to be devoid of writing, but writing

was to appear on it in the usual way, accompanied by the scratching noise of the pencil. There had been the usual delay and fumbling on Slade's part, when I put out my hand and immediately seized the slate away, saying, "You have already written on the slate. I have watched you doing it each time." And there, sure enough, was the message already written, as I had anticipated. My friend, Dr. Donkin, will give you a more detailed account of the events which occurred in his presence.

I am, sir, faithfully yours,

E. RAY LANKESTER, F. R. S.,
Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, and Professor of
Zoology in University College, London.
Sept. 15.

At the request of my friend, Professor Lankester, I accompanied him in his visit to-day to Slade, the medium, in order to watch carefully what might happen, and to be able to corroborate or not the opinion he had formed as to the means employed.

A spirit-message was soon written, the slate being held in opposition to the under surface of the table, the thumb alone of the medium's right hand being on the table. During the alleged writing a scratching was plainly heard, and at the same time a slight to-and-fro movement of the arm, with some contraction of flexor tendons on the wrist, was visible. The writing was imperfect and distorted, requiring the interpretation of an expert, and appeared on the surface of the slate which faced downward.

The result was in accordance with the theory of the agency of a minute piece of slate-pencil probably held under the nail of the middle finger.

The next communication was partly quite legible, and in a straightforward, undisguised hand; but this time it appeared on the upper surface of the slate. Bearing in mind the hypothesis that this was ready written before the spirit got to work under the table, I carefully watched Slade during a considerable interval before he replaced the slate. While he was clearing his throat and making short remarks, I saw his right arm, now at some distance from the table, moving exactly as though he were writing on something placed on his knee. Owing to my position at the table, opposite him, I could not see his hand. Simultaneously I heard the scratching of the pencil, hardly at all obscured by the noises I allude to. After the replacement of the slate the spirit-scratching (this time as a ruse) was heard as before.

Before the next communication the spirits were asked if they could write for Professor Lankester. They agreed to do so. I observed the medium go through the same sort of manoeuvres as before, although even more deliberately, very little effort being made to hide a loud scratching while the slate was away from the table. After some little time Slade put the slate under the table, holding it as before, with his right hand, Professor Lankester being about to hold it with his left in a similar manner. Here let especial notice be given to the fact that at this moment the slate was said to be free from writing. Before any time was allowed for spirit-scratching to be heard, my friend, as agreed upon, sharply withdrew the slate, and in accordance with the prophecy displayed the message already written.

To make this exposure still more perfect, I may add that the first of the two later messages referred to consisted of two words read by the medium as "Samuel Lankester," in answer to the question as to what spirits were present. The "Samuel" being very indistinct; my friend suggested it might be "Edwin," which the medium said was quite possible. The last message was an answer to the same question, and, the suggestion being adopted, the words "Edwin Lankester" were perfectly clear.

To any one not predisposed to believe in spirit agency at all hazards, the result of this seance is sufficient.

I am, sir, yours faithfully,

HORATIO B. DONKIN, M. B., Oxon,
Assistant-Physician to the Westminster Hospital.
Sept. 15, 1876.

THE CATECHISM IN SCHOOL.—A notable illustration of teaching "sound without sense," words without intelligence, is recorded by an Inspector of Schools, the late Mr. Brookfield. Two children, aged about eleven years, did their arithmetic and reading tolerably well, and wrote something pretty legible, intelligible, and sensible, about an omnibus and about a steamboat. They were called upon to write down the answers of the Church Catechism to two questions. The children had been accustomed to repeat the Catechism during half an hour of each day, in day-school and Sunday-school, for four or five years, and this is what they wrote:—

"My duty to God is to bleed in him to fering and to loaf withold your arts withold my mine withold my sold and with my sernth to whirchp and to give thinks to put my old trast in him to call upon him to onner his old name and his world and to save him truly all the days of my life's end."

"My dooty tods my Nabers to love him as thyself and to do to all men as I wed thow shall do and to me to love onner and suke my fathor and mother to honner and to bay the queen and all that are pet in a forty under her to smit myself to all my goones teaches sporial pastures and marsters to oughnen myself lordly and every to all my betters to hut no body by would nor deed to be trew in jest in all my deelines to beer no malls nor ated in your arts to kep my ands from pecking and steel my turn from evil speak and lawing and slanders not to civet or deoar othermans good but to lern labour trewly to get my own leaving and to do my dooty in that state if life and to each it his please God to call men."

It will be observed that these written answers, if recited with sufficient rapidity in the customary school-room patter, really bear a horrible likeness to the sounds of the genuine ones; and there can be

little doubt that the writers and their classmates had so recited them for years, to the entire satisfaction of all who were "pet in a forty" over them.—*London Times*.

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TRANSACTIONS of the Mass. Press Association, 1876.
REPORT of J. L. Jones to the Western Unitarian Conference, 1876.
CATALOGUE of the Meadville Theological School, 1876.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 30.

F. Fradley, \$3.25; F. Andriessen, \$3.25; Chas. H. Coffin, \$3.25; A. Magni, \$6; C. O. Gale, 25 cents; G. H. Adams, \$2; James Dillaway, \$3.20; Chas. H. Mann, \$3.20; L. Blimmer, \$3.20; E. Fowle, 25 cents; F. H. Islam, 10 cents; William Dudgeon, 10 cents; A. Coe, 40 cents; A. Richter, 25 cents; J. Fisher, \$3.20; J. Consalus, \$3; Benj. Cobb, Jr., \$3.20; J. C. Grierson, \$3.25; E. F. Blaisdell, \$1.00; Cash, \$4; O. B. Vose, 10 cents.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, OCTOBER 5, 1876.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 231 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

The transition from Christianity to Free Religion, through which the civilized world is now passing, but which it very little understands, is even more momentous in itself and in its consequences than the great transition of the Roman Empire from Paganism to Christianity. THE INDEX aims to make the character of this vast change intelligible in at least its leading features, and offers an opportunity for discussions on this subject which find no fitting place in other papers.

N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CROFT, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, Editorial Contributors.

REMOVAL.

On and after October 1, 1876, the publication office of THE INDEX will be No. 231 Washington Street, Boston. Office hours will be from 10 A.M. to 3 P.M.

WILL THE READER, if he or she is in sympathy with the general work of THE INDEX, spend five minutes of serious thought in answering the question: "How can I most effectually help to increase its circulation?"

REV. MR. SAMPLE, in the discourse to which we allude in another paragraph, says of the defeated Bible Amendment of the United States Senate: "That defeat and failure, which came so near to success, will only incite to greater exertions the friends of the amendment. We have not heard the last of this. Perhaps we have escaped that particular amendment only to be bent down under the yoke of a still more stringent one. The probabilities are that a religious Constitutional amendment of some sort will be sent forth by Congress within the lapse of another year." And he says: "Christianity is plotting in an underhanded manner against the existence of the government"—that is, as a government based on the equal rights of all; as Mr. Sample himself explains, when he adds: "This so-called amendment—recognizing the authority of the Bible—would not be an amendment at all in the true sense of that word, but an utter subversion of the Constitution, a negation of its essential spirit and utterances, and a complete overthrow of the principle upon which our free republican government is founded."

WHAT A wilful falsehood the boast of shutting the Centennial Exhibition on Sunday has become! It is enough to make an old salt thoroughly sea-sick to hear any more of that Orthodox darling, General Joseph R. Hawley, who took some visitors into the Exhibition on Sunday, then whimpered a public confession that he "did wrong," and now takes in another squad of official Sabbath-breakers, as shown in this paragraph in the Boston Herald of September 28: "General Hawley's fear of divine vengeance, in the event of opening the Centennial Exposition on Sunday, has abated. Last Sunday, by his invitation, President Grant and his wife, Secretary Fish and his wife, ex-Secretary Borie, Robert E. Cox of Washington, George Washington Childs, A. M., and his wife, and Colonel Sanford of the British Commission, visited the Exposition grounds. They were received in Memorial Hall by Mr. John Sartain, and spent several hours in looking at the pictures. At 2 o'clock the party ate lunch in the St. George Building. The Hon. John S. Morton, Indian Commissioner J. Q. Smith, Commissioner J. L. Coolidge, and about one hundred and fifty others, with special passes, were also on the Exhibition grounds. The Philadelphia Item remarks that this act of General Hawley, approved as it was by all the resident commissioners, leads to the inference that the Exhibition grounds are to be open hereafter to the general public on Sundays. We fear that the Item is too confident. Hawley has opened the gate on Sunday before to people in whose salvation he was not particularly interested."

NOTICE.

On receipt of \$3.20, THE INDEX will be sent to any name not already on its mail-list, from the present time until January 1, 1878. This is an excellent opportunity for friends of the paper to increase its circulation among their acquaintances; and it is hoped that they will not neglect to render in this way some greatly-needed assistance to the important cause it represents.

LOCAL ORGANIZATION.

Last week we pointed out that public spirit is the secret of liberal social union, and a lack of it the secret of the almost universal feebleness of local liberal societies. Nothing but a COMMON PUBLIC PURPOSE can give life and strength to such societies, by cementing them together and creating the vitalizing consciousness of a national fellowship or sodality in the great cause of human advancement. Until some common public purpose makes itself universally felt, local liberal societies must remain disconnected and therefore feeble, liable to perish at any time when the first impulse of union has spent its force. Liberal societies cannot permanently maintain themselves about a single man, however gifted or colossal in his personality; the genius of liberalism is not personalism in any form, but devotion to great and universal ideas; hence all the societies which naturally cluster about the single "leader" rest on an ephemeral basis of union, and are doomed to extinction when the "leader" passes away, unless they can rise to the height of the "leader" himself and find a permanent bond of union in the idea which gave him all his greatness—the idea of FREE HUMANITY.

For years we have believed that national organization was the greatest need of American liberalism—not at all because we put trust in party machinery as such, but because we knew that national organization will be the immediate and necessary expression of a common public purpose, just as soon as it asserts itself. No local liberal society can maintain itself in effective existence very long for merely local purposes, any more than an individual can make himself influential for merely selfish purposes. Localism is nothing but social selfishness; and generosity, universalism, public spirit, is just as necessary to liberal societies as it is to liberal individuals. It is the self-sacrificing consecration to broad human ends which gives to both their human value—to both, therefore, their title and claim to permanence.

With these deep-rooted convictions, we have for years been trying to solve the problem how to unite the universal and the local aims in some large plan of organization adapted to the impersonal genius of liberalism—some large plan which shall create FREEDOM IN FELLOWSHIP, and FELLOWSHIP IN FREEDOM, for ends the highest, the noblest, in the true sense the most religious. Hence the origin of the Liberal League movement, which is immensely deeper and broader than its superficial critics imagine. Long and laborious reflection satisfied us that no common public purpose can be found in liberalism except that which is fittingly expressed in the words—"separation of Church and State"; for the attempt to separate these two implies a recognition of the independence and sufficiency of NATURAL HUMANITY to determine its own destinies, whether political, social, or individual. Perceiving that this attempt had been partially successful in the organization of the American republic, and that the impersonal faith in natural humanity which is the core of all liberalism had magnificently, though imperfectly, asserted itself in the United States Constitution without disclosing the full sweep of the principles impliedly the basis of that wonderful instrument, we became convinced that, without knowing it, Free Religion had already created its new humanitarian Church, as the vast social institution destined ultimately to absorb and replace the Christian Church. It only remained, therefore, to draw out the moral meanings of the great American experiment of organization, and develop its humanitarian significance in the recognized sphere of religion. The foundation of the Liberal League was therefore laid on the same great principle of the separation of Church and State which is really now, and has been increasingly for well-nigh a century, the hidden source of our national life and prosperity. The purpose to complete this separation, and thereby to establish explicitly the SUFFICIENCY OF NATURAL REASON AND CONSCIENCE TO ALL THE NEEDS OF HUMANITY, even in their highest aspect, presented itself as the common purpose of liberalism, which is destined to become the bond of union among

all who are imbued with the spirit of modern civilization.

So much for the universal aim, which must be paramount in all truly liberal minds and societies. The local aims are better understood, being such as are familiar to all local societies established on a liberal basis; namely, the cultivation of the intelligence, moral life, and social well-being of the members themselves.

Now on the universal aim above described a national organization was, with wonderful success, achieved at Philadelphia on the historic Fourth of July, 1876—a coincidence of dates which reveals and emphasizes the profound agreement of the National Liberal League with the essential spirit of American institutions. To complete the great task undertaken, however, a plan of local organization, combining both the universal and the local aims above described, still remained to be matured. After a great deal of study and thought, the following plan has been issued in the form of a circular and is now submitted to the public by the Directors of the National League:—

A Form of Constitution for Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues.

Approved by the Board of Directors of the National Liberal League, and submitted, by way of fraternal suggestion and recommendation alone, to the friends of State Secularization.

PREAMBLE.

Whereas, At the Centennial Congress of Liberals held at Philadelphia from July 1 to July 4, 1876, a National Liberal League was organized to accomplish the TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE; and

Whereas, The National Liberal League appeals to all liberal citizens to form a "local auxiliary Liberal League in every city, town, and village of the country where ten brave men and women can be found to take the lead in the matter, for the purpose of instituting earnest and combined agitation in favor of equal rights respecting religion, and in favor of such a Constitutional amendment as shall guarantee them"; and

Whereas, We heartily approve of the important and patriotic movement thus initiated, and have applied for and received a charter for local organization in accordance with the Constitution of the National Liberal League;

THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together as a permanent organization, and adopt the following

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.—The name of this association shall be "The Liberal League of ———"; and we hereby declare ourselves to be a "local auxiliary Liberal League," in full sympathy, fellowship, and affiliation with the National Liberal League.

ARTICLE II.—The objects of this association shall be, first, to cooperate with the National Liberal League in furtherance of the public objects, both general and specific, enumerated in its Constitution; and, secondly, to promote the welfare of our own members as a local liberal society, as provided in this Constitution.

ARTICLE III.—Any person who shall sign this Constitution, and pay ——— dollars annually into the treasury, shall be a member of this League.

ARTICLE IV.—The annual meeting for the election of officers of this League, and of the delegates to the Annual Congress of the National Liberal League to which this League is entitled by its charter, shall be held on the ——— day of ———; and the Directors shall give one month's notice of the same. There shall also be regular monthly meetings of this League for consultation and business; and the Directors shall give one week's notice of the same.

ARTICLE V.—The officers of this League shall be a President, Secretary, Treasurer, and four Councillors. All these shall constitute the Board of Directors, which shall have general management of the affairs of the League, subject only to instruction by the League itself. They shall appoint from among the other members of the League committees on Public Work, on Public Discussion, on Social Affairs, and on Finance; and each Councillor shall be chairman of one of these four committees.

The committee on Public Work shall mature measures for cooperating efficiently in the common cause with the National Liberal League, especially in circulating its documents, petitions, appeals, etc., and carrying out locally the various objects of the Liberal League movement.

The committee on Public Discussion shall mature measures for sustaining regular Sunday meetings for public debates, lectures, etc.; and they shall be charged with the general conduct of the same.

The committee on Social Affairs shall mature measures for holding frequent social assemblies for the benefit of the younger members of the League; and also for regular Sunday meetings of a Children's Fraternity, to promote the moral instruction and social enjoyment of the children.

The committee on Finance shall mature measures for raising the funds necessary for these various objects; and also measures for establishing a Relief Fund to be devoted to the assistance of poor, sick, or distressed members.

All these measures shall be proposed to the Board of Directors, and, after being combined in a single general plan, shall be submitted by them to the League for approval.

All appropriations from the treasury shall be by vote of the Board of Directors; and all orders on the

treasury shall be signed by the President and Secretary.

ARTICLE VI.—The duties of the President, Secretary, and Treasurer shall be those usually pertaining to these offices. It shall be a special duty of the Secretary to furnish the Secretary of the National Liberal League with a complete list of all the members with their post-office addresses in full, and a list of the officers and various committees; and also furnish him promptly with information of all important action by this League.

ARTICLE VII.—Amendments to this Constitution may be made at any annual or monthly meeting of the League by a three-fourths vote of all the qualified members present. But no amendment shall be made unless the proposed amendment shall have been announced as part of the required notice of the meeting which is to act upon it.

Special Notice.

Liberal Societies already organized can qualify themselves for representation in any Annual Congress of the National Liberal League, and be so recorded, by sending previously to the Secretary a duly certified statement that the following vote has been passed by the Society so sending:—

"*Voted*, That this Society, desiring to cooperate with the National Liberal League in the furtherance of its general and specific objects, hereby declares itself a local auxiliary Liberal League, according to the true intent of the Constitution of said National Liberal League, and has duly elected the following persons to represent it at the next Annual Congress of the same: to wit, _____, _____, _____, _____."

On receipt of the above, together with an application for a charter signed by the officers of the Society and with the usual fee of ten dollars, a charter will be issued, and the Society will be recorded as entitled to representation.

Per order of the Directors of the National Liberal League.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT, President.

R. H. RANNEY, Secretary.

In this plan we desire to point out the most important features, for the sake of showing how comprehensive it is, and how completely it is dominated by the idea of creating such a fellowship of all liberal-minded citizens as shall unite them fraternally in efficient service of humanity, yet without infringing in the slightest degree that jealous spirit of individual and society independence which is the chief glory of all liberalism.

1. The National League is wholly devoted to the universal aim of separating Church and State, as explained in its own Constitution [see the "Patriotic Address"]. But the Local League is devoted both to the universal and the local aims—the former, however, being still kept uppermost and supreme. In this way the common public purpose is really made the life of the National and the Local Leagues alike, vitalizing them all with a mutual, unselfish devotion to the common good, yet providing fully for the personal improvement of all the local members.

2. The National League desires no sort of control over the Local Leagues, but carefully provides in every single provision against such centralized authority. The use of the charters issued is simply to create the technical union necessary for delegate representation in the Annual Congress; and the reason of the ten dollars required for a charter is merely to help a little towards giving the National League the funds necessary for its national work. No Local League will object to this trifling contribution to the national treasury for the common work, since it secures a fair equivalent in the privilege of sending five delegates to the Annual Congress.

3. The character of the arrangements for carrying out local purposes is specially recommended to examination, for they are believed to be admirably suited to meet the wants of liberal communities. If they are fairly tested in any society composed of earnest-tempered people of the requisite intelligence, we venture to say that this plan will prove to be extremely effective and satisfactory. With the consciousness of a national organization behind them, growing rapidly (as we believe it will) in numbers and influence, the local society will more and more experience the inspiring power of a general public purpose, and find their local public meetings commanding far more attention and respect than they could possibly do under other circumstances. Usually the public meetings of liberal societies are very little regarded by the community at large, who know (better than most liberals seem hitherto to have known) that such societies cannot burn very long as mere scattered embers. The first marked effect of a well-sustained National Liberal League will be discerned in the increased local power and influence of the local societies as such; and if they are half as shrewd touching their own interests as are the Orthodox societies around them, they will hasten to avail themselves of the immense advantages of concentrated energies, now offered without the disadvantages of centralized authority.

This applies just as much to old established societies as to new ones; but we anticipate that the societies which adopt most thoroughly the plan here recommended, and act upon it most energetically, will reap the most advantage from it. The Orthodox opposition which is to be expected in any populous community will no longer be able to triumph completely by overbearing or crushing the local society; it will be compelled to attempt the far harder task of destroying the national organization, and this fact will operate practically to protect the local society in a large measure from the effects of a bold local agitation. Courage comes with the consciousness of strength; and the too common "timidity" of liberals, so frequently deplored by our various correspondents, will tend to vanish in proportion as the National Liberal League increases its membership, its resources, and its activities.

4. It is specially to be noticed that, while the National Liberal League is devoted strictly and exclusively to the common public purpose of accomplishing the total separation of Church and State, the Local Leagues are not expected to confine themselves to this public purpose, but simply to keep it uppermost as paramount and supreme among many kindred purposes. The "Committee on Public Work" above described, which is designed to be the "agitation committee" in the general movement, is put first and foremost, to indicate this supremacy of public spirit even in the local organization; but it is not the only committee.

5. The "public discussion" contemplated will cover all that needs to be discussed in public; while giving its just pre-eminence to the general movement, it will include all topics that befit the platform of a genuine and self-respecting liberal society. This feature of the Liberal League movement, which has been a part of it from its original conception, should be well understood. It is not expected that any local society could sustain itself permanently by discussing the "Demands of Liberalism" alone. Some fat-witted critics have supposed that this was intended; but the merit of such a conception is exclusively their own. So long as enough attention is given to the "public work" of the Local League to secure all the good results it can accomplish in the general agitation, it is taken for granted that other matters will have their fair share of attention in its local meetings; and all that interests or concerns intelligent people will be in place on the platform of any "local auxiliary Liberal League," so long as the League faithfully carries on the "public work" at the same time.

6. The "Committee on Social Affairs" are charged with a most important function. Nothing is more vitally important than something corresponding to the "Sabbath School" of the churches, yet wholly free from its objectionable dogmatism and pernicious sentimentalism. Everywhere the necessity exists for the right training of children in the moral and mental principles of liberalism; and the social demands of the child-nature, if not wisely satisfied, are sure to assert themselves at last in some sadly perverted way. It is especially the duty of liberals to provide social and moral nutriment for the young which shall not poison their minds with superstition; and neglect of this duty by individual liberals is one of the chief causes why their children are drawn away so easily in their tender years from freedom and truth to bondage and nonsense. It is the social attractions and arts of Orthodoxy which do the mischief; and when it is done, the Orthodox gravely point to it as a proof of the "power of the gospel"! It is, on the contrary, only a proof of the weakness of unorganized liberalism. The moment that liberalism is wisely organized, and provides even decently for the social and moral needs of its young persons, it will win ten converts where Orthodoxy wins one; and the plan above sketched provides for this great socio-moral necessity.

7. The last point we wish to emphasize here is the advantage secured in this plan of organization by using the principle of the "division of labor." It is made the work of a special committee to attend to a single important matter; and the combination of all their reports, first elaborated mutually in the Board of Directors, comes before the whole League for final action. If there is any wisdom in the League, it will be brought to bear in this manner; even if the numbers are so small that the above plan can be only partially carried out, a fair and earnest experiment of it is certain to increase the numbers at last, and make the whole plan feasible. Depend upon it, this plan is not a visionary one, but will be found entirely practicable, whenever and wherever a dozen or twenty resolute and intelligent people take earnest

hold of it. Hypercritics harp continually on the "destructiveness" of liberalism; here it shows its true social constructiveness, and must, we think, commend itself to all who are sufficiently educated in the spirit of modern civilization to comprehend the admirable balance and harmony this plan creates between the universal and the local aims of liberalism.

A copy of the circular reprinted above will be sent to any one who wishes to take steps towards organizing a new "local auxiliary Liberal League."

A CASE OF LEGAL INJUSTICE.

We print with great pleasure this pertinent letter of Mr. Underwood; and we trust that this fresh act of oppression will have its due influence in rousing the liberals of Massachusetts, at least, to the defence of their own despised rights and liberties:—

EDITOR INDEX:—

Some three years ago Christopher Smith brought an action against the Boston and Maine Railroad Company to recover damages for injury received. It was apparently a clear case. But a defence was made that the plaintiff was travelling on the Sabbath, and from neither necessity nor charity. Although Mr. Smith swore he had been hard at work the previous week; that, when hurt, he was going to see whether a house into which he was to move on the day following was in a fit condition to be occupied; that his furniture was all packed up and he had to leave the house he was in on Monday, as another person to whom it had been let was to move into it on that day,—yet the Superior Court ordered a verdict for the defendant. Appeal was made to the Supreme Judicial Court, which a few days ago affirmed the decision of the subordinate tribunal, declaring that there was "no evidence under our decision which would justify the jury in finding that the plaintiff was travelling at the time from necessity or charity." No doubt this decision is in strict accordance with the letter and spirit of the Sunday law of Massachusetts,—a law that is an insult to every Liberal, an outrage on the rights of freemen, and a disgrace to the nineteenth century. To secure the repeal of such laws, and to make impossible anywhere in the American republic such legal injustice as that which Mr. Smith has suffered, is one of the objects of the Liberal League,—an organization that has greater claims on Liberals, by reason of its principles and aims, than any other organization ever formed in this country.

Respectfully,

B. F. UNDERWOOD,

THORNDIKE, Mass., Sept. 25, 1876.

LETTING THE CAT OUT OF THE BAG.

The Philadelphia *Christian Statesman*, whose special mission it is to Christianize the Constitution, in its issue of September 14, shows what bigoted legislation would be involved in that measure, by calling for a new "law of Congress" which shall prohibit all official "desecration of the Sabbath":—

"All the force in the Engraving and Printing Bureau that could be worked to advantage was employed during all the daylight hours of Sabbath, September 3, in preparing to issue the bonds for the new Syndicate. The papers of the 18th inst. contain this item: 'General Sherman and family, and Secretary Cameron and daughters passed through St. Louis on Sunday, en route to inspect Western forts. They will first stop at Fort Leavenworth, then go to Denver, Cheyenne, and San Francisco. On their return they will visit all the posts along the route in Nevada and Utah. They will also go from San Francisco to Los Angeles in Southern California. They expect to reach Washington about the 18th of October.' Intelligent readers will recall the action of Secretary Taft immediately after his appointment as Secretary of War, inspecting on two successive Sabbaths, in company with General Sherman, the forts in the vicinity of Norfolk and in New York Bay. This needless and inexcusable desecration of the Sabbath by the national government is a grave offence against good morals and a wanton offence to the sentiments of the great majority of the people. There is need of a law of Congress which shall forbid, under adequate penalties, all labor on the Sabbath in any department of the government. Ample precedent for such legislation is found in acts and recommendations of our early statesmen against blasphemy and Sabbath-breaking, and we have no doubt that combined action of Christian people would secure it. Since we were a nation, there has been no more favorable time for such action than in this Centennial year, and while the inspiration of the signal victory for the Sabbath which was won in the Centennial Commission still breathes upon the mind of the nation."

PROFESSOR P., while lecturing on momentum to the junior class not long since, related, in illustration of his subject, an account of an explosion of gunpowder in one of the army trains during the late war, on which occasion, he said, the horses were blown off their shoes. "But this," he added, "was an extreme case." The class thought so too.—*Acta Columbiana.*

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY R. C.

Election prospects have changed somewhat since we last discussed them. The outlook then favored Hayes; the outlook now favors Tilden. Republican stump orators who were loudly ringing the changes upon the *Times'* income-tax charges against Tilden are obliged to play their tune upon a cracked bell, and must soon abandon it altogether. Whether Judge Slinnott's explanation was altogether satisfactory or not, it must be accepted as correct until the *Times* makes good its remaining charges by a kind of proof which it has not thus far shown any disposition to furnish. The charges having been shown to be at least unreasonably exaggerated, a natural reaction is favoring the one who was temporarily injured by them. The same is true with regard to Dorsheimer, whose constructive mileage account we now learn to be strictly legal and in accord with the usages of United States district attorneys in all parts of the country. The Republican cause is injured also by the persistency with which Blaine and his admirers are pushed or have thrust themselves forward as party representatives; and a letter from Charles Francis Adams, read at a Democratic meeting in New York, has brought again to public attention the unanswerable fact that if Blaine and his followers truly represent the Republican party, we cannot too soon have a change in the national administration.

We are actually permitted to indulge a slight hope that Butler may be defeated as a candidate for Congress. A petition is receiving signatures in the Seventh District, requesting Judge E. R. Hoar to allow the use of his name as a candidate. If he should do so, and we hardly know upon what ground he can consistently refuse, Butler will be spared the duty of attending to the rectification of the tariff. There are undoubtedly very many Republicans in the District who do not wish to vote for Butler, but who will not vote for Tarbox because of his partisanship. There are enough of these to ensure the election of Hoar, or, at least, to defeat Butler by drawing off so many votes from him that Tarbox will receive a plurality.

If Judge Hoar should consent to run for Congress, and should receive, as he certainly would, the support of such regular party papers as the *Journal*, *Advertiser*, and *Transcript*, we wonder if these papers will set up again next year those well-known editorials which advise their readers to attend caucuses. We observe that many ministers continue also to urge caucus attendance as a positive religious duty. Now, certainly all editors, if not all ministers, know very well that there are few performances in this world more decidedly farcical than the operations of a regular party caucus. The editor will tell you, intelligent reader, that if you do not attend the caucus you will become responsible in case a bad nomination be made; an hour given to the caucus will save the character of your party, etc., etc. Now, as matter of fact, intelligent reader, if you wish to know what it is to feel like a cat's-paw, a puppet, a "thunderin' fool,"—go to a caucus and you will be fully satisfied. You will not be permitted to do anything but vote for one or the other of two sets of delegates, selected for you in advance, and whose names are upon a printed ballot. The real work of picking out the men who are ultimately to make the party nomination was done days or weeks or even months before the caucus was announced, by a small group of wire-pullers; that is, of men who make a business of politics, and with whom, my dear intelligent reader, you cannot possibly compete unless you too are willing to give to this business many days and weeks of precious time. The abolition of the caucus, not its perpetuation and attempted improvement, must be brought about, if rascals are to be kept from capturing regular party nominations. Let it not be forgotten that the defeated candidate for Mayor of Boston, last year, had succeeded in getting the regular nomination of both political parties, and it was only the unanimous bolt of terrified tax-payers which defeated him.

General Hawley, who has succeeded so well in many respects, in his responsible position in connection with the Centennial Exhibition, and who has been re-nominated for Congress in Connecticut, will need to purge himself of a very decided suspicion of hypocrisy before he can regain the esteem of a portion of the community. We can understand, of course, the reasons which would allow him to be conscientiously opposed to opening the gates of the Exhibition on Sunday; but we entirely fail to understand how a man who has declared that he would not "dare before God" to open them on that day, should subsequently, and without acknowledged change of conviction, open them Sunday after Sunday to different people, until, as on Sunday before last, as many as two hundred and fifty persons at a time enjoy the Exhibition by permission of General Hawley. He may not be a hypocrite, but he must admit that there are more facts which go to prove him one than there are facts to convict of theft nine-tenths of the men who are sent to prison for stealing.

Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll, generally referred to as "Bob" Ingersoll, is, with perhaps a few exceptions, the most conspicuous Republican speaker now upon the stump; and it is by no means surprising that his peculiarly florid rhetoric and unusually stout lungs should have attracted the attention of Democratic newspapers. Undoubtedly many unfair attempts have been made to excite prejudice against him by referring to him as an infidel or atheist; and with attempts of this kind we have, of course, no

sympathy whatever; but Colonel "Bob" has little reason to complain of unfair treatment, for, surely, on the supposition that he is listened to by persons of even limited intelligence, no speaker ever treated an audience more unfairly than he treats those who compliment him by their presence at his meetings. We know something of the immense capacity for gullibility exhibited by a crowd of excited men, but even this has its limits; and when Ingersoll declares that "the Republican party has committed no act of which we need be ashamed," or asserts that "the Republican party contains every decent man in the country," or refers to Blaine as "the chivalrous knight of politics," he must be aware that he has gone beyond these limits, and has laid himself open to almost any kind of contemptuous retort.

Congress, at its last session, appointed a "silver" Commission, charged with the duty of making inquiries with regard to the relative values of gold and silver, the advisability of adopting a double or single standard, and analogous matters of national importance pertaining to currency and finance. The Commission, as we stated at the time, contained a majority of members in every way disqualified or incompetent for the task appointed. But it possessed the power of appointing three experts to assist in its inquiries and deliberations, and we cherished the hope that by some happy accident the appointment of three genuine experts might save the inquiries of the Commission from foreordained futility. These have now been appointed, and are Mr. B. F. Nourse, of Boston, General Dix, of New York, and Wm. Groesbeck, of Ohio,—all "good men and true," without doubt, but two of whom know but little more of the subjects to be considered than do Jones and Boutwell of the Commission, the former of whom asserts that nothing can be ascertained with regard to silver which is not already in his speech delivered at the last session of Congress, and the latter of whom believes that no study is necessary in order to understand matters of finance and political economy.

There is joy in—certain places. Babcock has been acquitted of complicity in the safe-burglary conspiracy, and Boss Shepherd has ordered a dinner in his honor. Babcock is certainly a very lucky man. He escaped conviction in his "whiskey" trial, and now he gets out of the safe-burglary affair; and yet we suppose that nine out of ten of those who know anything about these matters, or who have studied the testimony with regard to them, believe that he was guiltily connected with both enterprises. For an innocent man, he enjoys a more badly-smirched reputation than any one else equally prominent.

The city of Savannah, Georgia, furnishes a striking illustration of the changes, produced by the war, in many parts of the South. When the yellow-fever, by which it is now afflicted, last visited the city in 1854, Savannah, according to a recently published letter, had a population of about fourteen thousand blacks and sixteen thousand whites. The banking capital of the city was estimated at \$18,000,000, nearly all of which is now gone; and the city itself is obliged to pay from twelve to fifteen per cent. interest on borrowed money. The blacks at that time were slaves, and were cared for by their masters; at the present time, nearly all the twelve thousand remaining blacks are fed and doctored at the expense of the city; and the seven thousand whites who remain in the city are mostly mechanics and day-laborers who cannot afford to get away, and who are consequently, to a considerable extent, a burden to the authorities. The fever thus far has obtained no foothold outside of Savannah and Brunswick, both of which places, however, are in a sad condition.

There are few countries in the world having a worse reputation for religious intolerance than Spain, and the history of the past does not seem to have taught her anything with regard to the present. A religious toleration clause, permitting freedom of worship, subject to certain limitations, was inserted into the Constitution, but is practically interpreted as narrowly as possible, so that in some places Protestants have been forbidden to sing aloud in their churches, or to worship with the doors open so that passers-by may look in. The attention of Lord Derby was called recently to the intolerant regulations of the Spanish officials, by a deputation from the Protestant Missionary and Bible Societies of London, and it is probable that some of these petty regulations may be modified. In a speech to the deputation Lord Derby said: "I, personally, have no doubt that it is an exceedingly forced and strained construction of the law to prohibit, as an external manifestation, singing in the church or worshipping with the door open, so that passers-by may look in. I think we have a right to claim that the law should not be construed unfavorably to the rights of foreigners in Spain, because they, undoubtedly, have been encouraged to settle there upon the understanding that they will be free from this kind of annoyance. I suggest that when those affected think it worth while to remonstrate, they should send me their complaint, and inquiry shall be made." Whenever England shall make an "inquiry" of the kind referred to, Spain is likely to discover some new interpretation of her laws.

The fact that Serbia does not wish for peace on the basis of her condition prior to the war, has been fully demonstrated during the past few days. The Turkish assent to a prolongation of the truce was not agreed to by Serbia, who, despite the urgent remonstrances of foreign representatives, reopened the war by a furious cannonade of the Turkish positions last Thursday. In the battle which followed, however, and in which the Serbians are said to have lost two

thousand men, the advantage appears to have remained with the Turks. The Czar is reported to have addressed an autograph letter to Francis Joseph, proposing joint action of Russia and Austria with regard to Serbia, but the terms of the proposal have not been made public.

We are unable to read the proof of these columns before publication. This fact will account for the puzzling desire, expressed last week, that *panics* might be taken away from the Indians. We should be content for the present to have them deprived of their *ponies*. We believe, also, that sympathy is not customarily referred to as *elected*.

Communications.

COL. R. G. INGERSOLL.

EDITOR INDEX:—

I notice that some of the partisan papers continue to abuse our brilliant and fearless friend, Col. Ingersoll, for his atheism. Certain organs of the Democratic party have become very pious all of a sudden. As Ingersoll says, all the time that some of his political opponents can find "between drinks" they spend "quoting Scripture." In a conversation I had with him in Boston a few days ago, he informed me that a campaign document was in circulation in Maine, in the form of a tract, made up of extracts from his oration on "The Gods." Although the compilers had selected what they considered the most horrible passages, he thought them about the finest in the book, and commended the judgment and taste that led them to call out the very sentences he would have selected for a tract. Freethinkers really ought to thank the Democratic managers of the campaign in Maine for circulating gems from the writings of their most eloquent advocates. They have helped the liberal cause without disturbing the colonel, or preventing the people from crowding halls to hear his eloquent words.

I sincerely respect and honor Col. Ingersoll for the manly courage and independence he has shown himself to possess. Exercising his rights as a man and an American citizen, he has from time to time, the past few years, frankly expressed his views on various subjects, and among others on religion. And he has spoken in a manner to command attention. All effort of personal and political friends to dissuade him from criticising the Bible and Christianity, all promises and prospects of positions and honors on condition of silence, have been unavailing to make him forego the pleasure or give up the right of presenting to the public his sentiments on religion. When his brilliant talents and his great influence with the people in the campaign make him a target for abuse from political opponents, and when his enemies seek to make capital out of his atheistic views, he does not, like the majority of politicians, try to take back or modify or explain what he has said because his opponents are using it against him, but defiantly tells them he *did* say it, that he had a right to say it, and then exposes the contemptible meanness of trying to excite prejudice against a man on account of his religious views in a political campaign. I wish more of our public men were as independent, courageous, and as true to themselves and their principles. I could name a large number of men of national reputation whose views are substantially the same as those of Col. Ingersoll, but who are too cowardly or too much in love with popularity to venture a frank expression of their honest convictions on religion, in a form to reach the public ear. If all our professional and public men, indeed all men whose character and position give them influence, who have outgrown the creeds of the churches, would avow their honest sentiments on all proper occasions, we should see no such assaults as have been made upon Col. Ingersoll by the *New York Sun* and other unscrupulous partisan journals.

Respectfully, B. F. UNDERWOOD.

THE SUNDAY EXPLOSION OPPOSED.

LETTER OF WILLIAM E. DODGE TO GEN. NEWTON.—PROTEST OF THE NEW YORK SABBATH COMMITTEE.

The following protest against exploding the mine on Sunday was sent to Gen. Newton yesterday by William E. Dodge:—

"GEN. JOHN NEWTON, U. S. Army:

"Dear Sir,—I have just received a card to be present on Sunday at the 'Hell Gate Explosion,' by steamboat, from Twenty-third Street. Permit me to say that during my fifty years of public life in this city, I have never known such an unnecessary desecration of the Sabbath as you have now inaugurated. You can have no idea of the extent of the surprise and mortification of thousands of our best citizens. This undertaking is world-wide in its interest, and will be announced by wire in all directions, and with it the fact that the agent of the United States government has taken the Christian Sabbath as the day for this public display; and not only over your own signature do you give warning of danger, and name the time, and recommend the position which the vast crowd, you are aware will attend, shall occupy, but you furnish cards of invitation for your steamboat excursion.

"I am informed that you have chosen this day, thinking there would be less obstruction to navigation, and at the same time you provide the means to warn vessels of danger. Now why could not such warning have been full and perfect on any other day, for the detention could not have been for any great length of time? You have not only given great distress to many professing Christians of our city and

country, but to others who make no professions; yet you feel that our ultimate prosperity as a nation depends much on our American, in distinction from the Continental, Sabbath. At the meeting, yesterday, of one of our large marine insurance companies, one of our old merchants, not a member of any church, said to me: 'Mr. Dodge, why has the government taken Sunday for the Hell Gate explosion? As president of one of our principal railroads, five hundred miles long, I have recently so arranged that the change of gauge from five and one-half feet to four and eight-twelfths feet was done without detention to the trains, or having any work done on the Sabbath.' May a kind Providence save the nation from this most public desecration of the day recognized by us as a day of rest and quiet from public, as well as private, business; and may we never forget that there is a God of Nations who has said, 'Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy.' I trust you will excuse this free expression of the views of one who, for thirty years, was superintendent of a Sabbath-school in this city, and who can but regret that our children and youth have this open violation set before them. Can you not defer the explosion till a week-day?

"Respectfully yours,

WILLIAM E. DODGE.

"NEW YORK, Sept. 22, 1876."

A letter was received by Gen. Newton yesterday, signed by Norman White, Chairman, and W. W. Atterbury, Secretary, of the New York Sabbath Committee, protesting against his exploding the mine at Hallett's Reef on Sunday. The reasons given were, the excuse that it would give to many thousands of people to break the Sabbath, and the appearance that it would have to foreign nations of falling into their practices of making Sunday a gala-day. Gen. Newton gave a verbal reply that he respected the Sabbath, no doubt, as much as those whose sentiments the letter represented, but that the choice of Sunday was a simple necessity. He said to a *Tribune* reporter, a day or two ago, that he thought it would be almost criminal in him to allow that immense mass of explosives to remain a single hour longer than could possibly be avoided. High water would occur at 2.50 P. M., Sunday, and the explosion must take place then. If the mine, by some unforeseen accident, happened to explode in the night and at low water, when no preparations had been made for such an event, there might be loss of life.—*N. Y. Tribune*, Sept. 23, 1876.

GENERAL NEWTON TO WILLIAM E. DODGE.

General Newton sent Saturday the following answer to a letter of Mr. Dodge denouncing the contemplated explosion as a desecration of the Sabbath:—

"HALLETT'S POINT, Sept. 23, 1876.

"MR. WILLIAM E. DODGE:

"Sir,—I received a communication from you, dated Sept. 22, in which you decline an alleged invitation from me to witness the explosion at Hell Gate on Sunday, the 24th instant. As you take a great deal of pains to go out of your way to violate the common courtesies of social intercourse, I take this occasion to inform you that I did not invite you, nor even know of your invitation until the receipt of your refusal to accept one. The truth is, I left the matter of invitation to the Chamber of Commerce, to Lieutenant Willard, United States Engineers, with instructions to invite a certain number of gentlemen. I regret to find that, in one case, he has made a mistake.

"Your obedient servant, JOHN NEWTON,
"Lieut.-Col. Engineers, Brev. Maj.-Gen."
—*N. Y. Graphic*, Sept. 25.

[N. B.—This letter did not appear in the *Tribune* that I could find.]

At 10½ o'clock yesterday morning Gen. Newton arrived at the works. He said that it was a case of sheer necessity that the mine should be fired on Sunday. In experimenting with the high explosives used he had learned that the preparations used in exploding the mine would retain their power under water for ten days, and that then the strength would deteriorate. Some of the explosives at Hell Gate had been under water for two weeks, owing to the tardiness of the contractors in fulfilling their contracts. Had that not occurred the explosion might have been postponed; but as the minimum quantity of explosives had been charged, the entire seven years' work might be lost should the nitro-glycerine compounds prove deteriorated so much as to explode without accomplishing their entire duty.—*N. Y. Sun*, Sept. 26, 1876.

Yours truly, F. L. POPE.
ELIZABETH, N. J.

A LETTER TO THE "SUN."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK SUN:

Dear Sir,—I wish to call your attention to an article in the *Sun* of the instant, which is animated by a spirit that even the license of a presidential campaign cannot justify. Although I have never seen Robert G. Ingersoll, and do not agree with him in the least politically, I cannot resist the temptation of bespeaking fair play for him and his belief.

I do not think the *Sun* would like to put itself in the position of calling Michael C. Kerr "carrion," or Thomas Jefferson "a moral pestilence." Yet the former was a liberal,—what Bishop Cox would brand an infidel; and the latter held religious opinions scarcely distinguishable from those of the gentleman in question.

In 1872, when Frances Kernan headed our State ticket the *Sun* had nothing but words of contempt for the narrow bigots who cried out against making a "Romanist" Governor; how, after appealing then to the mass of Protestant voters to rise above sectarian bigotry, can it now, in good faith, seek to inflame

that same miserable fanaticism, and bring into a campaign the very prejudices that it condemned so recently?

As has been repeatedly remarked, this is a free country: the Baptist and the Atheist, the Lutheran and the Liberal, have equal rights before the common law; the right to vote implies the right to explain your vote; and in common civility Mr. Ingersoll has just as great a claim upon the courtesy of the public as Senator Kernan, James Freeman Clarke, or—to quit my premise—the eminent scientific stranger now within our gates. If he is not a gentleman, criticize him; if his opinions are unsound, combat them; if he tells lies, nail them tight; but for the sake of the time, our common country and its institutions, don't sink the *Sun* to the pitiful level of the *Witness*, and call men names because their religious views are not yours!

I am sorry to be compelled to speak thus, for I am a Democrat and I like the *Sun*; but it is sadder still that in the greatest of republics, in this vaunted year, there should arise a necessity for the defence of religious liberty, the freedom of speech and "the rights of man." Sincerely yours,

HAROLD FREDERIC.

UTICA, Sept. 5, 1876.

ANOTHER LIBERAL IN EARNEST.

BRODHEAD, Wis., Sept. 20, 1876.

EDITOR INDEX:

Dear Sir,—You struck the key-note in your article on political matters in THE INDEX of September 7. Had you done so long ago, you would have uttered the sentiments of many liberals. Let all such liberals as your New York City subscriber stop THE INDEX; you will gain half a dozen subscribers where you will lose one, by striking the nail plumb on the head every time. Let truth and justice always prevail. The "Demands of Liberalism," for my part, I thoroughly approve, and the resolutions of the National Liberal League, adopted July 3, speak my sentiments precisely, especially the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth resolutions.

Allow me to suggest (if it can be done without too much trouble) that you publish in THE INDEX the religious opinions and notions of all the six individuals, now candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States—Tilden and Hendricks, Hayes and Wheeler, and Cooper and Cary. For myself, I shall not vote for a man that is a religious fanatic, or advocates the "God-in-the-Constitution" amendment, or favors Bible-reading in the public schools, etc., etc., or refuses to express an opinion on these points and tries to be "good Lord and good devil" to everybody.

Yours, etc.,

E. P. HASSINGER.

[Efforts have been made to obtain an expression of opinion on State Secularization from several of the candidates, but without success. They all prefer not to commit themselves on this subject till after election! This is exactly what was to be expected, and their politic reticence surprises nobody. It is time to send to Congress a few men, at least, who will dare to speak boldly for this new cause in the spirit of John P. Hale and Charles Sumner.—Ed.]

QUESTIONING THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES.

PASSAIC, N. J., Sept. 22, 1876.

EDITOR INDEX:

Dear Sir,—I have lately been seeking information regarding the views of the prominent Presidential candidates on the question of secularization as I mentioned to you, the other day. To each of the three prominent candidates I sent a "Patriotic Address" and a line asking an expression of his views. From Mr. Tilden, or at least in response to a registered letter sent to him, I received some printed campaign documents, and find among them the following, from

GOV. HENDRICKS' LETTER.

Of sectional contentions, and in respect to our common schools, I have only this to say: That in my judgment, the man or party that would involve our schools in political or sectarian controversy is an enemy to the schools. The common schools are safer under the protecting care of all the people than under the control of any party or sect. They must be neither sectarian nor partisan, and there must be neither division nor misappropriation of the funds for their support. Likewise I regard the man who would arouse or foster sectional animosities and antagonisms among his countrymen as a dangerous enemy to his country. All the people must be made to feel and know that once more there is established a purpose and policy under which all citizens of every condition, race, and color, will be secure in the enjoyment of whatever rights the Constitution and laws declare or recognize; and that in controversies that may arise the government is not a partisan, but, within its constitutional authority, the just and powerful guardian of the rights and safety of all. The strife between the sections and between races will cease as soon as the power for evil is taken away from a party that makes political gain out of scenes of violence and bloodshed, and the constitutional authority, is placed in the hands of men whose political welfare requires that peace and good order shall be preserved everywhere.

And in place of any words from Governor Tilden, the following, from

THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM adopted at St. Louis, June 28, 1876.

SECTARIAN STRIFE AND SECTIONAL HATE.

Reform is necessary and can never be effected but by making it the controlling issue of the elections, and lifting it above the two false issues with which the office-holding class and the party in power seek to smother it.

1. The false issue with which they would enkindle sectarian strife in respect to the public schools, of which the establishment and support belong exclusively to the several States, and which the Democratic party has cherished from their foundation, and is resolved to maintain without

prejudice or preference for any class, sect, or creed, and without contributions from the treasury to any.

2. The false issue by which they seek to light anew the dying embers of sectional hate between kindred peoples once estranged, but now reunited in one indivisible republic and a common destiny.

From Mr. Cooper, that noble philanthropist, I received a printed copy of his "Letter to the Episcopal Church Congress," with an "Address to the Delegates of the Evangelical Alliance," the first-mentioned dated in 1874; which, while confirming my idea that he is a good and true man and a liberal, rational Christian, does not help me to know where he would stand on the question of the complete secularization of the State. (Of course he would always try to benefit mankind in his own way.)

In writing to each gentleman, I requested them, if they replied by writing, to mark their reply "personal" or not; and my word as regards Governor Hayes is limited. I can say that my letter was received and acknowledged by personal word from an old friend of his, who refers me to the Governor's public record on these questions. Your issue of Sept. 7 gave us his record, and therefore we have exact information on which to base our actions. I would not for a moment doubt Mr. Hayes' earnestness, or his desire to serve his country; and, as Mr. Tilden's banner is "Reform," we may presume he is earnest too. Peter Cooper we all know as an honest man.

But neither of these three sees the matter as we liberals do; and then what is left to us but to vote a "conscience vote"—shall I say, ahead of the times?—do what we can to organize the new party for the secularization of the State?

Yours truly,

F. A. ANGELL.

GOV. HAYES AND THE "ALLIANCE."

COLUMBUS, O., Sept. 25, 1876.

EDITOR INDEX:

Dear Sir,—In THE INDEX of Sept. 22, I notice a quotation from the New York *World* in relation to Gov. Hayes having written a letter to Samuel J. Tylor, July 5, 1876, accepting membership in a secret political society, the American Alliance, and that he had subscribed to the sentiment that suffrage and the right to hold office should be limited to persons born in this country.

A man who holds such opinions at this day, I think, should have his calvarium elevated, the substance called brains scooped out, and the cavity filled with good soft apple sauce, in order to give him sense.

I hand you herewith statement in relation to this matter published by the *Ohio State Journal*, Sept. 14, 1876, and for the truthfulness of the statement I can vouch. By giving space in your next issue for the correction you will but do justice to Gov. Hayes, and greatly oblige,

Yours truly,

JOHN N. LYMAN.

"1. Hayes never wrote any such letter.

"2. He never belonged to a secret political society, and would not, under any circumstances, join one.

"3. The sentiment imputed to him, as well as the act, is totally repugnant to every act and belief of his life.

"4. There is not one word of truth, or truth-simulacra even, in any of the charges. They are a complete fabrication, in web and wool, chain and filling."

WANTING THEIR MONEY'S WORTH.

NEPEAN, Ontario, Sept. 18, 1876.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—A lady of my acquaintance took me to view the interior splendors of the new Wesleyan Methodist Church, in Ottawa, the other day. Here, it seems, "salvation is not without money," etc., for she told me that her husband had taken one of the front seats, which are let at the rate of two dollars per Sunday.

I spoke of this at home, upon which the youngest boy "guessed they'd get up off them pretty slow."

Use this item as you please.

Yours very truly,

F. HARMER.

BOSTON CORBETT, who shot Wilkes Booth, lives in a little, old, forlorn-looking house at Camden, N. J., where he has been visited by a correspondent of the *Philadelphia Sunday World*. This writer describes Corbett as short in stature, with a resolute and rather stern face. He is about forty years old, is very plain in dress, and his principal boast appears to be his devotion as a Methodist. He busily piles his trade as a hatter. He lives alone in his little house, doing his own cooking and housekeeping, and seeing nobody but the members of the little flock of Methodists which meet nightly at his house, and of which he is the head. Heaped together in one corner of his kitchen are half-a-dozen rough benches for the use of his congregation. He preaches and exhorts himself, and uses a Windsor chair for a pulpit. When asked if the name "Boston" was not a nickname, he became rather angry, his eyes flashed, and holding on high a Testament with the name "Boston Corbett" printed on it in black ink, he said, pointing his finger at the name, "Young man, there is my name; the only one I shall ever own. In Boston I was converted; there I met my Redeemer, and Boston is the only name I wish to be called by." As he accompanied his visitor to the gate he said, "On that eventful morning of my life, as I shot the assassin, crouched like a savage beast in the recesses of the barn, I felt that I was doing my duty to my God and my country. To this day I feel justified in my course. Were the ghosts of twenty assassins to arise against me, they could not disturb a calm Christian spirit."—*N. Y. Tribune*.

MADAME DE STAEL said of America: "It is the vanguard of the human race, it is the future of the world."

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Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America—that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country,—is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large." And later still: "I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest."

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Proceedings of Sixth Annual Meeting, 1873. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains essays by Samuel Johnson on "Freedom in Religion," and by John Weiss on "Religion in Freedom," with addresses by Wm. C. Gannett, Robert Dale Owen, T. W. Higginson, Samuel Longfellow, J. S. Thomson, F. E. Abbot, and Lucretia Mott.

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Religions of China, by Wm. H. Channing. 25 cents.

Reason and Revelation, by William J. Potter. 10 cents.

Taxation of Church Property, by Jas. Parton. 5 cents, singly; package of ten, 30 cents; of one hundred, \$1.50.

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ARTICLE IV.—Any person who shall pay one dollar into the treasury shall be entitled to a certificate, signed by the President and Secretary, as an annual member of the National Liberal League. Any person who shall pay twenty-five dollars or more into the treasury shall be entitled to a similar certificate as a life-member. All the persons present as members at the Centennial Congress of Liberals, at which this Constitution was adopted, are hereby declared permanent or charter-members of the National Liberal League.

ARTICLE V.—All charter-members and life-members of the National Liberal League, and all duly accredited delegates from local auxiliary Liberal Leagues organized in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution, shall be entitled to seats and votes in the Annual Congress. Annual members of the National Liberal League shall be entitled to seat, but not to votes, in the Annual Congress.

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in the country unite without delay to forward their

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 Before New Year, let a

Thousand Liberal Leagues

be thoroughly organized and actively at work for the adoption of the

Religious Freedom Amendment

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party are scheming and laboring more busily than ever for the adoption of their

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which would ultimately **DISFRANCHISE** and **DISQUALIFY FOR OFFICE** every honest Liberal in the land, and trample under foot the people's most sacred rights of conscience. It is time to rouse the people to an effective defence of their religious liberty, and the Liberal Leagues must do it.

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THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

NEVER was there greater need of THE INDEX than there is to-day; will not its sincere friends make fresh efforts to increase its circulation?

ATTEMPTS are making at Washington to open the Capitol Botanical Gardens and the Smithsonian Institution on Sundays. Don Pedro gets mentioned in this connection—with a back glance at Philadelphia and General Hawley.

IT is not impossible, however infrequent, for Orthodox writers to do justice to the moral character of free thinkers. Rev. John S. C. Abbott says of Franklin: "Franklin discarded Jesus Christ as an authoritative teacher, and yet he made strenuous efforts to attain moral perfection. . . . Deism has never presented to the world an apostle more worthy of homage than Benjamin Franklin."

BISHOP GILBERT HAVEN, of the Methodist Church, said in a recent lecture in Boston: "Let us welcome to our shores every nation, only demanding that they shall recognize Christ and Christianity, the Bible and Testament, as our only true national liberty." That is demanding a great deal more than the Constitution demands. But the Bishop is in favor of making the Constitution demand it all.

IT WAS a good omen that the trustees of the Johns Hopkins University "carefully omitted the faintest religious observance in the opening exercises of the University"—though the *Boston Journal*, in an article which a correspondent suggests belongs in our "Sanctuary of Superstition," deploras the fact. The world needs now and then an example of sticking to business, without lugging in by the heels a text of Scripture or a perfunctory prayer where it has no natural place.

REV. MR. BURGESS, President of the North-Western Christian University, said in his late debate with Mr. B. F. Underwood: "I said that the Bible taught that the man who seduced another from his faith in God should be put to death. It was right that they should have the right to punish him who enticed and seduced another man away from the religion and opinions that he held dear." Behold the voice of the Church in all ages! When her tongue is so bold, what would not her hand do, if once again she had the power?

TWO EMINENT Orthodox clergymen have come out quite recently in favor of complete secularization of the public schools. One is the Rev. W. W. Patton,

D.D., of Chicago, who delivered an excellent lecture on "The Bible in Schools" at Farwell Hall on September 24. The other is the Rev. S. T. Spear, D.D., of Brooklyn, who has just republished, in book form, his able articles in the *New York Independent* on "Religion and the State." Both these gentlemen are broad and liberal enough to appreciate the justice of the secular principle; and we rejoice heartily in their outspoken advocacy of it.

THESE ARE the choice terms in which the *Passaic City* (N. J.) *Herald* of September 30 refers to the "Patriotic Address" of the National Liberal League: "We have been shown an infamous pamphlet calculated to mix religion with politics, and meant to influence the most ignorant class of voters who do not know that, by the new constitutional amendment and by the Constitution of our own State, money cannot be appropriated to sectarian schools. This vile pamphlet is being circulated to create hatred against Catholics. Every intelligent citizen should frown upon the circulation of such a vile and wicked pamphlet. Keep your religion out of politics." Could anything be more absurd or more dishonest?

THE *Tribune* relates this ludicrous anecdote: "Congressman Banning, of Cincinnati, is great in many things, but greatest of all as a handshaker. This latter accomplishment was largely instrumental in electing him to Congress, and he is trying hard to make it return him this fall. Following out his usual plan he rushed up to a prominent German merchant in Cincinnati the other day, holding out both hands, and exclaiming with much fervor: 'How are you, old friend?' The old friend failed to recognize him, and a bystander said: 'This is Mr. Banning.' 'Yes,' said the Congressman, 'Gen. Banning. I am Gen. Banning.' 'So you live about here?' 'Oh, yes. I am a neighbor of yours. I am the member of Congress from this district.' 'So? Chinneral Panning? Vell, I never hear dot name before.' The chances are he will never hear it again from its owner's lips." This is just the place to quote a pathetic bit of true poetry from the *Boston Herald*:

DER CANDIDATE.
"Who stands der streets and corners round,
Mit sefrel azes to be ground,
Und shmiled und bowed und nefer frowned?
Der Candidate."

"Who held your hand ven you would start,
Und told you you was mighty smart,
And how he lured you mit his hart?
Der Candidate."

THE BOLTON (England) *Evening News*, of September 9, thus alludes to two well-known Boston buildings: "Two of the finest buildings in Boston stand side by side, only a few feet apart. These are the Parker Memorial Hall and the Paine Memorial Hall. The former is the larger of the two, and is indeed a noble building; whilst the lesser dimensions of the latter are amply compensated for in the greater beauty of the architectural design and the richness of the ornamental carvings in stone. They are, both of them, stately fabrics, and are worthy to commemorate the virtues and services of the great and good men whose names they bear. Theodore Parker and Thomas Paine had each in their day to run the gauntlet of a public opinion which was utterly incapable of appreciating their great and sterling merits. But

"The demons of our sires become
The saints that we adore."

"Theodore Parker, ostracized even by the freedom-loving Unitarians of the day, is now coming to be regarded as one of the brightest ornaments of the Christian Church. And the freethinking, but nevertheless truly religious and God-fearing, patriot, Thomas Paine, will, some day or other, be revered as he deserves. Boston has done herself lasting honor in erecting these two memorials, and thus taking the initiative in performing a tardy act of justice to two of the worthiest men of modern times."

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE,
 AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

Thoughts on Intuition.

BY WILLIAM WICKERSHAM.

There are many notions about intuition which are vague and indefinite; but intuition and inspiration are usually regarded as the same thing, or at least as closely allied to each other. Both terms commonly signify the involuntary reception of ideas into the mind in a way unlike the ordinary method of reasoning from premise to conclusion; and in a way unlike any of the ordinary mental processes treated of in mental science.

Further, it is believed that only a few of mankind are gifted with inspiration or the intuitional faculty; and these only occasionally manifest it, often when least expecting it. A new idea will flash upon the mind as though by a supernatural process, or an extraordinary mental illumination and exaltation of spirit. In these periods of illumination the mind appears to be raised above the world of material things into a purely mental world, and in a state of enthusiasm attains the highest reach of thought, truth, beauty, and excellence; and while in this state the moral appears so transcendent as to put material things into comparative insignificance. The man thus elevated in thought brings his new knowledge to his normal state, and is able to impart it to others, and it becomes the property of all mankind. The prophet, the poet, the scientist, the artist, and the inventor all claim their share of this intuitional power.

This intuition or inspiration was considered by the Jews to be the voice of God directly to the spirit of man; and as God was believed to be infinite in knowledge, his communications to man were believed to be infallible. Hence the idea of the infallibility of the Bible. Most of the sacred books of the great religions of the world have been believed infallible on the same ground.

The transcendentalists believe in intuition, and, though they may not be quite so settled in their belief that intuition is the voice of God speaking directly, as a person, to the souls of men, they believe that truth comes to the consciousness from a personal God, or from some source other than through the medium of reason. For instance, Theodore Parker was so strongly impressed, had such a vivid consciousness of the existence of God and of immortality as left no room for doubting; a belief not built upon the beauty, order, and harmony manifested in the material world, nor upon that miracle, the existence of a living human being, but upon the strong feeling, the ever-abiding impression, the conviction intuitional, that there is that within us which shall survive the body, and that there is a God, a Father, who is the framer and ruling power of the universe. Some of those who are so gifted have very strong impressions, amounting to undoubting convictions; while others are not blessed with impressions so strong; and others again, embracing a large majority of mankind, have no such intuitional impressions at all.

Now I have examined this subject with some care, and think that these intuitions are capable of purely scientific solution, and can be explained as clearly as other mental phenomena. Since there are so many who stand in the first rank as liberal scholars, who still regard intuition as authoritative, if not infallible, obeying its every prompting, and making its still, small voice the guiding star of life, it may not be uninteresting to suggest an explanation of these things. I will first state a few facts, familiar to every one, which are pertinent to the subject in hand.

It is well known that, if an object is presented to the eye for a mere instant, say one-hundredth of a second, no impression will be made; that is, none is remembered, though a perfect photograph can be taken in the same length of time on the instantaneous plan. The image is perfectly formed on the retina, and it may be, and probably is, the fact, that the impression, both on the eye and the brain, is perfect; but the memory is not equal to the retention of an impression of so short duration.

It is equally true that thoughts passing through the mind rapidly cannot be retained in the memory, while, if they pass more slowly, they may be retained. This is a fact of common experience.

The mind in contemplating a new subject proceeds slowly. For instance, in the first application of the gamut, in the reading of music, each note is to be considered in its several relations,—its position in the scale, its length, and so forth; the questions, "Is it natural? Is it flat? Is it sharp? Is it to be loud or low, soft or harsh?" and several other questions, are to be asked and answered; the peculiar tone of voice by which each note shall be made to contribute most effectively to the beauty and excellence of the whole composition of which it is a part. Now at first the mind is conscious of every one of these questions; but gradually, as the work becomes more familiar, there is less effort required, and the ability to proceed more rapidly is attained, until, with the experienced performer, all memory of volitions to seek, of seeking and of finding these relations, is lost,—all memory of adapting the vocal chords to the pitch of the note is lost. I say "lost," and yet this may mislead; I mean that these various transactions of the mind in volition, in seeking and finding these various relations, were long enough in the first instance for the memory to retain them; but finally the performance of each of these acts of the eye and of the mind is of so short duration, with the skilled performer, that no memorial record is or can be kept of them. The results of this mental labor, a knowledge of the relations of each part to the whole, may sometimes

be retained; but the great amount of mental work by which these results are reached cannot be retained.

The theory of the inability of the mind to arrest and retain thoughts which pass through it rapidly, is further supported by a consideration of the judgment of distance, exercised in the act of sight. We look at an object, and its approximate distance is fixed in the mind instantaneously, as it commonly seems to us, and there is not the slightest trace in the memory of our having reasoned from premises to conclusion, or of having formed this judgment on numerous data; and I think ninety-nine out of every hundred persons would deny that any such process passed through the mind.

The first datum on which this judgment is nevertheless based, is the effort of adjustment of the eye to the focal distance, which diminishes with the increased distance of the object. In adjusting the eyepiece of a telescope, we do it slowly, sometimes making many trials before we get the sharpest outline, often moving it the wrong way, or too far in the right direction. But we acquire great skill in the use of the eye; evidently, as in the case of the telescope, in our first glance at an object, forty-nine times out of fifty the adjustment of the eye is wrong. We exercise the judgment in determining in what direction the movement must be, and then we apply the conclusion which has been reasoned to, and correct the adjustment, until we secure the clearest vision of the object. We attain it by a course of reasoning and experiments; and when it is reached the particular adjustment is an indication of the distance of the object. The mind has to go through a computation like that which the cannoner is required to make, to find the proper degree of elevation of his piece to hit a target at a given distance. Next, the adjustment of the axis of each eye to the object and a computation of the distance by the parallax of the two eyes; yet, in both of these methods, such great skill and dexterity of the eye is acquired that it appears to be done instantaneously. Another means of judging of distance is by the intermediate objects, and sometimes by objects beyond; and again we judge by the degree of distinctness or clearness with which the object appears to the eye, near objects being more distinct.

Now all these experiments of the eye, and all these computations and reasonings from the several premises, are gone through with in judging of distance, and performed with such wonderful rapidity and precision that the memory does not, and cannot, retain the slightest trace of them. Notwithstanding the great number of acts of the eye, the great number of volitions in the various experiments in its adjustments, and the great number of computations, reasonings, and conclusions in each determination of distance, it seems like a single act. Hence it is clear that a large portion of our thought and mental work serves us for an instant, and disappears forever, as a scaffolding to a building; and it is further clear that the greater the rapidity of the mental work, the larger the proportion of it which is not memorized.

I shall undertake to show presently, that this principle has much to do with intuition; but first I will give a few incidents which came under my own observation, by way of illustration of the subject, which I think greatly valuable in its solution.

I shall have to introduce here some curious and wonderful intellectual manifestations of my mother, as illustrative of intuition. In her native place, York County, Pa., the schools were very defective, and it was not the custom to teach arithmetic, grammar, and geography to girls; reading and writing was deemed sufficient, and therefore my mother's schooling was limited to reading and writing. Arithmetic she never studied in whole or in part, and I am satisfied that she never learned a single rule in the text-books. When she was about fourteen, the care of her mother's family was largely thrown upon her, which taxed her mental resources and bodily strength pretty severely. She married at the age of twenty-five. When her eldest son was about sixteen, he commenced the study of arithmetic alone, working on the farm in the daytime, and studying at night; his father did indeed give him some little instruction up to the rule of three, where his knowledge in that department of science ended. However, one evening, when my brother was very much puzzled with a difficult question in double-position, having failed to get the answer, he expressed some impatience; mother asked him what the question was, and he answered her by reading to her from the book. After a few moments thought she gave the answer. It was a matter of great surprise to him, and to me; though but a boy of ten, I could not help wondering how a person untaught in arithmetic could answer its most difficult questions.

It was not long before she was put to another test of the same kind, but she promptly responded and gave the true answer; and she did this repeatedly afterwards, until it was found that there was no question in the arithmetic which she was not able to solve, in every instance giving a prompt and correct answer. But there was one very curious feature of the case. She could not (though repeatedly asked) explain her method or process of working out these problems; yet, when she reached the conclusion, her faith was undoubting as to its correctness.

After the arithmetic, her son took up algebra (the very name was unknown to mother). Strange to say, when he reached some difficult question, she showed the same ability in its solution as in questions of the arithmetic. Though many questions were asked her, there was no instance, so far as I know, where she did not answer correctly; yet in this, as in the other cases, she could give no account of the manner of working out these algebraic problems.

At this time I left the neighborhood, and was absent for several years. When grown up, and after having studied arithmetic and algebra, I returned

with the determination, if possible, to find out the secret of mother's power. First, I wished to put it to a fair test, to see if the manifestation was just what I, in my younger years, believed it to be; for I felt myself better able to judge of the whole matter than in my boyish days. To assure myself of the facts, then, was my first work. Accordingly I asked her various questions, until I was satisfied that there was no mistake as to the manifestations; she certainly had the power as above stated. Then I arranged a series of questions, graded from very simple to complicated and difficult ones. I first asked the most simple, requesting her to think slowly, and to go over it several times, until she could memorize the way she worked it out. But this was to her very difficult. She answered the first question as soon as it was asked (just as I should answer a question on the multiplication table), as if from memory; and yet I took pains to have all the questions new to her, so that the conclusion could not possibly be reached except by a fresh process of reasoning. At last she was successful in explaining her method; and then I took the next in the series, which by going over many times, she was able to memorize the process of her work. Although it was extremely difficult for her, she continued, until she was able to explain her methods of solution of the whole series of questions. Without appearing to be aware of it, she would make a rule, and then work out the solution by the rule made specially for each question; and to my surprise some of these rules were similar to those in algebra for similar questions.

When I reflect what the labor and the difficulty must be to one who has studied nothing of the rules of mathematics, in taking a complex question, considering the many questions which must be asked and answered before a rule can be made that will suit the case, and then proceeding with that rule step by step until the solution is complete (and all of this done as a purely mental operation, without a figure or symbol being made on paper or slate),—I say, considering the wonderful mental activity and power required to achieve such a feat, this phenomenon is astounding beyond measure. Of miracles it is the greatest; all material things become cheap and mean by its side; it is transcendent; it is Godlike. These manifestations, so rich and grand, inspire me with an enthusiasm and ardor for more knowledge of this wonder of wonders, the human mind. The more I pondered over this matter, the stronger the conviction became that it turned a new leaf in mental science; I felt that a key was furnished to solve the mysteries of intuition. It explains that which has been attributed to God himself, or, at any rate, that which has been considered an unfathomable secret, past finding out, by a purely scientific method; it shows intuition to be a mental process, susceptible of investigation like any other mental process or law of the human mind.

After witnessing these wonderful manifestations of mental power, and reflecting upon the wide diversity of character in this respect, it occurs to me, that any discussion which will throw light on its origin will be interesting. On looking into such matters, we shall find that many causes, instead of one, are required to give us that rich completeness of character which now and then surprises us, and glows with such a rich radiance as to give light to the whole world.

I have stood upon the beach and watched the incoming waves for hours together, to see if I could discover any order in them. Commonly the first thing noticeable would be their inequality, and the difference of their extent up the incline of the beach. Then I have sought a position where an island, or a line of coast, deflected the waves in such manner as to make the deflected waves pass over the same surface of water as the direct waves; this made a peculiar and interesting complication. Sometimes there would be a smooth surface between two waves having the average level of the sea, which was owing to the fact that one of the deflected waves came between two of the direct waves, and, being of the same size, just filled the hollow. Then again I would occasionally see a wave twice the ordinary size, which was caused by a deflected wave occupying the same space on the surface of the water with the direct wave. Then by watching a long time I would see the union of two waves of an extraordinary size, making one from four to six times the volume of an ordinary wave. Many a person, spending an idle hour on the beach, has been surprised by finding his feet drenched in water, while thinking himself at a safe distance from its approach; being entirely unaware of the singular combination which produced the unexpected result.

Now, however irrelevant these observations may at first seem, there is something in them almost exactly analogous to the varied intercrossings of character in the actual history of human life, rendering them important in this connection. When the father has a character very marked and prominent, and the mother has the same character depressed, the prominent character of the father disappears in the child; this is the deflected wave coming between the direct waves. When the father and mother have the same prominent character, you may expect the child to have an extraordinary prominence of the same character. Again, if the fond grandparents should have the same character prominent, and the parents should have inherited and cultivated it, it would appear in the child multiplied by four, together with the increase due to cultivation; this would be the union of four waves, constantly augmented by the wind. It matters not from how great a distance the waves may have come; if they come from the four quarters of the earth, the effect is the same; if they unite, they augment; and, if they intervene, they depress. It matters not from how remote a period character may have descended, the resultant inherited character of the child is made up of the thousand

united waves of character which augment, minus the thousand waves which intervene and depress, the character of the thousand ancestors. No doubt, these intervening and augmenting characters tend, on the average, to equalize each other; yet in any one child the augmenting characters of a thousand generations may out-influence the depressing characters to a surprising degree.

To return to my mother: she was from a long line of accountants and wealthy ancestors. She belonged to the Jennings family, who had for many generations accumulated wealth by the manufacture of iron in Birmingham, England, by other kindred pursuits; and thus she had inherited great imaginative power, and also a power of rapid and accurate computation which had been accumulating for many generations. Added to this, her inherited imagination and mathematical power were brought to their highest tension and activity early in life, by her habituating herself to work out her own problems, by means of which she acquired the power of rapid mental computation. Thus gradually one after another of her mental operations became so familiar, and so quickened by practice, that the process was not remembered; and her memory by force of long habit had acquired the power of retaining only the premises and the conclusion. But the rule by which she worked out these problems (for she always made a rule), together with the process or reasoning, were forgotten and habitually laid aside; like the scaffolding to a building as soon as the work was done. Induction and deduction were alike needful to such work; such a performance would be impossible without an intensely active imagination. But this case does not stand alone, as there are, and have been, other natural mathematicians.

From the foregoing facts it is clearly evident that a very large portion of our mental work is forgotten in a very short time after it is performed; while the conclusion, the result of this work, is retained. Although the reasoning or demonstration passes through the mind in an instant, and then disappears, it often leaves an impression of its character. If, for instance, the demonstration is very clear and conclusive, a very strong impression of the truth of the conclusion will accompany it. If the reasoning is in some way associated with pleasant memories, or with pleasant thoughts or reflections, the conclusion will carry a pleasant impression along with it; and if there are in some way very sad thoughts associated with the reasoning, neither the reasoning nor the sad thoughts will be retained, but the conclusion will be enveloped in a dark shadow. Evil presentiments, or impressions which are thought to be the forerunners of pending misfortune, sometimes originate in this way.

Before proceeding farther, I shall here state an argument drawn from the above class of facts, and others of a similar character, by intuitionists, just the reverse of what it seems to me the facts teach. Rev. Samuel Longfellow, some two years since, read two or three sermons and essays, in which he urged, in a beautiful style and with a plausible ingenuity, that those intuitional ideas and truths which come into the mind apparently without any effort, and without any memory of their origin by a process of reasoning, were *above and beyond reason*, and stood on an authority of their own,—*above the province of reason to criticize*. He did not say exactly that these intuitions were infallible; but the essays of which I speak had a strong leaning, as it seemed to me, in that direction. But, from my point of view, the idea that the water in a cloud becomes annihilated when it passes into a perfect state of vapor, and becomes invisible, is as philosophical as to suppose that the reasoning by which a conclusion is arrived at has no existence because it is not retained in the memory.

In further illustration of this part of my subject, I will state a very curious experience of my own. I had been trying for many days to reach a certain invention, which was very difficult, but of great importance. I was one morning in Kenyon's Hotel, Cheapside, London, waiting for my breakfast; and, after dwelling for a while on my invention, all at once, like a flash of light, I felt that I had discovered the thing which I had been so earnestly seeking; but where was it? It was gone; that is, the process by which I had reached the conclusion, or thing sought, was gone, and the conclusion also had passed out of my memory, having flashed through the mind so quickly that it could not be retained. Yet so strong an impression was left that I had solved the problem as to leave no room for doubting; and by dwelling on it awhile longer, the conclusion first, and afterwards the reasoning by which I came to it, came again into my mind.

Now the first solution of my problem—which passed out of my mind as soon as it was reached, leaving only the impression that I had found the thing sought—would, I suppose, be called a presentiment; and indeed many curious and wonderful presentiments have the same origin. The truths, and their demonstration, both pass out of the mind, leaving only their impression, more or less definite, according to the degrees of clearness of the demonstration. I have had many instances of this kind of experience, and in some cases I have never been able to recall the conclusion which I know must have been in my mind; but in every instance of such experience I have satisfied myself on the best of grounds, I think, that they were resultant conclusions from a course of reasoning.

There came a thought from upper air;
It went away I know not where.
It brought a light from all creation,
It was my grandest inspiration,
As pure it was as the limpid stream,
As sweet as is the loveliest dream;
Its light doth blend with all my powers,
Like blending breath of many flowers;
To think the thought no mortals dare,
Which passed away I know not where!

I've tried with ardor, but in vain,
To bring my truant thought again;
Though it obeys its truant will,
Its soul and beauty tarry still.
Oh for a prophet's gift, to say
What was my thought that's passed away?
This wand, with mystic power, commanded;
Its touch my very soul expanded.
Chaste and pure it was, I know,
It left my every feeling so.
Grand it was in contemplation;
It filled my soul with inspiration.
It had beauty, for, as it flies,
All things have beauty in my eyes,
Simply sweet as the chaste hare-bell.
I have not words wherewith to tell
How lovely, and how richly fair,
The thought that's gone, I know not where!
On some enchanted lucky day,
When my lost thought is far away,
A missioned phantom shall be sent
On the same path the truant went,
As arrows, shot the same way, fly
To find the lost ones where they lie.
Perhaps this mystic search so rare
May find, and bind in upper air,
And bring, so I may then declare
The thought that's gone, I know not where!

This is no fancy but has been realized a thousand times.

Professor Faraday was highly intuitional, and in his scientific investigations, after applying himself to a difficult question, the true account of it would flash upon his mind. He was obliged to note it down immediately, lest it should leave him forever; illustrating further the difficulty of retaining thoughts when they pass through the mind rapidly.

R. W. Emerson is one of the most intuitional men living. When he first began to diverge from the Unitarians, he was asked to give a reason for some of his radical opinions. He stated in substance something like this: that whatever statements he made were so made because they seemed to him to be the truth, but that he was the poorest man in the world to give a reason for any opinion which he might have. Now I take it that Mr. Emerson is one of the most gifted of men. He has a most wonderful imagination, and a great mental power for reasoning on moral subjects. Contemplating and reasoning about almost every subject presented to him became a fixed habit early in life, so that the process of reasoning so rapidly passed through his mind as to render it impossible for the memory to retain anything but the conclusions and the impression of their truthfulness; which impression came from the demonstration which preceded the remembered conclusion, though it might be, and commonly was, associated with it in the memory. Neither Mr. Emerson nor any of the transcendentalists, so far as I can learn, are aware of the origin of that consciousness of the truth of their intuitions. They do not appear to understand that this consciousness of truthfulness and the intuitional conclusion itself are both the results of a mental demonstration which preceded them, and which has left the memory. I think any one of them might, by a sufficiently careful inspection of their thoughts, patiently continued, discover the origin of each intuition and its associated impression; and I think that each transcendentalist who will take this pains and make this discovery will no longer place intuition in higher authority than reason, but will regard them as merely two modes of reasoning.

Viewing this matter in the light of utility, it is a great economy of mental work that the memory shall be able to lay all of it aside as soon as it has performed its proper service, and retain only that which is useful to retain,—the conclusion, and any useful impression which the peculiarities of the demonstration may have associated with it. This power of forgetting the mental work and remembering only the result is of great value; for, if we had not that power, our minds would soon become great store-houses of chaff, with here and there a kernel, so few and far between that they could never be found in time for use.

Another thing, I think, worthy of consideration as an element of intuition, is *inherited instinct*, or something very much like it.

Once, when a boy, I found a wild turkey's nest; I brought the eggs home, and had them hatched by a hen; though the hen and all our fowls were very tame, these young turkeys were extremely wild, and appeared terrified at the approach of any human being, running as though for dear life; while they appeared to have no fear of the cows, horses, sheep, etc., in the same yard. This instinctive fear and dread of man evidently had its origin in the fact of their being hunted down by man; and those which escaped him were often terrified by his approach for that purpose. This continued for many generations. An instinct gradually of dread and fear of their common enemy grew up, which was transmitted by each generation to its offspring. Now I think it highly probable that the almost universal tendency of children to be afraid in the dark, is to be accounted for in the same way. During the hundreds of generations of our ancestors in barbarous life, when a continual warfare existed, the various kidnappings and massacres were done under the cover of darkness; and during all these countless generations a fear and dread of the dark existed on account of real danger, and an instinct grew and was transmitted to the offspring as a result of such real danger. The dread continued after the danger ceased, the origin of this fear in the dark being precisely on the same principle as that above described in the young turkeys.

Now let us carry this principle a little farther, and see how it will apply to the origin of conscience. When the first individuals of our race began to extend themselves over the land, then largely covered with forest trees and shrubs and plants, some of which produced berries and fruits on which they could subsist, they surely had no conscientious scruples against taking this fruit and subsisting upon it, wherever they could find it. It is very natural to suppose that the most vigorous and fruitful families

would soon grow into tribes, and each increasing tribe would, sooner or later, find its limitation in the scarcity of food. The first tribe which found that it could subsist on oysters, would find no restraining moral sense in destroying and subsisting upon the oysters. When the pressure for food became greater, they might subsist on fish, and then on sheep, goats, antelopes, kangaroos, and cattle. Up to this time they would have incurred no risk or danger, and they would have felt no monitions of conscience against destroying the lives of these animals, and subsisting thereon; but by a further increase of their numbers famine would be inevitable, and the tribes under the greater pressure of necessity would naturally begin to subsist upon each other. No doubt many of the smaller tribes and families would be captured and eaten without much resistance; but when these were eaten by the larger tribes, and the larger and nearly equal tribes began to prey upon each other, it would not only be natural that the individuals of one tribe should object to being eaten by another, but that the more intelligent of each tribe should see that non-resistance meant extermination. Hence, out of the very necessity of existence, would grow a system of retaliation or law of revenge. Up to this time there would be no more conscientious scruple against killing and eating a man of another tribe than against killing and subsisting upon kangaroos. But now, since the law of revenge is established, and each individual finds that by taking the life of his fellow-man he incurs the risk of his own destruction, the dread of this speedy retribution soon becomes associated in the mind of every one with the act of slaying. This fear is the first element of conscience. After two neighboring tribes had existed for many generations, and the law of revenge had become more exacting and certain in its operations, there would grow up, dimly at first and more distinctly afterwards, a sense of right and obligation in the matter of life. This right of a human being to his life, as a thing to be respected by all, would at first dimly appear. That is, it would first appear, to the most gifted and imaginative, as an intuition or aspiration, and afterwards a few disciples would recognize it by a slower process; and when this right to life, and the obligation to respect it became settled in the mind and associated with the dread of retribution which the law of revenge created, then conscience was complete; yet it must not be supposed that this dread of retribution is always associated with real wrong-doing, but that which is supposed by the individual to be the wrong, and the retribution following its commission; for in a people of a low grade of intelligence a conscience may be manufactured to order, exactly suiting the policy and interest of those who create it. We have many examples of a priesthood creating a conscience for whole nations, in which the things to be observed had no relation to right, and a terrible apprehension of evil as a retribution having no foundation, in fact. The superstitions taught by the priesthood have created for whole peoples a conscientious terrorism based on mere imagination, yet capable of inheritance as much as enlightened conscientiousness based on right and reason.

Now, when our race first began to inhabit the earth, I do not think it possible for the right to life to have been respected, until the law of revenge had forced men to dread the commission of man-slaying as a danger. Suppose an island inhabited only by kangaroos, and suppose that a colony of men should be established there. The men, without any conscientious scruples, would slay and subsist upon the kangaroos; but suppose the kangaroos should object, and should insist that, for every kangaroo that was slain and eaten by man, a man should be slain and eaten by a kangaroo, and should find means to enforce this law and execute it with promptness; a conscience would soon grow up in the human colony as imperative as now exists against the slaying of man.

When this right to life in human communities, and a sense of obligation to observe and respect it, became generally recognized, and communities constantly enforced it by their laws, it would be transmitted as an instinct, a humane instinct, and would also be recognized as an inherited moral sense. Now the highest order of intuition would appear when the instinctive impulse of the moral sense impels assent to a truth, while reason by a very rapid process reaches the same truth, each confirming the other. A joy, a feeling of triumph, a degree of enthusiasm, a faith in its truthfulness, commonly accompany such an intuition. I have just explained somewhat the origin and instinctive character of the moral sense in the case of taking life; and I believe that a moral sense may be thus created regarding any kind of moral conduct, forbidding that from which our ancestors have suffered great pain, and prompting us to that conduct which brought the highest happiness to our ancestors. But the association of this emotional moral sense with that which we believe to be right or wrong is the result of reason or the effect of education.

As civilization advances, the motives which prompt men to their varied activities multiply, giving the moral sense a wider range in the varied and extended relations of life; and each new relation in an advancing society gives an additional opportunity to create and transmit a new kind of mental or moral wealth. For instance, one family (and many such there are) may create and transmit through a long line a strong sense of honor, so that it may be said of the individuals of such family that their word is as good as their bond. As to mental power, the mathematical manifestations cited above, and the imaginative power which performs such an important part in our intuitions, and indeed every kind of mental, moral, and emotional power and taste may be created and transmitted as mental wealth, and might properly be called *incorporeal hereditament*. When we come to know more about this kind of inheritance, and un-

derstand better the laws by which it is created and transmitted, the heirship of money will be as nothing compared with it. How this mental wealth is created; under what favoring circumstances it grows best, and how it is most successfully transmitted; from what ancestor, remote or near, we have received this or that mental or moral quality,—will become questions of the deepest interest.

It would be a matter of the highest achievement of science if we could trace back to its source that wonderful, imaginative power of Kepler, by which he was able to suggest the five laws of the solar system, and that extraordinary mathematical ability by which he was able to prove each one of these suggestions to be a fact in Nature. It would be a joy to the scientist to know from whence came, and under what favoring circumstances, that mental power of Newton, by which he was able, after pondering long and ardently over the spherical form of the bubble and dew-drop, to infer therefrom universal gravity, by finding that, if each atom attracted all the others, each could find its nearest approach to the rest only in the globular form; and also the mathematical power by which he reached up to the moon, and, by treating it as a constantly falling body, proved gravity to all mankind. The intellectual power which made these achievements possible, like every other kind of wealth, had to be earned by somebody before it could be inherited by his descendants. The questions how to create material wealth and how to use it with the greatest economy and benefit to its possessor, are considered important; should not the questions how to create this mental wealth, this intellectual and moral power?

It is the source of all progress in civilization in its most comprehensive sense, including every science and art and culture of every kind. It is interesting sometimes to look broadly over the world, and observe how few, how very few of all mankind, do anything to advance civilization, or increase the stock of human knowledge. As to the great majorities, the rank and file, their lot in life has been a very hard one, especially in the most populous parts of the earth; and it may be said to have been the rule that they who have physically labored most have enjoyed the fewest pleasures. But for those who have hitherto struggled so hard for the poorest subsistence, and have been poor, so far as mental wealth is concerned, popular education gives a bright promise in the future. But the very few make the world move onwards and upwards, and these few are the *intuitive minds*. These are they in whom have met the high waves of ancestral character, who have been faithful and true, and by their noble work have given back to the world their birth-wealth with usury. They are indeed "Nature's noblemen and women"; they are the prophets whom the priests have always endeavored to slay. Sad, indeed, is the fact, that the priests have so often accomplished their purpose; for no man can estimate the loss to mankind by the slaying of one of these.

No *intuitive book* can be reckoned infallible; yet there is one thing infallible,—the sum of *intuitive power*. The aggregate of mental force put forth by the faithful and true of the most *intuitive* and gifted shall infallibly save the world in spite of the Church and the "rings" which prey upon the souls and substance of the people. That is, the Galileos, Copernicuses, Keplers, Newtons, Franklins, Faradays, Tyndalls, Parkers, and Emersons, shall be the saviors of the world; they are constantly raising our race above that which is grovelling and mean; they are forever pointing out the higher aim and purpose; they are all the while proclaiming to us, and demonstrating to us, that we may make our lives sublime. Those who accept the better thought which these intuitions and inspirations of the gifted kindly press and urge upon all, those who accept the better thought and work it into better and nobler lives, shall be the fittest to inherit the earth; and the survival of the fittest shall constantly tend to the perfection of the race, and shall finally lead to a degree of perfection beyond anything which we are now able to conceive. The perfect law of our being shall be maintained, and righteousness shall cover the earth.

FRANCES POWER COBBE.

BY JOHN W. CHADWICK.

The republication in America of another book by Miss Cobbe (*Hopes of the Human Race*, James Miller, publisher, New York) is certainly a good excuse, if not an excellent reason, for a brief review of her life in general and her literary career. To many of the readers of the *Register* such a review will be superfluous. They know more about Miss Cobbe already than we can tell within the necessary limits of this article. But it is surely not presumptuous to conceive that others may not be so well informed.

Miss Cobbe was born in Dublin in the fall of 1822, but she is not of Celtic origin, despite the Celtic warmth of her *Intuitive Morals*, and many other things that she has written. Her great-grandfather, Charles Cobbe, was Archbishop of Dublin, and the first representative of the family in Ireland. An earlier ancestor was one of the judges of Charles I. But her mother was immediately English. Frances was the youngest of five children, and the only girl. Her early education was of the sort called fashionable, and was pretty nearly worthless. Her real education did not begin till she took it into her own hands. All her people belonged to the Church of England, and were steadily religious people, after the fashion of that church. A temper naturally religious in the child was fostered by the solitude compelled by the invalidism of her mother. Very early she became a thinker, and a doubter of some things

contained in the New Testament, as well as elsewhere.

The common opinion that Miss Cobbe is merely a follower of Theodore Parker, albeit one of the most intelligent and ardent, is without any foundation. She is not his follower, but a contemporary growth. Her theistic views were clearly shaped before she knew anything of him, before he clearly knew of them himself. Four years of alternate scepticism and violent returns to Christianity had left her terribly exhausted by the struggle, when, one day in spring, as she was dreaming over her favorite Shelley, she found herself saying inwardly, that, though she knew nothing of God or heaven, or any law beyond that of her own soul, she would be true to that,—she would deserve her own esteem; and this resolution brought almost immediately, by its own power, as it were, a fresh kind of faith in God,—a sense that, somehow, such an effort must be pleasing to the Power that had evolved in her that inner law. Here was substantial theism, and she recognized it as such; but, craving spiritual sympathy, she read widely in the eighteenth century deists, and found them little to her mind; came at length upon the life of Blanco White, which proved much more congenial, and finally fell in with Parker through a critique of his *Discourse in the Athenæum*. She sent for the *Discourse*, and read it; with what delight, some of us can imagine who remember how it made all things new for us. It is not too much to say that from that time to this she has been the best exponent and representative of Theodore Parker's system of religious thought in England or America. Many who were with him once have fallen away; some not unwillingly, imagining that they find better things in a less transcendental system; but others with exceeding sorrow and regret. She has stood by him proudly, joyfully; feeling that every subsequent development of thought has only made the need of his transcendental ground of faith the more imperative. Her personal acquaintance with Parker, which in due time ripened into the closest friendship and the most loyal devotion to his memory and fame, began after her mother's death, when she wrote to him, desiring to be informed as to the grounds of his belief in immortality. His answer was his "Sermon of the Immortal Life," which was the bread of life to her, as it has been to thousands.

The ten years after her mother's death were years of solitary work. How wide and deep her reading must have been during these years her books bear witness, especially the richly-laden notes that crowd the foot of almost every page. In these years *Intuitive Morals* and *Religious Duty* were both written, though not at once published. Meanwhile, her definite rupture with the Established Church had taken place. Her plea, since made, for those who have less courage than she had herself, shows that she did not fail to feel the immense social and æsthetic charm of the time-honored institution from whose breast she tore herself away.

Upon her father's death, she went to Italy, and afterward reported her impressions in a charming volume called *Italics*. Returning, she was, for a year, a coadjutor of Mary Carpenter in the Red-House Lodge reformatory for young outcast girls, in Bristol. The best outcome of this experience was a pamphlet upon *Friendless Girls*, on the spur of which several new lodges were started. The spring of 1860 found Miss Cobbe again in Italy, just in time to take a long and last farewell of Theodore Parker. The former absence from England had resulted, not only in the *Italics*, but also in a delightful volume called *Cities of the Past*, which cities are Baalbec, Cairo, Rome, Jericho, Athens, and Jerusalem. Fancy her trusting herself among the ruins of Baalbec with a single native guide, and in the bowels of the great pyramid of Cheops with an Arab clamoring for backsheesh! The most consecutive piece of work that she has accomplished of late years is her *Broken Lights*, an excellent review of the state of different religious parties in England at the time when it was written. But, in the meantime, she has been a diligent contributor to various magazines, and many of her ablest and most interesting articles have, from time to time, been gathered up into such volumes as *Hours of Work and Play*, *Studies Ethical and Social*, *Darwinism and Morality*, and the volume now before us, *Hopes of the Human Race*. The preface of this volume (having special reference to Mr. Mill's *Essay on Religion*), and the sermon "Doomed to be Saved," are new material; the two essays on "The Life after Death" were printed in the *Theological Review* (and have been generously quoted in the *Register*), as also was the highly-interesting and deeply-thoughtful paper on "The Evolution of the Social Sentiment."

The review of Mill is very careful, and does not fail to expose in some particulars the weakness of his argument. Well may she resent his argument for the utility of religion, when to her the utility of breathing or eating would seem as idle to discuss, so essential does religion seem to her to the spiritual life of man. The essays upon immortality are marked by all the ardor and enthusiasm with which she always addresses herself to this theme. Their value lies far less in any argument which they contain for immortality than in their kindly, sensible discussion of the manner of the immortal life, once granting that the fact is well assured. The book, as a whole, leaves an impression that, though earnestly disposed to do full justice to the results and tendencies of modern science, she fails to penetrate to its essential poetry and piety. For myself, I must confess that Mr. Abbot's paper upon Darwinism and morality leaves upon my mind a sense of the eternal sanctions of morality not a whit inferior to that which breathes through every page of Miss Cobbe's "Intuitive Morals." Morality does not lose, but gain, when its distinctions are seen to be absolute; not in the sense of

having no *raison d'être* whatsoever, but in the sense of being inevitable to the social life of man. Where two or three are gathered together, there is the Holy Spirit—Duty—in the midst of them.

The book by which Miss Cobbe is still best known, and for which she will be longest remembered and most fondly blessed, is her *Intuitive Morals*. And yet it is not for the most obvious characteristics of the work that we now value it most highly. It might be far less strong than it is in its opposition to sensational psychology, and all utilitarian theories of morals and our total impression of the book would not be very different from what it now is. The book is a rhapsody of unselfishness. Do good, hoping for nothing again,—this is its everlasting and heart-stirring cry; a cry so fresh, so strong, so eloquent, that it must pierce the most inveterately selfish heart with new compunctions, and awaken new resolves.

Miss Cobbe does well to insist beforehand that the value of her work does not depend upon the correctness of her metaphysics. But sometimes she seems to forget this, and to speak as if the welfare of the race were staked on certain theories which failing of acceptance, the reign of conscience would be over. For ourselves, we believe that every thinker, thinking honestly, will add something to the truth, however hostile to our views of truth his theories may be at any given time. Let Bain and Spencer say their strongest word; if they are seeking for the truth—and who can doubt it?—they will not be blind leaders of the blind. Let their unwearied analysis go on; and in whatever direction it carries them, it ought not to be doubted that a grander synthesis will be the ultimate result. So, here already is Prof. Sidgwick with a great book, for those who are not afraid of close writing and hard thinking, going to prove that, in the last analysis, utilitarianism makes the intuitive confession, and intuitionism makes the utilitarian. Meantime, every earnest moralist will pretty surely be in practical accord with every other. In given circumstances, a Frances Power Cobbe and a John Stuart Mill would act with singular unanimity, although their theories of morals seem to be so far apart.

But thanks, a hundred times thanks, for all the good work that Miss Cobbe has done. There is a well-spring of goodness, humanity and happiness forever bubbling from her heart, up through her mind, and overflowing in continual benedictions. Her earnestness, her geniality and her enthusiasm are contagious. One should not read her much who is not willing to be made more a lover of his kind, more a worshipper of God.—*Christian Register*, Aug. 5, 1876.

GOV. TILDEN AND SECTARIAN APPROPRIATIONS.

HIS OPPOSITION TO THE ATTEMPT TO SAVE OUR PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM.—A WARNING TO THE FRIENDS OF FREE SCHOOLS THROUGHOUT THE UNION.

The attempt of the Democratic party, under the lead of Tweed in the Senate and Tilden as chairman of the Democratic State Committee, to break up our public schools by establishing a system of parochial schools under the management of the Romish priesthood, and the support of these schools from the public treasury, had, by Jan. 1, 1870, under various statutes, obtained such headway that more than half a million dollars a year was taken out of the Treasury of the City of New York alone and paid over to convents, parochial schools, and other sectarian institutions. One of these laws, known as the tenth section of the tax levy, imposed for that purpose an annual tax of some \$250,000 upon the City of New York, and appropriated the money exclusively for the support of parochial and other schools that were opponents of the free common schools. Petitions for the repeal of this tenth section from every town in the State, and having over one hundred thousand signatures, were sent to the Legislature in the spring of 1869. Under the pressure of this movement said tenth section was repealed, but the repeal was not to take effect until after the money for 1869 had been distributed to the parochial schools.

Soon after the Legislature met in the winter of 1870, various bills were introduced under theegis of Tweed to reestablish the appropriations to parochial schools and sectarian institutions, and also to subvert the Board of Education of the City of New York, and make it a mere political machine, and also by means of his so-called two per cent. tax levy scheme to enable the Ring to raise unlimited millions in the City of New York through taxation and sale of bonds for Ring plunder. The last of March, 1871, it became clearly evident that these measures would pass unless a tremendous and non-partisan movement was made in the City of New York to stop it. As the Legislature in both branches and the Governor were Democratic, it was absolutely essential to success that the movement in New York City against these Ring measures should be made by leading Democrats as well as leading Republicans. A public meeting at the Cooper Institute, on the evening of April 6, 1871, was decided upon, and the committee having the matter in charge were instructed to invite Mr. Tilden, the chairman of the Democratic State Committee, to preside at the meeting. He was called upon at his office, No. 12 Wall Street; the above Ring measures and their progress at Albany were explained to him; the object of the public meeting, and the necessity of having it presided over by a leading Democrat in order to insure any success against the Ring in a Democratic Legislature were stated. The attempt to destroy the public schools through building up parochial schools with public money was especially dwelt upon, as well as the great importance to the success of the movement of Mr. Tilden's presiding. He listened attentively to the statement, and answered by saying very politely, but decidedly, that

he could not preside at the meeting, or take any part in the movement. He was then asked if he would allow his name to be used as one of the vice-presidents of the meeting, but he declined to allow his name to be used in any way in connection with it.

The late William F. Havemeyer was then called upon by the committee, who found him in the office of the Pennsylvania Coal Company, of which he was president, and the objects of the meeting, and the necessity for a Democratic presiding officer were explained to him in terms similar to those used to Mr. Tilden. Mr. Havemeyer wanted to know why the committee called upon him. He was told because he was a life-long Democrat, and well known to the people of the City and State. He replied that the proper man to preside at that meeting was Mr. Tilden. The committee then informed him that they had called upon Mr. Tilden, and he had refused to have anything whatever to do with the movement. At this remark, Mr. Havemeyer threw up his head with a "humph," and said, "He does, does he?" "Yes," the committee remarked, "and even refused to allow the use of his name as one of the vice-presidents." Mr. Havemeyer then said: "I am opposed to sectarian appropriations of public money. I am in favor of the common schools, and I am opposed to the whole schedule of Ring legislation at Albany, and I have no objection to going before the public and saying so. I don't want any office, and I am not afraid of injuring my prospects." The Cooper Institute was crowded to overflowing on that evening. Mr. Havemeyer presided. There was a long list of vice-presidents and secretaries, and the whole proceedings with the resolutions and speeches appeared in the *Times* of April 7, 1871. In view of this positive refusal of Mr. Tilden in April, 1871, to take any step to oppose the Tammany Ring and their infamous measures to subvert our public schools, and carry out their schemes to plunder the Treasury of the City of New York, it was a little cool in him afterward to state on Jan. 20, 1873, in a public letter published by himself, that "it is wholly untrue that at any moment I was timid or selfishly reserved, or shrank from any responsibility." It is entirely clear that in April, as in September, 1871, he was thoroughly timid,—though chairman of the Democratic State Committee, and was selfishly reserved; that is, he did not dare come out and express himself publicly against the measures of the Ring, especially against their attempt to subvert the public school system, and he did shrink from any responsibility, even so slight as one as presiding at a public meeting, or allowing his name to be used as a vice-president.—*New York Times*, Sept. 23.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

ADOPTED AT THE NATIONAL REFORM CONVENTION, PITTSBURGH, FEB. 3, 1874.

The friends of National Reform, in general convention assembled, do hereby make the following declaration of their position, principles, and objects, and cordially invite the cooperation of all who accept in whole or in part the views herein set forth:—

1st. This country was settled and its institutions founded by those who believe in God and accept his word as the law of their lives; and this their religious faith was not an external feature, ingrafted on their political existence, but an original, fundamental, and essential element of it, manifesting itself in their criminal code as well as in their recognition of God's sovereignty and their subjection in the colonial charters, the Declaration of Independence, the early State Constitutions, and official acts and documents. These Christian features of our American civilization and national life were indispensable forces for the restraint of vice, the development of virtue, and the unification of the people; and we desire to maintain and perpetuate the same, believing that every effort for their obliteration tends directly towards social disorganization.

2d. Whether recognized or not, the eternal truth remains, that Jesus Christ is the Ruler of the nations of the earth, and will hold them, as nations, accountable for their doings; and remembering how, in various forms, reverence for God has marked the civil life of this nation, we most profoundly regret that the Constitution of the United States, which is our fundamental law, contains no explicit recognition of God's sovereignty, or of his law as the standard of morality; and we declare our purpose by every legitimate means to seek its amendment in this regard, and now inscribe on our banner, God's moral law the nation's guide.

3d. Such an amendment is of high importance in view of the overshadowing influence of a written Constitution in moulding the morals and laws of a people. All experience shows that the two cannot remain permanently separated. If we, as a nation, do not, therefore, bring up the Constitution in this respect to the level of the moral sentiment of the people, it will surely bring the people down to its condition of ignoring and disregarding God.

4th. In seeking this amendment we are laboring for the most practical results; namely, the perpetuation of the Sabbath; the proper regard for an oath; the integrity and purity of the marriage relation; the retention of the Bible in the schools; the suppression of intemperance; the enforcement of law; and the maintenance of all the other Christian features of our civilization, without the humanizing and enlightening influences of which man's progress must cease, and the continuance of free government become impossible.

5th. The adoption of such an amendment to the Constitution would bring no more union of the Church and State in the future than there has been in the past; but as, by amendment number one, we are effectually guarded from all danger of such union, we seek by this to guard against the equal

peril of the practical adoption, by the State, of atheism, by which virtue shall be fettered and vice turned loose; and further, we declare our readiness to accept either a modification of the preamble or an additional amendment, in any form of words that shall secure effectually the end sought for; but rejoicing in the success of the past, and pressed by the demands of the present in the spreading of political corruption, we hereby pledge ourselves to each other, to the nation, and to God, to labor on with unflinching patience and determined perseverance, until it is written in the fundamental law of the nation that the Bible is its standard of morality and Jehovah its God.

LIBERAL RESOLUTIONS.

The Spiritualists of Iowa, in a late Convention, adopted the following resolutions as a part of their declaration of principles. They afford another proof that Spiritualists are liberal and progressive:—

"Resolved, That the most extended liberty compatible with the inalienable rights of each and all mankind under constitutional and statutory law is the greatest safeguard of freedom and good society.

"Resolved, That advocating (as we do) that 'no State shall make a law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof,' we ask the passage by Congress, and the adoption by the States, of 'the Blaine amendment' as amended by the Senate, except the last sentence of the first section of the said proposed sixteenth amendment, to which we except, and ask that it be stricken out before the amendment shall have been put upon its final passage.

"Resolved, That churches and other ecclesiastical property should no longer be exempt from just taxation.

"Resolved, That the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State legislatures, in the army and navy, and all other institutions supported by public money, should be discontinued.

"Resolved, That all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character should cease.

"Resolved, That all religious services now supported by the government should be abolished; and especially that the use of any and all Bibles, of whatever name, translation, or religion, Protestant, Catholic, Mohammedan, Pagan, or what not, in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or books, or avowedly as a book or books of religious worship, should be prohibited.

"Resolved, That not only in the Constitution of the United States and of the several States, but in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage should be conceded to any special religion, and that our entire political system should be founded and administered on a purely secular basis."—*Boston Investigator*.

A NEW CURE FOR DRUNKENNESS.—The *Pall Mall Gazette* says: A wholesome lesson was given to a drunken husband at Preston, on Wednesday, by a justly indignant wife. A man named Trayner, the keeper of a lodging-house, arrived at his home on the afternoon of that day, drunk. After a "scrimmage" with his wife, he settled himself comfortably on the floor and fell asleep. Mr. Trayner's weakness was Mrs. Trayner's opportunity. Depositing her unconscious husband on the sofa, she placed a night-cap on his head, covered his face with flour and his body with a shroud, which she borrowed from a neighboring shop. Having decorated the shroud with flowers, she placed two lighted candles on a table in front of the sofa, and, seating herself on the door-step of the house, aroused the neighborhood by a melancholy "wail" for the dead. The house was soon filled with sympathizing friends and acquaintances, including a police-constable, who came to have a look at the corpse. Loud were the lamentations, when the deceased man suddenly lifted himself up, and, with a stare that curdled the blood and made the flesh of all present creep, ejaculated, "What the devil's up now?" The grief of the beholders was speedily turned into joy when they found that drunkenness, and not death, had been the cause of Mr. Trayner's insensibility. The position of that gentleman, however, must, for the moment, have been painful in the extreme. Embarrassing explanations ensued, and the affair ended in "a general spree."

FELICIEN DAVID is described as an amiable, devout, unworldly sort of a man, fond of his quiet life, his intimate friends, his rose garden, and his visions of benevolent piety. Those who knew him speak of him, in his old age, as a "white-haired child,"—that is to say, a child of light. His music, they say, was but a hymn of gratitude for the sunshine which caused his flowers to blossom; he cared nothing for worldly fame. It seems very wrong that there should have been a squabble of official pedantry, or clerical bigotry, over the grave of this gentle enthusiast for all goodness; but Orthodoxy and spirituality do not always walk hand in hand.—*Illustrated London News*, Sept. 16.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 7.

J. G. R. Forlong, \$4; George Iles, 10 cents; J. Alfred Griffiths, \$2.65; Miss A. H. Allen, \$3.20; Joseph Dann, \$3.20; Levi Abbot, \$2.40; W. E. Darwin, \$2; A. Krvin, \$5; W. B. Clarke, \$3.10; R. C. Grierson, \$4.01; H. Powers, \$3.20; L. P. Babb, 50 cents; J. S. Miller, \$3.20; T. B. Skinner, 25 cents; J. McFarland, 20 cents; S. W. Sample, \$5; Wm. M. McLarry, \$1.50; R. W. Lawrence, \$2.20; J. Hendrie, 10 cents; S. W. Holman, 10 cents; J. Silbermann, \$3; H. Appleton, 75 cents; D. G. Crandon, \$4.40; H. H. Bigelow, \$3.20; J. Verity, \$1.50; J. L. Stoddard, \$1; M. L. Cummings, \$3.20.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, OCTOBER 12, 1876.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 231 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 36 Monroe Street: J. T. FRY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

The transition from Christianity to Free Religion, through which the civilized world is now passing, but which it very little understands, is even more momentous in itself and in its consequences than the great transition of the Roman Empire from Paganism to Christianity. THE INDEX aims to make the character of this vast change intelligible in at least its leading features, and offers an opportunity for discussions on this subject which find no fitting place in other papers.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, GEORGE JACOB
HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, Editorial Con-
tributors.

REMOVAL.

On and after October 1, 1876, the publication office of THE INDEX will be No. 231 Washington Street, Boston. Office hours will be from 10 A.M. to 3 P.M.

WHAT AN argument! "The people have no right to be instructed in any religion save the Catholic, until they are of age"! So a house on fire has no right to be extinguished, until the cellar, basement, and first floor are thoroughly burnt up. Are Spaniards all idiots, that the Catholic clergy should address to them such reasons for suppressing Protestant schools?

REV. MR. COPELAND, of Lincoln, Nebraska, paints this truthful picture in his *Radical Leaves*: "Wherever any sect has the power, it prohibits free speech, refusing to radicals the use of public buildings, such as school and court houses, and exerts a powerful influence in politics, causing the election of officers and legislators known to favor its views, and demanding of candidates for office that they be Christians after its type of Christianity. Already there exists some union of Church and State, which an increasing number is seeking to make more close. Unless radicals unite now in defence of religious freedom, the day is not far distant when the Christian Church, sinking non-essentials, will unite to persecute free thinkers, and the terrible scenes of past centuries will be reenacted. Human nature is the same as years ago; Orthodoxy as bitter and hostile to heresy. The article quoted from the *Shepherd of the Valley* declares the Roman Church only lacks the power, else would it persecute as of old; and what is true of the Roman Church is true of the evangelical churches. Friends, be on your guard, and resist all encroachments of sectarianism."

THIS LETTER was received recently from a Wisconsin correspondent: "I am intensely interested in the Liberal League movement, and desire to find my way into active service in it. Something more than a year ago I came to this place out of the Western Unitarian ministry, quite broken down in mental health. Since that time I have been at work with my hands at daily toil, trying to recuperate health and provide for current wants. The health is in large measure restored, and I feel there is yet in me some efficient service for the Liberal cause, but am still tied down by strict necessity with my hands to the daily toil. Can there be an opening made in the Liberal League movement wherein one can work and live? After two or three months I might get release from this hand toil, and if, with a few good lectures and your assistance, I could find my way into such work, it would be what I most desire. I think, if you can interest yourself in my behalf, I can furnish you with satisfactory evidences of the sincerity of my purpose, and of my ability to serve the cause as I propose." Just as in old anti-slavery days, there ought to be lecturers in the field everywhere, forming local Leagues and educating the people in the new necessities of freedom; there are scores all burning to be employed in the work; but nothing can be done until the vulgar dollars are poured generously into the treasury of the National Liberal League. They will come by-and-by—no doubt of that! But it is hard to be patient, when such splendid opportunities of all kinds must be allowed to pass by unimproved.

NOTICE.

On receipt of \$3.20, THE INDEX will be sent to any name not already on its mail-list, from the present time until January 1, 1878. This is an excellent opportunity for friends of the paper to increase its circulation among their acquaintances; and it is hoped that they will not neglect to render in this way some greatly-needed assistance to the important cause it represents.

INTUITION.

The opening essay of the present issue of THE INDEX is one which is especially entitled to the attention of those who are interested in the question of "intuition." Mr. Wickersham has contributed a very ingenious paper on this subject. He holds that "intuition" differs from ordinary reasoning processes only in being so rapid as to elude the direct grasp of consciousness and therefore to leave no trace in the memory; and he accounts for it by inheritance and habit. The coincidence of elevations and depressions of "waves" of ancestral character, by which he illustrates and accounts for the occasional appearance of exceptionally "intuitive" minds, and the very valuable facts he records with regard to the remarkable mathematical faculty of a near relative, are of high interest for psychological inquirers; while the exquisite little lyric he introduces, on "the thought that's gone I know not where," will enlist the sympathies of every one who has himself had the experience here so poetically described. Our sincere thanks are due to Mr. Wickersham for thus writing out for the benefit of our readers the substance of previous conversations by which we had been much interested.

That the manifestation by certain minds of a capacity of arriving at conclusions with a rapidity greater than is consistent with any clear consciousness or recollection of the mental processes involved, is a fact of not infrequent occurrence, can scarcely be doubted by any one. Popularly and loosely called "intuition," it is one of the facts for which a comprehensive mental philosophy is bound to account; and whatever tends to throw light on the true character of such mental activities possesses an unquestionable scientific value. It is by no means to be taken for granted that so-called "intuitive perceptions" are always correct; as a matter of fact, they are quite as apt to be erroneous as any of the slower and better understood operations of the mind; and it exhibits one of the amusing superstitions of popular thinking to pin one's faith to the accuracy of conclusions merely because no intelligible account can be given of their origin. He who affirms confidently that such-and-such a proposition is true, giving no evidence or reason for believing it, but oracularly announcing it as a truth not to be disputed, often believes himself (and often is believed by others) to be of a superior order of mind, perhaps a seer or prophet behind whom looms the "vast and formless Infinite," and through whom some mysterious and exceptional inspiration is supposed to stream. But such cases are no anomalies; and the assumptions of supernatural backing fade away in the light of scientific analysis. Instead of establishing a generic distinction between "logic and intuition" as totally dissimilar modes of arriving at truth, the one smacking of the earth and the other redolent of heaven, mental science treats them as both merely operations of the same human reason and illustrations of the same laws of thought. Logic understands itself and can test its results by established criteria, while intuition does not understand itself, has no tests, and is just as likely to be wrong as right. Science analyzes all thinking, logical or intuitive, into the same essential elements, and quietly exposes the claims of superiority, unwisely set up on behalf of intuition, as based on nothing but the pride of ignorance. That what is popularly called "intuition" is simply the result of reasoning processes so rapid as to become indistinguishable through consolidation and coalescence, and hence inseparable in consciousness and memory, is an opinion probably familiar to many; but Mr. Wickersham develops the grounds of this opinion, arrived at independently by him, in a very fresh and striking manner. We wish, however, to add briefly here, without going into any exposition in detail, that all reasoning, rapid or slow, consists of a *chain of intuitions*, properly so called: that is, a series of direct perceptions concatenated in a certain necessary order. The syllogism consists of three propositions, each of which is a direct coupling of a subject and a predicate; and the mental act by which any subject

and predicate are coupled together is the intellectual vision and affirmation of their identity (partial or complete). Every such coupling is a putting-forth of intellectual energy necessitated by the intellectual vision or cognition of this identity; and the intellectual vision itself is an intuition, in the truly philosophical meaning of that term. All reasoning consists of a succession of such intuitions or original perceptions, determined by the laws of premise and conclusion; and the term intuition as popularly used is only an abuse of the term as it ought to be used. Whether rapid or slow, whether appearing as "logic" or "intuition," all reasoning consists in the last analysis of these ultimate direct perceptions, which determine the coupling of subject and predicate in every instance; and it is an obscure consciousness of this fact, doubtless, which lies at the bottom of the popular abuse of the word in question. This, however, is a matter that cannot be discussed at length except in some more appropriate place.

GOV. HAYES AND THE "ALLIANCE" AGAIN.

The relation of Governor Hayes to the American Alliance (a narrow, "Know-Nothing," Bible-in-schools secret society) seems to be wrapped in mystery. He is charged persistently by the Democratic papers with being a member of this organization, while the Republican papers as persistently strive to refute the charge. The *World* and *Sun* of October 4 published fac-similes of a letter addressed to L. S. Tyler, secretary of the Alliance, by Alfred E. Lee, private secretary of Governor Hayes, which reads as follows:—

COLUMBUS, Ohio, July 10, 1876.

DEAR SIR:—

Governor Hayes desires me to acknowledge receipt of your valued favor of July 7, enclosing resolutions of the American Alliance, and to say in reply that he is deeply gratified by this expression of confidence. The importance of carrying the States of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut in the approaching canvass is fully recognized, and at the proper time references will be given you to Committees for such aid and cooperation as seems to be desirable.

Very respectfully, ALFRED E. LEE,
Secretary.

To L. S. TYLER,
Box 2071, New York.

The *World* also published, in connection with the above letter, specific statements to the following effect: that the American Alliance Conference, held at Philadelphia on the fourth of July, nominated Hayes and Wheeler as their own candidates; that Governor Hayes received a Committee of the Conference on the next day at the Continental Hotel, in that city, and accepted the nomination; that, on July 9, a copy of the resolutions of nomination, the Constitution of the order, the oath, the address, and a certificate of honorary membership, were presented to Governor Hayes at Columbus, Ohio, by a Committee of which W. T. Black was Chairman; that Governor Hayes "accepted the nomination and honorary membership," and promised formal acknowledgment in writing. Other details are given, including the names of the two Committees. The *Tribune*, the *Graphic*, and other Republican papers, pooh-pooh the whole story without venturing to deny the details, which, however, they try to discredit indirectly.

What especially concerns THE INDEX in this matter is the fact that the "Address of the American Alliance to American Voters," republished in THE INDEX of June 22, contains this sentence:—

"The American Alliance recommend that American-born citizens only be elected to official positions of high trust and responsibility, and (while admitting the right of every one to the enjoyment to the fullest extent of his political or religious creed and convictions) favor the keeping of the Bible as the 'cornerstone of our liberties,' and its use in the public schools and other institutions of learning in our land, without any compromise of any kind with any sect whatever."

Nothing could be further from our wish than to be beguiled into crediting an injurious tale about Governor Hayes, or of adopting it hastily as true. The tale, however, if true, is of too much consequence to be disregarded, or to be set at rest by a mere pooh-pooh. If it is false,—if Governor Hayes is really opposed to Know-Nothingism and to such revolutionary measures as the Senate's Bible amendment to the Constitution,—it is due to the public that he explicitly and at once tell the whole truth concerning his convictions on these points. Too much, far too much, is at stake for him to remain silent. Private assurances have been written to us by gentlemen of the highest influence in the Republican party that Governor Hayes is all right on this Bible-in-schools question; and we should personally be entirely willing to take him on "trust," if it were not our duty,

as a faithful sentinel, to take nobody on "trust" who declines to give the countersign. When the attitude of the Republican party is so menacing to the principle of State Secularization, which we believe to be of most vital consequence and sure to be made a national issue at no distant day, it would be recreancy to our most sacred convictions not to do our little best towards enlightening the public as to the true situation of affairs. One of two things seems to us easily clear: either that Governor Hayes is at heart a sincere bigot on the school question and therefore a dangerous man to be elevated to the Chief Magistracy of the nation, or else a man who can stoop to coquet with and to deceive an organization of bigots whom he secretly despises. If the whole story can be exploded as a malicious or partisan slander, it ought to be so exploded forthwith; and Governor Hayes ought not to let another sun set without personally denying this charge of Know-Nothingism and bigotry in terms of crystal clearness and manly force.

P. S.—These letters are published in the New York Tribune of October 7:—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TRIBUNE:

Sir,—I wish to correct some mistakes made by persons in commenting upon the letter sent to the American Alliance by Mr. A. E. Lee, Governor Hayes' secretary. 1. Governor Hayes never was a member of the American Alliance. 2. He never saw the Constitution or by-laws of the organization. 3. No committee of this order ever at any time called on him, either at Philadelphia, Columbus, or any other place, for any purpose. We simply informed him by letter that we indorsed his nomination, in answer to which we received the letter from his secretary. That letter was taken from my office, and I was as much surprised as any one can be to see it in print.

I am at a loss to see why Democratic papers should find any fault with the proceedings, as we indorsed Mr. Tilden for Governor two years ago, and he found no fault with it, but on the contrary was very grateful for the assistance, only he requested that it be kept secret, as, if it should become public, he feared he would lose the foreign vote.

Respectfully yours,

LEWEL S. TYLER,
Secretary American Alliance.

NEW YORK, Oct. 6, 1876.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TRIBUNE:

Sir,—I have received at 10 o'clock this evening a copy of a letter of Lemuel S. Tyler, Secretary of the American Alliance, which I am informed has been sent to you for publication. That letter is only important as admitting the fact that the letter of Albert E. Lee, the private secretary of Governor Hayes, of which a fac-simile was published on the 4th of October, was a genuine letter, and was received by the secretary of the American Alliance. The significance of that letter was that Governor Hayes, through his private secretary, promised "aid and cooperation" to the plans of the American Alliance. This fact seems to be now fully established by the admission of Mr. Tyler.

The writer attempts to break the force of these facts by adding that "we indorsed Mr. Tilden for Governor two years ago, and he found no fault with it, but on the contrary was very grateful for the assistance, only he requested that it might be kept secret, as, if it should become public, he feared he might lose the foreign vote."

This statement is a fabrication. I have no reason to believe, and do not believe, that such a nomination was ever made. I am authorized to say that no such nomination was ever communicated to Governor Tilden, and that he never requested that it be kept private, or made any request on the subject.

D. MAGONE, JR.,

Chairman Democratic State Committee.

NEW YORK, Oct. 6.

SUPERSTITION.

There is an impression among liberals that superstition has lost its power over tolerably instructed minds; that it has slunk away into mental holes and corners; that, as an enemy of mankind, it is disarmed and shorn of power to terrify or charm; that radicals may be content now to let it die in peace, trusting to the general diffusion of knowledge for its complete extinction. A very small acquaintance with people beyond their own peculiar circle will be sufficient to dispel this illusion, and move them to take up again their rusting swords.

The cabin passengers in a Cunard steamship may fairly be presumed to be respectably intelligent people, of the better class in society. In a company that recently crossed the Atlantic, I met day after day, a family group consisting of a mother and daughters, whose cordial manners, intelligent, lively conversation, agreeable dispositions, and easy ways proved them to be acquainted with the best circles of society, at home and abroad. They were not highly cultivated, but they were susceptible of culture in an eminent degree, and under enlightening influences would be sympathetic members of the world of letters and accomplishments. But they were "Orthodox"; not in the angry way of controversialists and dogmatists, but in the habitual, settled, quiet,

self-satisfied way of people whose creed contained all their thoughts. Their ignorance was not in the least offensive, their assurance was not in the smallest degree exasperating. But both their ignorance and their assurance possessed that quality of immovable placidity which is more disheartening than any aggressive force. Two or three examples will show how easily superstition of the narrowest kind may be associated with general intelligence and good breeding. On the day before arrival, it was remarked casually, that at the rate of speed we were then making, another twenty-four hours would bring us home. *Deo volente!* said the eldest lady with sweet solemnity. *Deus* is apt to be *volens*, it was rejoined, when his laws were faithfully obeyed. Her blank countenance revealed the absolute inaccessibility of her mind to that rudimental thought. "Strange that men should have been so long in making the discovery that the earth is round!" remarked one of the group with innocent naïveté. It must be because men of science do not read their Bibles; if they did, they would save themselves a great deal of trouble; for David distinctly speaks of "the round world and they that dwell therein." What would she make of Draper's *Conflict between Religion and Science*? Such Boettian fatness of intellect was never ascribed to infidelity before. Such supreme dignity in remanding Galileo and his army of martyrs to the back closet was never equalled. The mother had been disquieted during the voyage with apprehensions of danger; she was afraid of shipwreck, at broad day, in the Irish Channel, the distant coast on either side being lined with light-houses; she trembled at every shock of the waves against the steamer's side; and although convinced that a special Providence put her on board of that particular vessel and selected her state-room, she questioned in her mind whether the same Providence would succeed in dodging the icebergs and eluding the whales. Her daughter remonstrated, chiding her mother gently for her unwillingness to commit herself without reserve to the Lord's keeping. Her argument was to the effect that the will of the Lord was not to be taken for granted; that his past kindness was no guarantee that kindness would go to the end of the journey. For, she urged, no Christian should go to sea who was not quite willing to be drowned! To the unbeliever this seemed like trusting Providence with a reservation. But to the speaker it did not present itself in so absurd a light. Her mental serenity was unquestionable.

These were amiable people; quite guileless and harmless; their superstition had neither edge nor bitterness. But what multitudes there are who have all the superstition and none of the sweetness; whose ignorance is aggressive; whose unreason is angry and overbearing! Liberals are unwise who have no fear of these. They are rich and strong; they have the popular voice on their side; they have persecuting blood in their veins; they have not unlearned the old ecclesiastical methods of dealing with so-called infidels; they have the "cause of the gospel" at heart, and in characteristic ways, as opportunity offers, will make their power felt. There may be room for differences of policy in confronting them; but can any policy be wise that regards superstition as an outworn chimera?

O. B. F.

SUNDAY AGAIN.

There is every now and then renewed evidence brought to the surface of the continual survival of Puritanism in New England. This has been conspicuously illustrated in Western Massachusetts, within the past few months, in several instances, with respect to the observance of Sunday. A short time since a Jew, having failed to remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy, by going a-fishing, was summoned before the Court in Westfield to answer for his impiety. There was no intention on the part of the offender, it appeared, to slight the observance. Indeed, it was shown that he was exceedingly conscientious in this particular. It was simply a question between him and his accusers in respect to which day is entitled to the prescribed distinction.

According to the scriptures of his faith (and the Christian prosecutors also), from which he argued his case, it is the seventh rather than the first of the week. "Six days shalt thou labor, and do all thy work; but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God. In it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates: for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in

them is, and rested the seventh day; wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day and hallowed it."

It was maintained that this command had never been abrogated; that even Christ declared he came not to destroy, but to fulfil what had gone before. It would seem that such a plea, before those who claim that "the Bible is the authority for all law"—and are just now making strenuous exertions to have this statement incorporated into our National Constitution—should have been sufficient to procure an acquittal. But Christians have never been preëminent for acuteness of logical power or consistency. The judge was inexorable. It was decided that a law of the ancient and honored Commonwealth had been broken, and a fine was imposed on the culprit as a penalty.

Still later, in the same town, several barbers were indicted because they had enabled some of their customers to appear with shaven, rather than unshaven faces, by plying their art on Sunday. At Springfield an estimable and capable gentleman, in the newspaper line, the editor and proprietor of a very reputable sheet, the *Sunday Telegram*, has been brought to trial to answer a similar charge, on account of the issue of his paper on this day, and has experienced much embarrassment of his business in consequence. Proceeding still further Bostonward—toward the boasted effulgent centre whence religious freedom and intelligence radiates over all this continent,—at Worcester, the newspaper boys of the city found themselves, one fine morning this summer, in the clutches of the constables, because they had profaned the Sabbath by perversely endeavoring to turn what they deemed, doubtless, an honest penny as dispensers of intelligence; and some fourteen young men were also arrested for preferring a game of ball to divine service.

As one reads these accounts, and such as these, it is natural to feel prompted to exclaim, in the familiar words of customary pulpit prayer, "Let us thank God that we live in a Christian land, where each can sit under his own vine and fig-tree with none to molest or make him afraid."

But, irony aside, I do not pretend to render a critical judgment in respect to any of the preceding cases. I am not acquainted with all their particulars. It is possible that in each instance there was more to be said on both sides than is here apparent. It may be, for example, to specify a single one in the last mentioned that the young men while playing ball disturbed church congregations in the neighborhood, and would thereby be trespassers on the rights of others, and a cause of legitimate complaint. But, even in view of such hypothetical circumstances, the ball-players should be entitled to some consideration as well as the church people. It might be proper to prevent them from disturbing public worship on Sunday, but it would not be just to prohibit their playing ball anywhere. They had the same right to this use of the day (so long as they did not interfere with the rights of others) as the church people had to theirs. It may have been, indeed, that the recreation and out-door enjoyment thus derived was for them its most beneficial employment. Certainly they should be as competent to decide this as any.

These illustrations seem to exhibit, in very clear and unmistakable light, the *animus* of the Christian party in the State, its relation to the general government and to individual freedom, its disposition and determination, so far as possible, to override the consciences and rights of those who prefer other modes of thought and action. They show that Puritanism, in its old-time arbitrary narrowness and despotic intolerance, still survives in New England, and not the least in the Bay State, where its miserable and sombre eclipse of the sunlight of life at first appeared.

Puritanism was doubtless a stepping-stone to something higher in the course of progress. Unquestionably we owe it a great debt for its heroism, endurance, and the seeds of liberty which it planted. But how wretched, meagre, and benighted it seems, in the diffused and glowing light, freedom, and intelligence of the present! Who would desire to return to it? It is in spirit as antagonistic to an enlightened and genuine civilization as the *Syllabus* of his holiness, Pío Nino. Could there be any more conclusive evidence of this than the recent communication of Mr. Dodge to General Newton? It has been the custom of the Church to predict its own destined ultimate triumph, and declare that the "gates of hell" shall not prevail against it. But recent events have seriously impaired the value of such assurances, by proving that the "gates of hell" cannot prevail against the conquering march of scientific and intellectual progress.

D. H. C.

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY R. C.

Judging from the tenor of many speeches and lectures delivered just subsequent to the civil war, it is evident that not a few excellent people then believed that the gift of the ballot would suddenly convert the Southern freedman into something resembling an angel of light. It is an extremely difficult matter, apparently, for people who became possessed of the above notion to understand that the facts of the past ten years prove conclusively that the freedman is very often a lying and thievish knave, and in many respects is more closely allied to a semi-barbarian than to any civilized being. That the Southern negroes are utterly incapable of self-government, we hold to be proved conclusively by the miserable condition of those States in which they have had longest and most exclusive control. So wretched, in fact, have been their attempts at government that throughout these States to-day the whites take no interest whatever in the questions which disturb our national politics. They care nothing about tariff, or resumption, or silver standard, or civil-service reform, and divide into no parties upon these questions. Parties are divided by the color line, and the whites are occupied solely with the desire of escaping from the rule of the negro and his coadjutor and fellow-scalawag, the carpet-bag white man. All sentiments of poetic justice must long ago have been satisfied by the twelve years' rule of the former slave over his master, and, for the best interests of both races, it is about time now for this unnatural order of things to be done away with.

There is some reason for believing that the more intelligent negroes themselves are at length coming to this conclusion. The Rev. Mr. Dunjee, a colored preacher in Richmond, has written several letters recently in which he urgently advises the blacks to act with and, so far as possible, gain the confidence of the whites. To a gentleman in Massachusetts he writes: "Men at the North seem to forget that the colored men, as a class, are without homes, penniless and uneducated, and that there are three million of them who sleep under the roofs of their former owners with all the brain-power on the side of their old masters." In an open letter to his "colored friends of Louisiana specially, and of the South generally," he says: "There never was a time when the fact was more clearly perceived and felt than the two races, the colored numbering four million, and the whites eight million, have to live together within the limits of the sixteen Southern States, and that can best be attained by the colored people ceasing to antagonize the white race in their political campaigns, and manifesting that confidence politically in them which they daily manifest towards them in their business relations. We see constantly that colored men trust most implicitly to the whites in vital matters appertaining to their contracts for labor, by which they and their families are supported. Why, therefore, should we not equally trust them about our political matters, which are far inferior in their bearing on our well-being?"

Without doubt a return of peace and order throughout the South can only be assured when the intelligent portion of the community—that is, the white race—make and administer the laws. The prolonged continuance in power of ignorance and vice can result only in bringing a State into the present horrible condition of South Carolina, where the failure of negro government is most conclusive, and where we have presented to-day the curious paradox that every well-wisher of the negro must desire the success, at the coming election, of the rebel General Wade Hampton, and the defeat of Chamberlain, notwithstanding the latter's excellent purposes and his attempts at genuine reform. We cannot have a healthy state of affairs in our country until we behold the white men of the South splitting up into political parties like those which divide white men at the North; but this spectacle we cannot hope to look upon so long as Northern orators endeavor to keep alive the old feelings which grew out of slavery and the war.

The political workers of both parties are anxiously awaiting news from Ohio and Indiana; but as the results of the elections in these States will be known to our readers before this reaches them, all speculation with regard to them would be thrown away. If both States should, as, however, seems improbable, declare for the same party by a decided majority, it is generally admitted by newspapers and speakers of both parties that this decision would forecast the result of the coming presidential election.

Judge Hoar's acceptance of an independent nomination for Congress in the seventh Massachusetts district gives promise of a stirring canvass in that district; and his letter of acceptance contained "points" which will be likely to operate upon Butler like bars upon a Spanish bull. There is considerable room for choice among the candidates. Judge Hoar is a pronounced Republican, universally recognized as a man of first-class ability. Mr. Tarbox is an equally pronounced Democrat, and although by no means the equal of Judge Hoar, is, nevertheless, a Congressman of whom no Democrat need be ashamed. It is quite possible, however, that Butler may succeed in defeating both opponents. We have called attention to this district before, and shall probably do so again, for the purpose of making plain the fact that Butler's success therein indicates the existence of a large class of voters who are really a dangerous element in our society; and we believe, moreover, that this element is larger in Massachusetts and some other Northern States than most people have imagined. It is an

analogous element to that which in New York elected Tweed to the legislature after his dishonesties had been fully made public, and which hurried for the notorious Jim Fisk throughout all of his scandalous proceedings. We beg leave to suggest to our active tobacco-and-beer philanthropists that they would find in this element a more fruitful subject for study than the miracle at Cana, or the amount of nicotine contained in a cigar-stump.

We desire to call attention to the large number of valuable papers read last week at the meeting of the American Public-Health Association. Papers were read on abattoirs in large cities; "expert" testimony; the construction of public institutions; food, in its relations to personal and public health; illuminating gas, in its relations to health; sanitary requirements in factories; water supplies for large institutions; sanitary reform in ship life; the sacrifice of life and property in unseaworthy ships; marine hygiene; scarlet fever; disinfection in yellow fever; the relation of topographical surveys to public health; the gases of decay; the sanitary condition of country houses and grounds,—and other subjects. Many of these essays were supplemented by equally valuable addresses and discussions; and when we add to the above list the subjects discussed at the recent meetings of the Social Science Association and the Association for the Advancement of Science, it is evident that our country is not lacking in thoughtful men devoted to original research, and who may, we trust, be depended upon in the long run to furnish the needed antidotes for the dangerous element referred to above.

At a meeting of the American Board of Foreign Missions last week, at Hartford, the Rev. N. G. Clark read an interesting paper on "A Century of Christian Progress," taking the ground that the present is "an age of intellectual revolt against the errors and superstitions of the past," a revolt which is not confined to Christian countries. "In India an intellectual revolt is in rapid progress, as a result of the great educational work there going forward. Thousands of young men are passing out of the schools and colleges, no longer able to accept the crude superstitions of their fathers, but untaught in the gospel. The destructive agencies are greatly in excess of the constructive. The old religious faiths are giving way, and no substitute is offered. The missionary agencies are altogether inadequate to the crisis. The golden opportunity is passing. The same is true of Japan. Buddhism, Shintoolism, Confucianism seem fast losing their hold on the popular mind, and multitudes are eagerly waiting for the truth. The millions of China, also, will soon be on our hands." Turkey and Africa were also referred to as fields for missionary work. The speaker urged the necessity of improving the present opportunity; desired to see the organization of "a grand movement to make the next century glorious for the triumphs of the gospel in all the earth"; but recognized the existence of "a secular spirit that finds its way into our higher institutions of learning, turning the thoughts of our Christian youth to mere literary and scientific culture, instead of leading them to consecrate their powers and attainments to self-denying labor and sacrifice for the cause of Christ."

The Hartford correspondent of the Boston Herald relates some very curious proceedings on the part of the delegates to the meeting of the American Board at which the above paper was read. Some three thousand strangers attended the meetings of the Board, and although these were supposed to be good and pious Christians, not a few among them, "in the parlance of the world, would be classed under the profane head of 'beats.'" All visitors were cared for by the people of Hartford, applications for entertainment being made in advance. One man wrote to the Committee on Entertainment, requesting to be provided with a room on the second floor, with a piano, a fire, and other accommodations. A mother wrote asking to be entertained by some family having a good piano, so that her daughter might keep up her practice. A man wrote that he should come with a pair of horses which he desired to have cared for. Some ladies who were entertained devoted the week to sight-seeing, and others to "fall shopping," entirely neglecting the meetings of the Board. A party of six, entertained at one house, spent the entire week in pleasure-hunting; and two men from Vermont, who had requested entertainment, after remaining one night and securing supper, lodging, and breakfast free of expense, pushed on next morning for the Centennial Exhibition. On the whole, we think Mr. Clark had abundant reason to deplore the existence of "materialism and a secular spirit."

We shall be glad to be relieved of the task of getting at the amount of probability contained in the reports which come to us from Serbia and Turkey. Matters have come to such a pass at length, however, that either peace will be soon concluded or other powers will join the original contestants, and a terrible European war will follow. Public indignation against the Turks has become so intense in England that the government is likely to be driven to take more decisive action than it desires. England is really in a bad predicament. In India, her Mohammedan subjects are powerful and dangerous, and are not likely to be confirmed in their allegiance to the "Empress of India" if England is supposed to be hostile to the one who is regarded as being, in some sense, the traditional head of their Church. At the same time the Christian subjects of England cannot remain quiet under the imputation that England's influence is bolstering up a rotten Mohammedan empire, the government of which cannot or does not protect its Christian inhabitants from horrible outrage. The Porte has requested time to consider the

propositions for peace presented by the powers, but has been informed by England that they must be accepted without modification. It has also been informed that immediate steps must be taken to compensate, so far as possible, the Christians of Bulgaria; and, without doubt, the prompt acceptance by the Porte of the demands of the powers can alone prevent a most serious war. Turkey is in a very bad fix. Her provinces revolt, and instead of being allowed to punish them for revolution, she is compelled to grant them favors refused before, and to lessen her authority over them. In other words, she is compelled to consent to her own gradual dissolution. This seems to be the fate in store for her, the only alternative being a more sudden dissolution before the armies of Russia, Austria, and Greece.

Communications.

THE PRIESTLY SPIRIT AMONG LIBERALS.

There is a certain class of liberals in this country, as in Europe, whose position is rather an anomalous one. I refer to those who have outgrown the popular religion, and entertain advanced views which they are accustomed to express in essays or discourses, but who seem to have no real sympathy with or respect for the great mass of liberal men and women, and indeed feel or affect a sort of disdain for the farmer, the mechanic, the workingman, when he in their presence ventures to give utterance to the same views. They act as though they thought that the truth in regard to religion should be expressed only by themselves, in such doses and at such times as they see fit to administer it, and that in their presence no ordinary person should venture to speak his thoughts on religion. This is the old priestly spirit, which in some individuals has survived the doctrines which originated it. What can be more supercilious in a representative of freethought, a teacher of liberal views? If a person is aristocratic or exclusive by nature, he has a right to restrict himself to the society of those who have wealth, social rank, or tastes like himself; but let no man who professes to be a friend of advanced views and of larger liberty and greater independence of thought than the creeds of the churches allow stand aloof from the people, and treat with contempt every utterance of liberal thought that is not clothed in the choicest language. Truth itself is more important than the phraseology in which it is expressed. Too much cannot be said in favor of the highest culture; but the strongest language only can condemn in fitting terms the arrogance, the superciliousness, and inconsistency of men who, in advocating liberal views, treat with scornful contempt or indifference the independent expression of the same views by those who with fewer opportunities of culture are compelled to use plainer and homelier language.

Respectfully, B. F. UNDERWOOD.
THORNDIKE, Mass., Sept. 27, 1876.

THE DEMOCRATIC SIDE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—I see with surprise that comparatively few of your readers have availed themselves of your invitation to express their political views in the columns of THE INDEX. I am the more surprised, since liberals usually enjoy the reputation of being a strongly opinionated class, and of being in nowise diffident about airing their opinions. May I be permitted to say a few words from the Democratic side? If I talk too long, there is this excuse: I am probably quite alone in my advocacy.

To the liberal there are four paramount questions involved in this campaign, or rather four branches to the one great essential,—civil and religious liberty. The first of these, commonly summed up as the "Catholic question," has received the lion's share of discussion, and from its prominence as an issue may properly claim our first attention.

ROMANISM.—I am far from appearing in the rôle of a defender of that hoary superstition, or as putting the slightest confidence in that myth,—the "liberal Catholic." No one can be more fully alive to the evil influence that the Romish Church exerts to-day, or the repulsive part it has played in the past. But this much every just, fair mind will freely admit: that, however deplorable the tendencies of its teachings may be, they are not legitimate subjects for political agitation or for legislation, except as they interfere with the rights of non-Catholics, or attempt to meddle with the laws of the land. When the question is hewn down to this its proper base, its proportions are infinitesimal. In this State of New York the Catholic vote is exceptionally large; and there has been, and possibly may be again, some trouble in keeping the schools in the large cities strictly non-sectarian. Mr. Eugene Lawrence and the Evangelical press have made charges concerning certain "reformatories" and "protectorates" sustained by State funds, which, in the absence of personal knowledge, I cannot deny. What then? This is one State out of thirty-eight. The power of the Catholic Church is expended in the petty triumphs I have mentioned. If I were to print the number of Catholic voters in this country, those who have never seen the figures would be amazed at their puny dimensions. Unluckily I am unable to give them; but if you will look them up, I am sure you will agree with me when I affirm that their hold upon the country as a whole is scarcely stronger than that of the Mormons. Of course this is my private opinion; and I am aware that it is in antagonism with that of the mass of American voters; but so were the convictions which led us to go to Philadelphia. Popular sentiment is by no means an infallible guide. The great majority

of people usually think wrong,—that is, when they think at all; they are perpetually stoning their prophets, and in the end making martyrs of their victims, by adopting the views that were heresies a little before. Public opinion, if we may believe the sectarian and Republican press, is strongly against the Catholics; so, if we may credit Messrs. Hawley, Stevenson, et al., public opinion is against us as radicals. We laugh at the latter; we care nothing for the storm these hypocrites have stirred up around us, for we know we are in the right; but what good reason have we for joining our enemies who misrepresent us, and helping them misrepresent others? The clerical gentlemen who so kindly mentioned us in connection with murderers, incendiaries, thieves, and frequenters of saloons, in Philadelphia last summer, are the ones who are raising this hue and cry about the Catholics to hide their own stealthy advance. If they lie about liberals, why should we think they are telling the truth when they assail Catholics? The cry about the Pope, the Jesuits, and the schools, is cunningly manipulated by the Orthodox leaders. It is ingenious, but it is contemptibly mean; it is the trickery of the politician, not the energy of the broad-minded, truth-loving patriot; they have at heart the interest of their Church, not that of the republic.

PROTESTANTISM.—I have stated my belief that the Catholics were powerless to touch the Constitution; I wish with all my heart I could say as much of the Protestants. I am quite sure that you, Mr. Editor, will join me in saying that in this direction lies our danger. There was no need to organize a league to oppose Romanism. The Catholic Church is explicit; it has certain fixed principles of government which everybody understands, and which thirty millions of Americans are united in regarding as radically wrong; its adherents are in an absurd minority; we know their position and could defend ourselves were they ten times stronger than they are. But how can we resist the other enemy, whose legions are loudest in their professions of devotion to liberty, whose influence stretches into nine dwellings out of ten throughout the land, who is overwhelmingly strong in numbers, prestige, and wealth? The wildest demand for supremacy that Mr. Lawrence can find in his collection of Catholic claims cannot rival the superb assurance of Mr. Stevenson or his comrades who, with less astuteness and more vehemence, told us their aims so clearly last summer. It is no common prize that the National Reform Association is striving for; and it is no common power that they bring into requisition; the whole mighty machinery of the Evangelical churches, the host of interested devotees, the masses who have been for years prepared by the pulpits for church supremacy, the fervid fanaticism of a priest-ridden people,—this is what the National Reform Association means; this is the ogre that looms up between us and the ideal we hope for. Alone we can do nothing; there seems small hope for our little straggling band pitted as it is against a grand army, superb in organization, discipline, and accoutrements. Here is a foe worth watching; and when to its ranks is added the dominant party, our horizon is clouded indeed! Against this terrible array what can we do? What avails ten thousand protests hurled forth in burning words? We can, indeed, vanquish them in logic, on the ground of truth and common-sense; but "fine words butter no parsnips." When all our arguments are exhausted, there is not one vote the less against us, not a single step gained in the struggle. To make the victory practical, to maintain the Constitution unpolluted, to save ourselves and children from being aliens and outcasts in a "Christian land," we must meet them and beat them at the ballot-box, where the genius of American liberty wills that all wrongs shall be righted, and all rights upheld.

Is there any doubt as to the means of making the liberal vote a potent factor in this great problem? Between the two parties in the last session of the Senate, a sharp line was drawn on this issue. A Republican judiciary committee resolved itself into a sub-committee of the National Reform Association, and brought in an amendment practically establishing the Bible in the Constitution and the schools; the Republican senators voted for it; their Democratic colleagues *solidly against it*. To that minority we owe a brief respite from our impending doom; for you, dear INDEX, know as well as I what footing liberals and all non-Christians will enjoy after our good old secular Constitution is baptized in the name of the Trinity. Can we afford to be grateful for that vote? Or shall we put ourselves in the position of a man who, in a swift current, beyond his depth, with death's clutch upon him, refuses to reach out his hand to be saved, because his would-be rescuer wears corduroys, smells of clay pipe, and might possibly expect a reward? We have all heard the echoing cheers with which Republican conventions greet that ancient plank about "free schools," etc. We all know what free schools mean; what Gov. Hayes and his leaders mean by that stale declaration; precisely what the old American party meant by the disqualification of foreigners,—the supremacy of Protestantism. For my part I had rather trust John Kelley than Joe Hawley. I will place my faith in the party of Paine's and Jefferson's views, and the secular Constitution that is its abiding platform (the outgrowth of eighteenth century infidelity, the pulpits call it now) rather than in those who would graft the Church upon our State, and bring the fifteenth century into the nineteenth.

CENTRALIZATION.—The Constitution made the States a confederacy. Increasing population, commerce, and interests, and certain questions overlooked or evaded then, but momentous in after years, have called for sundry amendments, which—while preserving intact the just rights of the several States—have cemented the bonds between them, and made of them a nation. There are, I know, some

elderly gentlemen in both sections who still swear by Calhoun and his "State" ideas, but they are very few, and wholly powerless; to the mass of thinking Democrats, the old cry of "State rights" has no significance; it is dead and out of sight. But while I believe the party accepts sincerely the various amendments, and has abandoned forever its old position, the present administration has carried the opposing idea of centralization far beyond the bounds of common decency, and made Washington in the American, what Paris is in the French republic,—head and front and backbone. Of its trampling upon law in its treatment of the South I will speak briefly below; of the relations existing between the court at the capital and the Evangelical interest, I will say a few words here. I am aware that this caption would furnish material for a score of letters. It is an inextinguishable theme, and a deeply important,—this gradual decay of the rule of the people, and the swift growth of an imperial appointing power; and I cannot but be sorry that space forbids my touching it, and limits me to a hasty glance at one of its multitudinous sides.

In each of the four great upheavals which have convulsed France during the past ninety years, the clergy suffered conspicuously. They had been in each instance the most violent supporters of tyranny, the chief agents in holding its sway upon the people, and when the despotism was overthrown, the shavings were punished with exceptional and signal severity. Personally I cannot refuse my sympathy to the innocent clergymen who were slaughtered during the Reign of Terror, or to Archbishop Darboy and Abbé De Guerry,—murdered in the prison of La Roquette by the communists in 1871; but there is a significant principle lying back of these pathetic passages of history. The instincts of man are usually truer than his judgments; and in the case in hand, the mob, blindly and brutally, it is true, struck at the power that had crushed them. An abbé or a bishop was in their eyes an incarnation of the power that had fostered aristocracy, and poured their necks under the heel of a Bonaparte or Bourbon. They remembered that the young republic had no bitterer foes than the clergy; they had not forgotten that each village curé extolled the *plébiscite* as of heaven, heavenly; and they vented their rage on what types of the order came to hand. Now, with an apology for the length of this digression, let us apply it to our own time, our own Capital. We have seen lately many striking illustrations of the estimation in which the clergy is held at the White House. We have seen a superb sinecure provided for the Senate chaplain,—Inspector of Consuls! We have seen missionaries sent West to the Indians; they are an essential part of the policy, and the policy has brought forth Sitting Bull and Orville Grant! The expense is trifling, but the precedent is wholly bad. It associates the clergy with the Capital; it introduces them into the lobby; it suggests to them a golden land of promise, before which stands only the secular Constitution; how they will override that, we have seen. Priests thrive in a capital; they fatten in a court. They create a false atmosphere,—born of the false authority they represent, and deadly to republics. Washington is a stench in the nostrils of honest men. The American abroad has enough to blush for now; a priest-ridden capital, a clerical aristocracy, the elevation of the pulpit to the level of the Senate desk, is alone needed to complete our shame. How long will our republic—our loved, honored, vaunted Republic—survive in the hands of men who hate republicanism, who loathe the light, and who sneer at our liberties and rights as the fungi of an infidel age? I am told Mr. Hayes boasts of never having attended a theatre in his life. The power that Orthodoxy wields in Washington may be seen by the jubilant boast of the *Statesman*: that the Bible clause in the amendment was dictated by agents of the National Reform Association. If they can do that now, what may they not do with a fanatical, narrow-minded bigot in the Executive chair? We have already heard poor Mr. Wheeler mander about New England churches and influence. Will it not be a wilful forging of chains for liberals to vote for men whose campaign is conducted by Sunday-school statesmen and thieves, and whose consciences are in the keeping of Orthodox divines?

THE NEGRO.—I am aware that this is a question of peculiar importance to a majority of INDEX readers. Most of the Abolitionists were led, by the force of logical conclusions, into the liberal line, and it is natural that their old fight should live yet in their memories. I cannot but speak reverently of Garrison and Phillips, but I have equal regard for Sumner and Greeley. In 1872, these latter, in company with other old-time Republicans, bore testimony to the fact that no other people had ever conducted themselves with more moderation and good sense than the Southerners since the termination of the late war. In the Democratic States, Virginia, Arkansas, Alabama, Georgia, there is nothing the matter; we never hear of any race-fights there. We say the Southron is hot-headed, prone to hasty action, fiercely prejudiced. Are there no violent partisans North? I remember, as a boy, seeing a Democrat driven from the polls in this quiet little city of Utica; and one of his pursuers, as they rushed past the window, had a musket in his hands, too! We must remember, in considering this question, that the negroes are not a remarkably pacific or orderly class,—even in Boston. Station three is the busiest in the city. I have seen many cases of wanton insult put upon well-dressed white ladies by colored ruffians, right on Cambridge Street. I have seen an elderly white man knocked down and brutally kicked for daring to expostulate with them. If this is possible in the most refined of Northern cities, what must it be in States where they have a majority,—South Carolina, Louisiana? How would you, dear INDEX, like to do business in a

county where the clerk and treasurer could neither read nor write? Yet there are such officials in the former State, probably in both. Under the control of Northern adventurers who, supported by Federal recognition and Federal bayonets, manipulate the ignorant colored vote, the condition of some of the Republican States in the South is something pitiable. I believe that the Southern policy, like the Indian, is a contemptible failure. As for outrages, there are two sides to the story, which I will not weary you with repeating. Morton, Kilpatrick, Boutwell, and Butler represent one side; Bayard, Trumbull, Adams, and Nordhoff the other. Can there be any hesitancy about a choice here?

A word about the candidates, and I have done. Whatever else may be said of Mr. Tilden, be sure he shapes his own policy. He has no doubts to confide to his minister, no ear to lend to him in return. He is a man with brains enough to know what we want, and energy enough to do it. No pulpit can mould him, no gossip influence him. Tilden, and no one else, would occupy the executive chair; see what Mr. Hayes has to say in a recent INDEX about the law of 1787, and ask yourself who would dictate the policy of the nation. Mr. Tilden was brought up to reverse the Constitution; Mr. Hayes to reverse the machinery of the Church.

I am, sir, respectfully yours,

HAROLD FREDERIC.

UTICA, Oct. 2, 1876.

FRENCH DEGREES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—I have, perhaps, reason to feel myself specially called upon when justice to France or to the Roman Catholic clergy requires an unintentional mistake to be rectified. In his letter, dated Paris, Aug. 4, 1876 (INDEX Sept. 28), the Rev. M. D. Conway makes the following statement with regard to the collation of university degrees in France:—

"The Church has now exclusive power to grant degrees. This means that it is solely by a vote of Catholic priests that a young man can get his degree, either as a physician or as a lawyer."

Were the venerable champion of liberalism as thoroughly conversant with French as with English matters, he could not have made this statement. What the Roman Catholic Church has recently acquired is not the exclusive right to grant degrees, but the right to grant them concurrently with the University of France, an all-powerful and all-pervading freethinking corporation which, since Napoleon I., possessed, and most tyrannically exercised, an educational monopoly. Young men who had received, in Catholic, Protestant, or other private establishments, an education fully equal to that of the public colleges, were debarred from taking their degrees unless they affirmed, with perjury, that they had been educated, for the last three years at least, in State establishments. No private establishments of instruction of any degree were allowed to exist except under special license from the University. Catholic colleges existed only on the sly, as houses of prostitution do in this country, expecting at every hour of day and night to see the Commissary of Police appear and close them, *au nom de la loi*. It is that tyranny, abolished by the late Assembly, that the new House of Representatives voted to restore, the Senate not concurring.

Under the law as it now is, though the State University retains some exclusive privileges, private universities, whether Catholic, or Protestant, or freethinking, or purely literary, may be founded, and confer degrees available as those of the State University, for public or professional careers.

I am, dear sir, very truly yours,

JULIUS FERRETTE.

CAMBRIDGE, Sept. 29, 1876.

SABBATHARIANISM AT NEWPORT.

NEWPORT, R. I., Sept. 30, 1876.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—At the annual meeting of the stockholders of the Redwood Library and Athenaeum held in this city, Sept. 27, 1876, the following resolution was offered:—

"Resolved, That whenever ten or more proprietors shall make a written request therefor, it shall be the duty of the Board of Directors to open the Library Building on Sundays, between the hours of 10 A. M. and 4 P. M., for the use of proprietors and subscribers only, provided that a suitable person can be found to take charge and preserve order without expense to the company. But nothing herein contained shall be deemed to authorize the issuing of books or to compel the attendance of the librarian or his assistant."

The resolution was defeated by a two-thirds vote after a discussion, lasting over an hour, in which the affirmative was taken by T. W. Higginson and S. R. Hony, and the negative by H. E. Turner, Hamilton Tompkins, George C. Mason, and others.

Yours,

SAMUEL R. HONEY.

PARIS has been agitated by an untoward incident at the funeral of the composer, M. Frédéric David. The deceased had left instructions by will that his body was to be buried without any religious ceremony. When this was known, the officers in charge of the military escort which had come to attend the funeral, and render the honors due a member of the Legion of Honor, refused to allow his men to accompany the cortege, while many of the mourners also slipped away, so that the body was accompanied to its last resting-place by comparatively few people. As in France the last duties to the dead are reckoned most sacred, this neglect to the memory of an eminent man, greatly respected when alive, has created considerable excitement.—*London Graphic*, Sept. 9.

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PUBLISHED BY THE

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EDITOR:

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT.

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To foster a nobler spirit and quicken a higher purpose, both in society and in the individual:

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MEMBERSHIP.

ARTICLE IV.—Any person who shall pay one dollar into the treasury shall be entitled to a certificate, signed by the President and Secretary, as an annual member of the National Liberal League. Any person who shall pay twenty-five dollars or more into the treasury shall be entitled to a similar certificate as a life-member. All the persons present as members at the Centennial Congress of Liberals, at which this Constitution was adopted, are hereby declared permanent or charter-members of the National Liberal League.

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ARTICLE XV.—Local auxiliary Liberal Leagues organized under charters issued by the Board of Directors shall be absolutely independent in the administration of their own local affairs. The effect of their charters shall be simply to unite them in cordial fellowship and efficient cooperation of the freest kind with the National Liberal League and with other local Leagues. All votes of the Annual Congress, and all communications of the Board of Directors, shall possess no more authority or influence over them than lies in the intrinsic wisdom of the words themselves.

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which would ultimately **DISFRANCHISE** and **DISQUALIFY FOR OFFICE** every honest Liberal in the land, and trample under foot the people's most sacred rights of conscience. It is time to rouse the people to an effective defence of their religious liberty, and the Liberal Leagues must do it.

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WHOLE NO. 356.

THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

IT IS STATED that the Italian government has resolved to abolish the religious element in the forms heretofore in use in administering oaths. There is to be no such invocation of the Deity as "So help me God," or "In the presence of the ever-living God." It is simply "I swear," and the usual penalties are retained for perjury.

THE LONDON Times published this dispatch from Barcelona on September 20: "During the past three months the clergy and aristocracy have made a severe attack upon their *employés* and servants who dare to worship in or send their children to Protestant schools or churches. Hundreds of poor men and women have thus suffered for their faith."

WHAT IS going to become of Dr. Draper? His *Conflict between Science and Religion* is placed on the "Index Expurgatorius"—the Pope's list of wicked books not to be read by the faithful. But just as the naughty boy wanted to go to Hades because all the "good fellows" were sent there, every heretic should be proud to see his works on the Pope's list because all the good books are found in it.

A SPIRITED PROTEST is made by "Civis" (one of THE INDEX subscribers), in the Newport *Daily News* of October 7, against the Sabbath laws of Rhode Island, under which some children were recently fined \$2.00 each for playing ball on Sunday. Such prosecutions are multiplying all over the country, and the secret of them will not be discovered anywhere but in the growing Orthodox purpose to make this a "Christian" country.

MR. ROBERT C. SPENCER, of Milwaukee, has been appointed to represent the State of Wisconsin on the Executive Committee of the National Liberal League, in place of Mr. J. O. Barrett, resigned. Mr. Spencer, it will be remembered, lately drew upon himself the fire of Sabbatarian bigots in the matter of opening the State Fair on Sunday; and this appointment is a mark of respect for his fearless and successful advocacy of equal rights on that occasion. He will undoubtedly prove a most efficient officer.

THE NORTHWESTERN LIBERAL ASSOCIATION was organized by the "liberals and freethinkers of Oregon, Washington Territory, British Columbia, and Idaho," at Portland, Oregon, on the fifth of July. The Secretary, Mr. H. B. Nicholas, has kindly forwarded us a copy of the Constitution and a report of the meeting at which the organization was formed. The

latter we shall republish as soon as we can make room for it. The Liberal Association adopted articles embodying substantially the "Demands of Liberalism," and, in the terse phrase of the Secretary, "means to push things." We heartily welcome every such association in the great work now before the liberals of America.

SAYS THE *Daily Graphic* of September 28: "Dr. William W. Patton, the distinguished Chicago divine, recently gave a powerful address in Farwell Hall to a large and applauding audience in favor of the complete secularization of the public schools. He argued against anything that looks like compulsory religion, would dispense with reading the Bible in the schools, and leave the whole subject of religious education to the family and the church, making the schools the training places of all children, all creeds and races, for the work and duties of everyday life. To adopt any other policy, he maintained, was to play unwittingly into the hands of the Roman hierarchy. It is impolitic to sacrifice the schools for the sake of Protestantism, when the latter does not need and would be damaged by the sacrifice. The country wants educated citizens, and should see to it that nothing shall hinder the education of every child. This view gains eloquent advocates, and seems to be steadily growing in public favor."

ELDER EVANS, of the Mount Lebanon (N. Y.) Shakers, sent recently this original note to the *Tribune*: "I propose that the American government change the Sabbath to any day of the week except the Jewish or Mohammedan Sabbath day. The Pagan Sunday is, of all others, the most improper. As a Shaker, I and my people observe it as a day of rest, as rigidly as any people. As an American citizen, proclaiming liberty of conscience to all mankind, I protest against the sectarian superstition of closing the World's Exposition on Sunday. It is not the true scriptural Sabbath. The government did right in blowing up Hell Gate on the Sabbath. Now let the Christian clergy blow up the Gates of Hell, open the World's Exposition, free of expense, to the world's poor, on the remaining Sabbath days. Then we may keep any day, and as many Sabbath days as we please, unmolested. And we—Jews, Quakers, Catholics, Materialists, Atheists, and Protestants—will all unite and keep any day the American government may appoint as a day of rest to man, beast, and cook. F. W. EVANS."

LAST SATURDAY'S *Tribune* published a remarkable letter on "intimidation in South Carolina," by "a white native of the State who is not a Republican," and of whom the editor says: "Our correspondent is in a position to be well informed, and we believe him to be honest." This gentleman testifies that a great "Confederate revival" is in progress there; that the whites are everywhere arming and drilling; that the ex-Confederates are in command, and propose to carry the election on the "Mississippi plan," by the shot-gun and revolver; that General Wade Hampton is the willing representative of their purpose; that Republican meetings are openly captured by bands of armed soldiers, and broken up in terror; that murders of negroes, assassinations of white Republicans, mobs, riots, and intimidation of all sorts, are resorted to as a means to the restoration of the Democratic party to power. If this testimony is true, the election of Wade Hampton would be a curse to South Carolina and to the United States, and above all others to the freedmen, who, abandoned by the North, would lie prostrate at the feet of pitiless and revengeful fire-eaters. Such a state of things justifies the employment of the whole military power of the nation to protect the freedom of the ballot-box and the rights of the menaced negroes. This is the paramount issue in South Carolina, and we hope to hear yet that Wade Hampton and his horde of murderers are beaten off the field.

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE,
 AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fairs shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

The Essence of Christianity.

BY CHARLES E. WHIPPLE.

Among disputed points in this world, no one is more disputed than the question, What is Christianity? If you inquire what are the particulars by virtue of which one man becomes a Christian, while his neighbor, apparently as good as he, remains not a Christian, you get from the doctors and teachers of Christianity a vast variety of answers. Some of these answers are obscure through mysticism, seeming to be designed only for persons of a peculiar habit or constitution of mind; but all of them are obscure through indefiniteness; and the same characteristic pervades the very extensive literature of the subject. I know of no definition of Christianity to be found in books which would give an accurate idea of it to one previously unacquainted with it. It is not unreasonable, however, to require that a "definition" define its subject; mark out the boundaries of it; render it intelligible to a candid person of average capacity. In the absence of such needed accuracy of statement, is it not well to raise a question concerning it? Possibly my attempt at a definition may stimulate some competent person to do the work more thoroughly.

It would seem that the doctrine of "the Christ" must be the central and vital idea of Christianity; and the churches which call themselves Christian, differing in a vast variety of other particulars, agree in identifying "the Christ" with Jesus of Nazareth. Many Jews, and many persons stigmatized as infidels, have expressed veneration for the character, and admiration of the precepts of Jesus, and have illustrated these precepts in their lives at least as thoroughly as the majority of his professed followers. These persons, however, are not Christians, because they do not accept Jesus as "the Christ." Moreover, respecting and honoring Jesus as they may, they do not accept all the doctrines, nor obey all the precepts attributed to him, but consider themselves free to choose among these, as among other sources of knowledge, according to the dictates of their own reason and conscience; whereas the Christian churches, differing in whatever else, agree in attributing to Jesus the right of absolute rule over them, and the duty of regulating reason and conscience by his decisions.

May not these facts help us towards a correct definition of the thing in question? First, however, we should understand the origin and significance of this term "the Christ," which is the corner-stone of Christianity.

"Christ" is a Greek translation of the Hebrew word "Messiah," which had its origin in Old Testament history, and which means "the Anointed," or "the Lord's Anointed." This term was first used in relation to the consecration of David as king, by anointing with oil, he having been designated by Jehovah for that purpose, according to the record. The Messiah, the predicted great deliverer, was also to be the Lord's Anointed, being predestined to sit on the throne of David, as well as to be born of his blood. Thus it came to pass that, whenever a great religious reformer arose in the Hebrew nation, the question was raised concerning him, "Is not this the Christ?" And, the records inform us, very early in the ministry of Jesus, this question was raised concerning him.

The first followers of Jesus were so attracted by the majesty and nobleness of his character as to be irresistibly impelled to leave all and follow him. It is evident that they confidently expected him to take the Messianic position, and that they were disappointed and puzzled, throughout his whole ministry, by his failure to take it in the manner they expected.

The want of chronological accuracy in the Gospel narratives leaves us uncertain at what period of his ministry Jesus consented to be acknowledged as the Christ. He was early beset with solicitations to assume that character, sometimes by the apostles, sometimes by individual Jews, sometimes by portions of the people. To entreaties of this sort he generally gave obscure answers, and he took pains to escape from a multitude who wished to make a public demonstration in his favor. On one or two occasions, however, he seems to have claimed Messiahship in conversation with his disciples, to have praised them for discerning that he bore that character, and to have promised eminent advancement to the twelve apostles when the kingdom should have been attained, though even then he charged them to tell no man that he was the Christ. A time soon came, however, when their hope was destroyed, and their whole enterprise seemed a failure.

When Jesus was seized to be crucified, we are told that all the disciples forsook him and fled. Not long after, however, we find them preaching with the utmost boldness and perseverance, and calling upon Jews and Gentiles to accept Jesus as "the Christ," and also as Lord and Master. It was while proselytizing thus, the record tells us, that they were first called "Christians." This took place at Antioch, probably within the first half-century of the Christian era, and the words Christian and Christianity have gained larger and larger acceptance from that time to the present.

As I have said above, all the great sects of Christians now teach the same doctrine, the preaching of which caused its receivers to be called Christians at Antioch. It seems fair to assume that this concord shows what are the essential elements of Christianity. I judge, then, that—

Christianity is the doctrine that in Jesus of Nazareth were fulfilled the predictions of Hebrew prophets concerning "the Messiah" or "the Christ," and that Jesus, as the Christ, is rightfully the spiritual Lord and Master of all men.

The latter of these particulars seems to be a deduc-

tion from the former. At least it is held as an article of faith by those only who hold the former. The identification of Jesus with "the Christ," a matter in which the professors of Christianity have been agreed from the beginning until now, may fairly be considered the key of the Christian position.

I have assumed, above, that a definition of Christianity ought to be so framed as to convey to an intelligent inquirer, previously unacquainted with that subject, an idea of it at least approximately accurate. The definition there suggested is, in fact, only an expansion of the formula most common in the mouths of all propagandists of that faith,—"the Lord Jesus Christ." Let us suppose an intelligent Japanese accosted with this formula by a Christian missionary, and presented with two documents in demonstration of its correctness; the biographical records of Jesus in the New Testament, by way of fact, and the prophetic details of the Old Testament, by way of authority.

To our instructed Japanese, it must be remembered, neither the formula nor the documents can have the sort of imposing prestige with which they come to Moody and Sankey's hearers in this Christian land. To him, the documents received are not yet "God's Word," nor even "the Holy Bible," but a book like other books, to be examined and judged of. To him, Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, Peter and Paul, are not dictators, but men, who may fairly be supposed to have written what they really believed, but whose opinions are to be examined, and judged of, if possible, by comparison with the documentary evidence upon which they were founded. The miracles make no impression upon him, because he has long been familiar with the assumption of similar ones in the documents of his own religion, which (being really well instructed in the learning of his own country) he has long since found to be without competent evidence. He knows what evidence is, and he inquires whether there is competent evidence for the doctrine newly presented to him.

There is one point, where the full scrutiny of the evidence is clearly within his reach. The documents collectively called "the Old Testament" were in existence in their present form, and in the hands of the Hebrew people, five hundred years or more before the birth of Jesus. If these documents clearly described, so long in advance, what the life and character of Jesus would be, and if the character and career of Jesus really made good that which was predicted concerning a Messiah, there would be strong presumptive evidence in favor of the divine origin of the new religion. Clearly, the scrutiny of the inquirer must begin at this point, and of the correspondence, or the want of it, between recorded prophecy and recorded fact, he is as competent to judge as any of the doctors or the councils who for eighteen hundred years have been uttering opinions upon that matter.

The missionary has kindly pointed the new inquirer to what he considers salient and convincing points in the department of fulfillment of prophecy. And the inquirer really finds, here and there in Old Testament literature, expressions verbally corresponding to alleged circumstances in the life of Jesus. It plainly appears, from one or more of the four biographical narratives, that Jesus was "despised and rejected"; that he was "a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief"; that he came, on one occasion, "riding on an ass"; that "they pierced his hands and his feet"; that in his thirst "they gave him vinegar to drink"; that "they parted his garments among them, and cast lots upon his vesture"; etc., etc. These resemblances, the inquirer will observe, really exist; but he will also observe several other things; namely, that these coincidences generally relate to incidental and unimportant matters; that one or two of the evangelists are so bent upon multiplying instances of this sort that they misquote or pervert Scripture in the attempt to show that this or that act of Jesus was foretold; that in sundry of the passages claimed as Messianic predictions pointing to Jesus, the prophet or psalmist is obviously describing himself, or other persons or events in his own time; and finally, that in no one of these passages do all the connected incidents fit the character of the career of Jesus, so as to make a probability that they were intended to refer to him. Casual and partial resemblances occur; but in no one case is it manifest that prophetic foresight distinguished and described the coming of Jesus.

But when the Japanese inquirer proceeds from minor matters, like the above, to examine the main features of the work which the Messiah, according to Hebrew prophecy, was to perform, he finds, instead of coincidence or resemblance, the strongest possible contrast to the career of Jesus. This prophecy, delivered while the Hebrew people were suffering oppression from foreign nations, announced a Messiah to come, a branch from the root of David, who should deliver them from their oppressors, avenge them on their enemies, and establish them permanently in their own land, under a paternal government, never more to suffer oppression or invasion. Isaiah, Jeremiah, and others of the writers of their Scripture, positively declared that a lineal descendant of David, sitting on the throne of David, should collect the Hebrew people again in Palestine, and rule them there, in peace and righteousness, forever. These are the main features of that Hebrew prophecy which has been called Messianic, and therefore these were the things looked for to be accomplished by the Christ, whenever he should come. The gospel narratives show that precisely these were the things expected of the Christ, not only by Jews generally in the time of Jesus, but by his twelve apostles, through his whole ministry, and even after his crucifixion.

The Japanese inquirer learns from the secular history of the last eighteen hundred years that not one of the things thus predicted and expected has been accomplished. But he also learns from the Gospels

that Jesus never even attempted to accomplish one of them. The Messiah was to be a conquering leader, assailing and overthrowing the enemies of Israel, crushing them in his anger, trampling them in his fury. Jesus, when accused of aspiring to be a king, declared to Pilate that his kingdom was not of this world. The predicted kingdom of Messiah was to be of this world, was to be exercised in Palestine by the expulsion of the Roman invader, was to overthrow all Gentiles who sought, like Pilate, to maintain a foreign rule over the chosen people. Jesus was content to pay tribute to Cæsar. He discountenanced the efforts of the people to make him a king. He wished to gather them together, as a teacher, not at all as a political or revolutionary leader. He practised, as he taught, non-resistance to injury. He would not allow his disciples to fight, either for Hebrew independence or for his own deliverance. His life accomplished something far better than that permanence and supremacy of Judaism which Messiahship contemplated, but it did not accomplish Messiahship.

A discriminating study of the missionary's own documents, the Old and New Testaments, will necessarily show to the inquiring Japanese, as to so many Americans and Europeans of the present day, that the epithet "Christ," in its original signification, does not belong to Jesus. Though greater and better than a realized Messiah would have been, he was not the Messiah.

I have spoken of the original signification of these words, Messiah and Christ. But is not that original signification the only proper one? The idea of a Messiah, originating with the Hebrew people, founded on their manners and customs, and expressed in their phraseology, has been a valued possession of that people for at least twenty-five hundred years. Faith in its realization has sustained them through reverses and misfortunes altogether unparalleled, and, still abiding, it holds them together as a people, though they have ceased to be a nation. They have a right to the idea, and to the phrases expressing it; and it is unjust to them, as well as unjustifiable in itself, to pervert these historical terms to an application to once foreign and alien; a meaning contradictory alike to the Scriptures of their ancestors, and to the faith still cherished in their own hearts.

If the definition of Christianity above given is correct (a matter in regard to which I hope the views of others will be published), that system is proved unsound by the very documents on which it relies for authority. That which Messiah was to accomplish, according to the prophetic portions of Old Testament Scripture, has not been accomplished at all, and of course was not accomplished by Jesus. And the pretence of such accomplishment in a mystic, figurative, or spiritual sense is equally destitute of foundation. If "Messiah" means anything, it means that one in the line of David should come and rule over the Jews as king in the land of Palestine. But that people have never accepted Jesus as Master or Lord in any sense whatever. They have steadily rejected his doctrine as well as himself for eighteen hundred years, and Christian missionaries have made fewer converts from Judaism than from Islamism or any of the great heathen religions.

Nevertheless, Christianity, like the delinquent church in Sardis, has "a name to live," and gives much proof of vigor as well as vitality. Now, and probably for centuries to come, in every nation called Christian, he must "lose caste" who renounces it. For many generations yet, no doubt, the Christian clergy will contend against the theist as rancorously as against the atheist, calumniating the persons, and misrepresenting the doctrines. The signs of the times, however, indicate a steady increase of free inquiry, and a confidence in the ultimate victory of truth; and those who find the truth know full well that they have gained something better than the approval of a present majority.

PHILADELPHIA LETTER.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—According to the official returns to date, over four and one half millions of people have visited the Exposition, exclusive of exhibitors, attendants, newspaper reporters, and others holding free tickets. This number of paying visitors to the Centennial Exposition exceeds by more than one million the entire number who visited Vienna during the one hundred and eighty-six days which it was open.

Yesterday, the 28th of September, was the Centennial anniversary of the adoption of Pennsylvania's original Constitution. It was therefore very appropriately Pennsylvania's day at the Centennial Exposition, the day for her special celebration as one of the thirteen original States. It was a proud day for Philadelphia. The public buildings and business and dwelling-houses upon the principal streets were gayly decorated with the flags of all nations, emblematical of a welcome to all peoples. The schools were closed, and business was generally suspended throughout the city. Over two hundred and sixty-three thousand people gathered inside the Exhibition grounds to do honor to the day and to the work of the century. Reception were held in the Pennsylvania State Building, the Philadelphia City Building, and the Judges' Hall, by the Governor of the State, the Mayor of the City, and the Women's Centennial Executive Committee respectively. Addresses were delivered, the burden of which was the great work of the Exposition, Pennsylvania's part in the work, and a contrast of her present population, developed industries and resources, with those of one hundred years ago. Of course no one spoke of her unjust laws, which, notwithstanding the declaration of her original Constitution of the right of all to freedom of conscience, discriminate between the rights of the Atheist and the Christian; nor of her numerous and overcrowded almshouses, jails, and prisons, the pro-

duct of the century, though a blot upon her civilization; nor of the unparalleled number of homes sold by the sheriff during this Centennial year; nor of the thousands of men and women, citizens of Pennsylvania and of this great republic, who could not join in this celebration for want of proper clothing and a fifty cent note; nor of the great army of the unemployed compelled to become tramps or criminals in order to obtain the necessities of life. Why should these things be mentioned? 'Tis well to recount the past and joyfully to note the success gained; but we must not forget that the great problem of freedom—freedom to be and do,—the social problems of existence, government, and industry, are not yet solved.

Very little could be seen of the Exposition, so immense was the crowd. Every building and every avenue of the buildings were thronged. The grounds were one vast living panorama, and outside the gates the crowd was scarcely less; yet good order and politeness everywhere prevailed except in the one particular of smoking. I cannot understand how men can indulge in this filthy and intemperate habit, or by what argument they can justify such pollution of the atmosphere which others are compelled to breathe. It is the freedom of license, not liberty. The Exhibition buildings were closed as soon after the usual hour as possible, but the grounds, which were brilliantly illuminated, remained open during the evening, cloudless and scarcely less light than the day. At 8 P. M., from George's Hill, there was a magnificent display of fireworks, prepared for the occasion, and seldom equalled. This was the closing feature of the day's celebration, after which the people quietly dispersed to get home the best way they could. Thousands were compelled to walk for want of any possible conveyance. I write thus explicitly, because Pennsylvania's day is not only the maximum day of our Exposition thus far, but the number in attendance exceeds by over seventy thousand that ever assembled on any one day at any of the great International Exhibitions of the world.

Last Sunday, President Grant and wife, accompanied by Mr. Sartoris, Secretary Borie and wife, Secretary Fish and wife, George W. Childs and wife, Robert E. Coxe, of Washington, and several others, visited Memorial Hall, and were received by the Superintendent of the Art Gallery. At 2 P. M., they lunched with the British Commissioner, at the house of the British Commission, and were the guests of Mr. Childs at his residence in the evening. So the Centennial Exposition is again open on Sunday to distinguished visitors.

'Tis true President Grant cannot see the Exposition on any other day, so closely is he followed by a toadying crowd eager to do homage to sovereignty. I do not wonder that foreigners regard us with commiseration, as a people who think ourselves free, but who have no greater freedom and no more independence of character than has the subject of a constitutional monarchy. But what is to become of our example as a Christian nation to foreign and heathen peoples, when our representative head thus violates the sanctity of the Christian Sabbath? Our Zoological Gardens are open every Sunday, and last Sunday there were twelve thousand paying visitors; and Hell Gate explosion occurred the same day. Think of it! Ought we not to be visited by the plague as a retribution? I cannot see any reason why the people of Savannah should be the first sufferers; however, this is quite consistent with the Christian idea of divine justice.

Egypt, Tunis, Algiers, Morocco, Liberia, the Orange Free State, and Cape of Good Hope are the countries of Africa represented here at our Exposition. Of the exhibits of Egypt I have before spoken at length. Since that time a well-preserved mummy of an Egyptian priestess or princess of the age of the Pharaohs, presented some years since by the Khedive to the Prince of Wales, but retained at Luxor, recently obtained by Dr. Curry for the Baptist College Museum, at Richmond, Va., has been placed on exhibit at the World's Ticket Office, No. 84, at the Centennial grounds. The mummy case is rich in Egyptian figures and inscriptions, descriptive of her ladyship as a priestess, and giving extracts from the "ritual of the dead." The latter represents the soul as undergoing a conflict after leaving the body, and before reaching the heavenly sphere. The coffin contains prayers for help against evil demons. It is interesting to compare this mummy with those of ancient Peru.

The exhibit of Tunis is in the Main Building upon the south side of the main aisle, and east of Japan. The space is enclosed with a scarlet silk cord, strung between ornamental posts. Upon three sides of the enclosure is an entrance, over which is displayed the scarlet flag with crescent and enclosed star in white. In the rear of the enclosure is a Tunisian villa represented, having three entrances in front, over each of which, in a crescent-shaped doorway, hang ornamented lanterns of curious form, somewhat resembling the Chinese lantern. The dome of this enclosed pavilion is surmounted by a gilded pyramid, upon which are placed three gilt balls of different sizes, the smallest at the top, supporting the ensign of the nation in gilt. The wall of the pavilion is in part ornamented, in part covered with silk hangings of native manufacture, and curiously but neatly ornamented with silk patches of various colors. This is expressive of the custom among the wealthy of Tunis to ornament the walls of their dwellings with silk hangings. No one papers the wall there. Silk door curtains of similar design are here displayed. Upon the outside of the pavilion wall are hung carpets, cloths, and rugs of native manufacture, designed for sale here.

The principal exhibit, including the pavilion, is by Mohammed Sadek, the Bey of Tunis; that is, by the government. Tunis is nominally a dependency of Turkey, but is really under the absolute control of the

Bey. The Bey owes no tribute and no obedience to Turkey, except that he is nominally restrained from making war or ceding territory without the consent of the Sultan. The government exhibit shows that agriculture is but little understood in Tunis, whatever may be the soil. The agricultural implements are exceedingly primitive, and consist of a plough and threshing. The plough is made of two pieces of wood; one of these, the ploughshare, is shod with iron, and crosses the beam at a sharp angle; the threshing resembles the old-style New England drag with the bottom stuck full of sharp stones. The grain is placed upon the floor and this instrument drawn over it. It is apparently very heavy, but worked by hand. Corn, barley, wheat, beans, caraway, and coriander-seed constitute the agricultural products exhibited. A few cases of manufactured goods are exhibited, including musical instruments exceedingly crude; arms and armor, among which is a Damascus sabre; a crusader's falchion with cross and crescent on the blade; bottles of perfumery, including attar of rose and jessamine, of which much is manufactured in Tunis, and which is here for sale; a full set of gold, silver, and copper coins, ranging in value from one-half cent to \$12.50 of American gold; gold and silver tea-sets and jewelry, finely ornamented; a silver incensory and aspergill, articles used in worship; pastilles burned as incense; some articles of pottery; several cases of garments, interesting as showing the style of costume (among these is an entire suit for a Moorish gentleman, of scarlet worsted cloth embroidered in green); also the complete *trousseau* of a Moorish bride, made of pure white silk, and so heavily embroidered in gold and silver as to render the weight of the garments oppressive; opera cloaks, shawls, and burnouses of snow-white silk, a garment to be worn about the head, so arranged as to fall over the back of the neck; slippers; cushions embroidered in gold; a Bedouin hat made of straw, and ornamented with tassels and feathers; a richly embroidered saddle, reminding us that leather is one of their principal articles of export; a mirror with tortoise shell and mother of pearl inlaid frame; a case with glass front, tripods and brackets, all inlaid with the same materials.

The most interesting exhibit of Tunis is the mosaic lion. It was found within the precincts of the Byrsa of Carthage, near the site of the temple of Astarte, the Juno of the Phœnicians, and is supposed to have formed a part of the pavement of the temple dedicated to Diana, and to be two thousand years old. The boldness of the design, the coloring, attitude, and position of every limb, exhibit masterly skill in the artist, and assign it to the most flourishing period of Carthage. In the mouth of the lion is a horse or other animal with hoofs, the blood trickling from his wounds. This is the only mosaic taken from the ruins unutilized. It is now enclosed with a wire-netting for preservation, so great is the tendency of visitors to try to secure some of the stones of which it is composed, which are but one quarter of an inch square, as relics. Upon the eastern side of the enclosure is the exhibit of a merchant doing business in Tunis and Paris, who evidently intends his exhibit here as a speculation. He exhibits some brazen urns of unknown age, upon which are representations of birds, beasts, and human figures, which seem capable of interpretation. Whether they are hieroglyphical in their character or simply designed for ornamentation, they exhibit a good degree of art. The most valuable of these have been bought by the Boston Museum of Art. They are said to have been unearthed at Carthage filled with gold.

Here are offered for sale silks of quite pretty patterns, but of little body; silk handkerchiefs exceedingly like those being woven in Machinery Hall, by the New Jersey weavers, but which the exhibitor tells you came directly from Tunis and are of Tunisian manufacture; also numberless trinkets, jewelry, portemonnaies, etc., which are decidedly uninteresting because you feel them to be of doubtful origin.

A Tunisian *café* or restaurant is on the grounds, in which coffee and ice-cream are served to ladies, while young male bipeds sit by their sides smoking from pipes six feet long, these pipes and their feet placed upon rests which are as high as the tables,—a disgusting sight indeed. As I passed through, I wondered what could have been the education of these young women, that they should be so devoid of self-respect. Natives dressed in native costume attempt to entertain with exceedingly unmusical vocal and instrumental music.

The exhibits of Algiers and Morocco arrived too late to obtain space in the Exhibition buildings, and are therefore in small villas upon the grounds. They are quite like those of the Tunisian merchant, but of greater variety, and include more really useful articles, and are all offered for sale.

The villa of Morocco is furnished to represent the several apartments of an inhabited native palace, from which something of the customs of the East may be learned.

The exhibit of Liberia, commercially speaking, is the most interesting of all the countries of Africa. It will be remembered that Liberia is a young republic, situated upon the western coast of Africa, having an area three times as large as Massachusetts, and a population less than Philadelphia. It is a little more than a quarter of a century old, is modelled after the United States government, and is the child of the American Colonization Society. Its population is made up of the native African and the descendants of the American-born negro. The government of Liberia, which is entirely in the hands of colored men, accepted the invitation to be represented here at this Exposition, and appropriated \$10,000 with which to make the exhibit; but having been since involved in war with the interior tribes of Africa, it has been compelled to rescind the appropriation, and is therefore here represented only by E. S. Morris &

Co., a firm owning a large estate in Liberia and doing business in Philadelphia. Mr. Morris has been a resident of Liberia for fifteen years, and is now our resident commissioner. He has done much for the development of the resources of that republic, and is enthusiastic over its future prospects. He says his "mother rocked him in the cradle to open the door of heathen Africa to Christian America." His hope for Liberia's more in the native African than in the American African; because the latter's idea of freedom is to imitate the white man; that is, to be free from work; while the native African is eager for knowledge, and his idea of freedom is to do and be.

The exhibit of this young republic is in Agricultural Hall, upon the eastern side, near the central entrance, and is principally of those products which form the commercial resources of Liberia. It consists of palm oil put up in jars hermetically sealed, palm oil soap, coffee, hulled and unhulled, burnt and raw, sugar, indigo, arrowroot, cocoa, ginger, ivory, camwood, hard woods, and iron ore, all of which it offers in exchange for school-books, agricultural implements, dry goods, hardware, provisions, canned fruits, "everything but rum."

Palm oil obtained from the nut of the tree, when fresh, is sweet to the taste, and has an odor like violets. It is used freely by the natives, among whom skin diseases are unknown. It is also used for cooking purposes, and as an emollient for the joints. The soap here on exhibit was evidently made of the palm oil before it had become rancid, has no artificial perfume, and is very fine for toilet purposes.

Several thousand pounds of the Liberia coffee have been here sold since the opening of the Exposition. It is put up in pound packages. It is claimed that this coffee is heavier and richer than the Java or Mocha, and requires less to produce the same quantity for drinking. Among other testimonials of its value, Mr. Morris has a letter from Professor Silliman, in which, after referring to the French method of mixing coffees in order to obtain both body and flavor, he says: "The Liberia coffee is superior in body and color of infusion and quality of flavor. In fact, I know of no other coffee which alone is so excellent in all these respects as the Liberia." He suggests that botanists may yet find it a new and distinct species. Here are also on exhibit a coffee-huller and sifter, an African canoe, a glass jar of cowrie shells, used as money, flax from St. Helena, native African loom and shuttle, the entire weight of which is less than two pounds, robes for an African chief made of strips of cloth woven in the loom, four and one-half inches in width, and sewed together. They are dyed with camwood and indigo, and ornamented with Mohammedan characters. Coffee berries and souvenirs made from the half berry set in gold are here sold to increase their school fund. Liberia has nearly one hundred Christian churches, but very limited educational privileges, and prints but one newspaper. From a copy of this paper, of which Mr. Morris is the editor, and the price of which is one bushel of unhulled coffee per annum, I learned that great evil is apprehended from intemperance, which ever follows in the wake of Christian civilization. It is a common saying among the Mohammedans, when they see one of their number drunk, "That man has left Mohammed and gone to Jesus." The missionaries admit that "the Hindu is actually safer from the vices of intemperance in the profession of heathenism than in the profession of the Christian religion." From this I conclude that possibly the hope of Africa lies partly in the steady progress of Mohammedanism among the native tribes, which somewhat hinders the growth of Christianity. Social scientists might do well to note these facts in solving the problems of social life.

The flag of this young republic is similar to our own, save that the stripes of red and white are narrower, and upon the background of blue there is but one solitary white star. I had almost forgotten to mention the very suggestive exhibit of photographs of native African boys, taken upon their arrival in this country; also after they had received two years school-training at Lincoln Institute. Most of these boys are preparing for the Christian ministry. What a pity that they could not be educated in science, that we might see whether they would naturally grasp the grand idea of evolution, or whether they would substitute the Christian's God for their heathen deities!

Near the north-eastern entrance of the Main Building is the exhibit of the Orange Free State, a republic situated in South Africa, north-east of the British Cape of Good Hope. This republic, settled by Dutch emigrants, was formerly a British colony, and gained its independence in 1854. It has an area about five times that of Massachusetts, with a population less than three hundred thousand, many of whom are native Africans. Its government is administered by an elective president and a legislative assembly of one house, called the Volksraad, or People's Council. The exhibit is made by the government through their consul, resident in the United States. It is more artistic, bespeaks more wealth and culture, than does the exhibit of Liberia. Four cases of stuffed birds of brilliant plumage, one exclusively of aquatic birds, also two cases of insects, are within the enclosure, and prove to us that the inhabitants of the Orange Free State are not strangers to natural history.

A central pyramidal glass case, upon the top of which stands a miniature statue of a miner with pickaxe and spade, contains precious stones, diamondiferous soil, and diamonds in the rough, one of which is valued at \$8,000, and attracts much attention.

Notwithstanding her mineral wealth, wool-growing is the chief industry of the people of the Orange Free State. During the year 1875, this little Dutch African republic exported nearly \$4,000,000 worth of wool. Of this product she makes a fine and attractive exhibit. Add to this horns, skins of wild an-

imals, including the giraffe, lion, and leopard, ostrich plumes and eggs, woods (among which you find the olive, sandal, and blue-gum woods), coal and petrified wood, wheat, Indian maize and Kaffir corn, which seems to be of a fine quality, dried peaches and apricots, fruit of the cream of tartar plant, and you have the natural products here exhibited. The cream of tartar fruit is especially interesting because of its novelty. It is a gourd, in shape like a goose egg, but twice as large. Its seeds are surrounded by a pulp, which, when dry, becomes a white powder said to possess all the qualities of cream of tartar. A few manufactured articles, such as rhinoceros whips, boots, baskets impervious to water and used as water vessels, a harness, a model of a transportation wagon capable of carrying fifteen thousand pounds of wool, wooden figures cut out with a pen-knife and intended to express something of the life of the nation, but no woven goods, are exhibited.

The exhibit of the Cape of Good Hope is in the Main Building near the exhibits of other British Colonies. Its natural products are, of course, not unlike those of the Orange Free State just described. They are, however, rather unartistically arranged in a small but well-filled enclosure. Encircling the entrance of the enclosure are two huge elephant tusks eight feet long and thirty-three inches in circumference, the largest in the Exposition. Over them is displayed the British coat-of-arms and the penguin, a very large and peculiar bird. Ostrich-farming is the most profitable industry of this colony. A young ostrich seven days old is worth \$50 in their market. The attendant very kindly explains to you the ostrich incubator, a model of which is here on exhibit, and the general processes of ostrich-farming, together with the method of curing the plumes. Some very pretty baskets ingeniously made from the shell of the ostrich egg, some necklaces of melon seeds and pearls, and other articles of home manufacture, are in the case of manufactured goods. A table-cloth made entirely of cotton, but of such excellent quality it might easily be taken for linen, shows the necessity of the linen-test in the purchase of goods. Upon the central stand are forty distinct kinds of wine made from the Constantia grape,—a species of grape peculiar to Southern Africa. The work here exhibited is not the work of the native African, the population of this colony being made up of French, German, Dutch, English, and American peoples.

In my next I will write of Australia and the Islands of the Ocean. **CARRIE BURNHAM KILGORE.**
PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 29, 1876.

REV. MR. BRADFORD ON THE SCHOOL AMENDMENT.

[The substance of the following letter, addressed to Col. Forney, was published in the Philadelphia Press of the 25th August. But as that paper is comparatively local in its circulation, and as the question which the letter discusses is one of national importance, we give it place in THE INDEX, whose readers are to be found in nearly all the States of the Union.—**ED. INDEX.**]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE PHILADELPHIA PRESS:—

In the tri-weekly Press of the 17th August you have an editorial article in praise of the Senate Judiciary Committee's substitute for the House Resolution, proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States forbidding appropriations of money to sectarian schools. Upon this article I respectfully ask leave to offer a few words of criticism.

The very first sentence in the article in which you speak of "religious toleration," is objectionable. It is a phrase which is indigenous and belongs exclusively to the Old World, but has no place whatever in the vocabulary of the New. To an American who respects his own convictions of truth, and whose mind is imbued with the spirit of the National Constitution, there is no word in the English language so hateful, and so utterly damnable, as the word "toleration." It implies a State Church established by law, and supported by the unwilling taxation of the people; and that all who conscientiously dissent from it, and support a different religion, or no religion, are graciously and condescendingly tolerated in their non-conformity. Toleration! In the name of heaven who is it in this country, and under our flag, that tolerates, and who are they that are tolerated? The Constitution of the United States not only makes no distinction between the Bible, the Koran, the Zend Avesta, and the Shasta, but ignores the very existence of them all. It requires no judicial oaths, and expressly forbids all religious tests of qualification for holding office. Could a greater insult be offered any man on the sacred soil of the Republic than to say to him that his religious opinions, whether Protestant, Deistic, Jewish, Catholic, Mohammedan, or what not, are tolerated?

It is sorrowful, Mr. Editor, to see the carelessness, and even recklessness, of men in political life in regard to this amendment question concerning the schools. Mr. Blaine's resolution shows, in its very construction, that he never studied the subject involved in it at all; for its defects, as pointed out in the Senate, are manifold and obvious. Neither did the House in adopting it ever intend that it should accomplish the object it purported to attain, because the last sentence, as you remark, made the amendment practically a nullity, by taking from Congress the power to enforce it by proper legislation. The discussion, both in the House and in the Senate, was marked by the entire absence of all statesmanship which understands the causes and effects of things. It was the trickery of mere politicians of both parties to get rid of the apple of discord which Mr. Blaine had thrown among them for party purposes on the eve of a Presidential election. The Democrats, for

fear of the Catholics, and the Republicans, for fear of the Protestants, and both, regardless of the genius of the Constitution, shirked the question, leaving out of sight the overwhelming majority of the American people who are neither Catholic nor Protestant, but who love their liberties and are determined to maintain them. It reminds me of the case of Hezekiah, King of Judah, who, when the Lord's prophet told him that for the sin of his own pride, and love of personal aggrandizement, his sons should be eunuchs and slaves in the palace of the King of Babylon, gave utterance to his cowardly and selfish feelings by saying that he did not care, provided he enjoyed peace and quiet during his days.

But, Mr. Editor, this question concerning the schools must be met, and the sooner the better. There is a distemper in the body politic which is very threatening in its appearance. The quackery of the politician will not heal, but make it worse. Only the heroic treatment of the statesman, with the medicine of the Constitution in his hand, can root it out, and restore perfect health. The times need a Congress of honest, patriotic, and courageous men who will redeem the pledge made by the founders of the Republic a century ago, and establish upon this soil forever, not the rights of Americans as such, but the rights of human nature.

I am sorry to see, Col. Forney, that you endorse the Senate's form of amendment without exception. To me it looks like a Trojan horse, and the band of armed Greeks in its belly is the concluding sentence which is in these words: "This article shall not be construed to prohibit the reading of the Bible in any school or institution," etc. Instead of meeting the issue like men and patriots, and stopping the quarrel before it begins, the Senate would roll the responsibility of deciding whether the Bible shall be introduced into the schools or not, on the States, or the school districts in the States, where it is sure to make mischief. For what Bible is meant by this language? Why, our Protestant Bible. But the Catholics will not allow this Bible to come into their houses nor churches at all, because, as they allege, it is an incorrect translation from the original, gotten up in the interests of Protestantism as against the Catholic Church, and teaches damnable heresy. Will you allow it to be forced upon their children at the public schools? The Jews pay school taxes. Will you allow their children to be compelled to listen to the reading of the New Testament writings which condemn their fathers as infidels, and as bloody crucifiers of the Son of God? Have the outsiders who pay school tax, and who are neither Catholics, Protestants, nor Jews, but who are more numerous than all of them put together, and quite as intelligent and respectable, no rights in this matter which are entitled to respect? The Chinese are already among us, and some of them have become naturalized citizens; and the Mohammedans may be here after a while. Will they have no rights in the case under a government established to secure the rights of man as man? After inviting them to our shores in the name of the Constitution, will you meet them when they come, and tell them that they must give up the sacred books in which they have been educated and which they conscientiously believe, and have their children indoctrinated in the public schools with the teachings of our Bible? Will you rival the brazen-facedness of that impudent minority who have brought their European nations to this country, and now proclaim, in the face and teeth of the Constitution, that these citizens and immigrants who cannot accept the Protestant translation of the Bible, and their false interpretations of it, may leave the country, and find homes somewhere else?

You say: "The clause allowing the Bible to be read in the public schools does not specify which version shall be used, but leaves it optional with the State to allow the Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish version to be read by their respective devotees." Just think of it! Three versions of the Bible to be read in the schools, to say nothing of the Mormon Bible in Utah, the Koran of the Moslems who will be here after a while, and whose sacred books are as much versions of our Bible as the Jewish version is. Imagine a teacher calling out in turn all these "devotees," as you style them, to read their religious books in a school supported by public taxation to teach American children reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography, and nothing else! You smile incredulously. But under a Constitution which makes the safety of the citizen to consist in the fact that, as a mere organ of political government, it knows no religion at all, if you allow the sacred books of one religion to be introduced into a school, how are you going to shut the doors against any of the rest?

Should the Senate's form of amendment be adopted by the States, and become a part of the Constitution, the natural and inevitable effect of it would be to convert every State in the Union into a shindy ground, and the Bible itself into a shindy-ball to be struck, kicked, and cuffed about until it will be thoroughly dishonored. Already has bloodshed resulted from zeal on this question. Sullivan in Chicago was a Catholic; Hanford was a Protestant; and the acrimonious feeling which resulted in homicide grew out of this question of the Bible in the public schools. It encourages every Catholic and Protestant, if he have the majority of his neighborhood on his side, to parade himself with a chip on his shoulder daring any one to knock it off at his peril.

Now, if there were no other way for the people of the United States to get a knowledge of the Bible except by hearing in their youth a few verses read every morning in the public schools, the case for many would be altered. But when the land is full of churches, Sunday-schools, and Bible-classes; and when the Bible Society's scattering copies of the Bible by thousands every year so that every house has a copy, it seems to me that, to force this book into

the public schools supported by tax-payers of all the different religions, and of none, shows that whoever advocates it is actuated by feelings of sectarian rivalry which all patriotic men ought to frown upon, because it will inevitably repeat the bloody proceedings at Chicago.

There are many enlightened church people in this country, especially among the Episcopalians, who, from profound veneration for the Bible, would take it out of the shiny ground of politics and the schools where it is made the occasion of unholy wranglings, and would keep it in the churches and families where it belongs, and where it may be read and accepted in the character in which it offers itself. But the zealots who wish to Europeanize our Constitution and form of government charge all such people with being infidels, secret or open, who hate the Bible, and therefore wish to keep it out of the schools and politics. The fumes of their zeal cloud their vision so that they cannot see that their policy, if adopted by the people, would wreck our ship of State upon the rocks.

You know, Col. Forney, the value of the maxim, "Obsta principiis"—"resist the beginnings." The framers of the Constitution were governed by this maxim when they declared a complete divorce between the State and the Church, causing all religions to stand on their own merits or demerits before the people, giving neither countenance nor opposition to any. During the administration of Washington the government made a declaratory announcement in its treaty with Tripoli, one of the Barbary Powers, that "in no sense is the government of the United States founded on the Christian religion." In view of this declaration, which has all the force of Constitutional law, how can any member of the Senate or House of Representatives have any difficulty in seeing that even the mention of the Bible, the Koran, or the sacred books of any other religion, is entirely out of place in a State paper like the one we are contemplating, much more the idea of allowing any such book to be introduced into the public schools, and to become a bone of everlasting religious controversy among the people? The Constitution of the United States is a secular instrument from beginning to end, knowing and providing for this present evil world only; and any amendment concerning the schools should partake of this same character. Such a policy would give peace, homogeneity, and fraternity to our people. The opposite policy is the box of Pandora, full of all manner of evils which would fill the country with jealousies, hatreds, and blood.

Mr. Editor, I was sorry to see that during the brief debate in the Senate on this subject, so pregnant with either blessing or disaster to the country, the voice of Pennsylvania was silent. Cameron was away, recuperating from the fatigues of a long session, and Wallace is a mere Democrat, who cares but for his party. When the subject comes up again, may we not hope that, as it was in the chief city of Pennsylvania that our National Constitution was framed by the wisest men who ever lived, the spirit of wisdom and true patriotism that guided them may lead our Representatives in Congress, in this Centennial year, to take a part that becomes Pennsylvanians, in securing an amendment to the Constitution that will secularize the schools of the nation as the Constitution secularizes the government?

There is so much that is excellent and instructive in your very able article, Mr. Editor, that I hate to find fault with it at all. But as no man, probably, sees all the truth on a great and complicated question, like the one on hand, discussion is always in order. Respectfully yours, A. B. BRADFORD.

ENON VALLEY, Pa., Aug. 20, 1876.

DR. SLADE'S DEFENCE.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I see that you find room for "Dr. Slade Exposed," and have therefore no hesitation in asking you to republish from the London Times "Dr. Slade's Defence," which will take less space.

After long and patient investigation, I am not able to call myself a "Spiritualist"; but the universal disposition of the press to slander them and their "mediums" seems to me quite despicable.

In one instance in this city of New York, I am credibly told that Slade was refused opportunity to reply to one of his "exposers" by a statement of facts even after he offered one hundred dollars for the privilege, and this by more than one of our papers.

Let THE INDEX, at least, deal fairly by these people, who, I am sure, are (mediums included) as honest as their neighbors.

B. NEW YORK, Oct. 7.

HE DENIES ANY IMPOSTURE.—A FLAT CONTRADICTION.—WHAT SERGEANT EDWARD W. COX SAYS.

[From the London Times.]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES:—

Sir,—It very seldom occurs that I feel called upon to write in my own defence. To the statements of Prof. Lankester, which appeared in the Times of the 16th Inst., I think I may with propriety reply.

These are the facts: On our sitting down to the table, I held the slate against the under side of the table, when, after some delay, the sound of the pencil writing on the slate was heard. On withdrawing the slate there was found to be what might have been intended for a name very poorly written upon the upper surface. I then wiped this off the slate, saying, "I will hold it again; perhaps they will write plainer." Again a little delay ensued, when I said to Prof. Lankester, "Perhaps if you will take hold of the slate with me they may be better able to write." He thereupon released his hand from where it was joined with my left and those of his friend upon the table, and instead of holding the slate with me, seized it, as he describes.

Instead of there being a message written, as he says,

there were only two, or at the most three words on the upper surface of the slate.

Now, had Prof. Lankester listened as closely as he says he watched me, he must have heard me say, after asking him to hold the slate with me, "They are writing now." This was said while he was in the act of removing his hand from where it was joined on the table to the slate, for I heard the sound of the pencil when the writing commenced, while I was asking him to hold the slate with me. Consequently, when he seized the slate, only two or three words were found written upon it.

Had he told me he suspected I was doing the writing, I think there would have been no difficulty in disabusing his mind on that point.

That I do the writing with a piece of pencil under my finger-nail is an old theory. However, I always keep my nails so closely cut as to render that impossible, to which those who have taken the trouble to examine them can testify. Therefore, all I have to say is, I did not do the writing at the sitting with Prof. Lankester, nor at any other sitting given by me during the years I have been before the public as a medium. Very truly yours, HENRY SLADE.

A FAIR VIEW.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES:—

Sir,—Having been twice referred to by your correspondents as one of the witnesses of Dr. Slade's doings, I must ask your permission to state briefly that my visit to him was official, my duty, as President of the Psychological Society of Great Britain, being to report to the society upon whatever alleged psychological phenomena may invite attention.

I certainly witnessed all that your correspondents have described, and have reported faithfully what I saw. But I have carefully abstained from pronouncing any judgment as to genuineness or otherwise. My report concludes thus: "I offer no opinion upon their causes, for I have formed none. If they be genuine, it is impossible to exaggerate their interest and importance. If they be imposture, it is equally important that the trick should be exposed, as trickery can only be, by showing how it is done and doing it."

My experience differs from that of my friend, Prof. R. Lankester, in this: that with me the slate was not placed under the table, but upon it, and the writing appeared upon the side next to the table, my eyes, as well as hand, being upon it from the moment I cleaned it until I lifted it and found the whole side filled with writing from end to end. If written previously it could only be by some sympathetic pencil which becomes visible when the slate is warmed by the hands placed upon it. Chemists will say if such a thing can be, for if it be so it is a complete solution of the mystery. But although the experiments tried by myself might be so explained, for I used the slate provided by Dr. Slade, it will not explain the instances of Dr. Carpenter and many others who have used their own slates; and this should always be required by the visitor.

Experience shows that no judgment can be safely formed of experiments of any kind upon one trial. They must be witnessed under various conditions. The very strangeness of the exhibition should make us slow to come to an opinion whether what is there seen is conjuring or psychological.

I can only repeat what Dr. Carpenter has stated of his own visit,—that I could detect no imposture, nor find any explanation, mechanical or otherwise, either of the writing, the rapping, the floating chairs, or the hands.

But, knowing how a clever conjurer can deceive the eye of a stranger, I should be reluctant to form an opinion until I had seen the exhibition twice or thrice, so as to be enabled to keep the eye steadily upon the exhibitor, and not upon the phenomena,—watching what he is doing instead of observing what is done,—by which process alone can sleight of hand be discovered.

Yours obediently, EDWARD W. COX,
Pres. of the Psychological Society of Great Britain.
CARLTON CLUB, Sept. 18.

AN OPPORTUNITY LOST.

Thoughtful men are rapidly coming to the conclusion that the question of the relation of the public schools to religion ought to be permanently settled, and on a national basis. Left in its present uncertain condition, it is a perpetual irritation. Thus, that which should be an element of unity, and a promoter of homogeneity, is turned into an apple of discord. Protestants and Catholics are in an endless wrangle over it; while Christians make it a battlefield for their conflicts with Jews and Rationalists. It is evident that the real and vital question is, whether we shall maintain our system of common schools, or shall relegate the subject of popular education to private and ecclesiastical control. We cannot be mistaken in affirming the unalterable attachment of the people to the main features of our present system; so far, at least, as provision is made at public expense for the education of all the children of the community in the elementary branches. If there is any doubt anywhere, it is as to embracing in the scheme the higher courses of study, which are for the few rather than for the many, and which more necessarily involve tuition in disputed branches of learning.

On the supposition, then, that the people will insist upon maintaining the public-school system, let us inquire how it is to be made permanent, and to be placed upon a fixed and satisfactory basis. So long as [it is] subject, in any fundamental respect, to ordinary legislation, it will remain, as at present, the sport of changeable caprice, or be like a floating cork on the waves of popular passion. In the absence of uniform legislative prescription for the whole State, every city and county now has its own principle, or want of principle, in adjusting the religious question, with no

certainly that the decision will hold good, even there, for more than a year. It would be a great gain could the State Constitution have an article so worded as to establish a definite rule; for it is much more difficult to change the Constitution than it is to alter a statute.

There is reason, also, to believe that, after the people had carried out their schools successfully for several years, under a rigorous provision in the State Constitution, the good results would be so manifest that no proposal of change would meet with favor. But still better would be an article to the same effect in the Federal Constitution; for that would give us a truly national institution; compelling each State to make provision for popular education, without discrimination as to race, or birth, or creed—a duty now greatly neglected at the South,—and securing uniformity of principle throughout the Union. We should then be able to point to an American system. Moreover, such an amendment once adopted could be changed only by a two-thirds vote of each House of Congress, and a subsequent ratification of three-fourths of the States. There would be no doubt of its permanence.

What now must be the essential restrictions in such a constitutional amendment in order to meet the difficulties of our American problem? Precisely two, in our judgment. First, there should be a prohibition of any State-support of sectarian or denominational schools, directly or indirectly. This would strike a death-blow to the hopes of those of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, which insists that the State ought to appropriate funds to support the religious schools of that denomination in proportion to the number of their children. Doubtless they await the looked-for day when they can secure a majority in some of the States favorable to this project. The proposal must be made utterly impracticable in the whole country by a clear prohibition in an educational amendment to the Federal Constitution. Then, secondly, to balance this, as a matter of justice to all concerned, and to match the existing constitutional prohibition of any "establishment of religion," there should be a requirement that all schools supported by public tax or appropriations should be strictly secular, allowing no religious worship or instruction. Then our American principle of non-intervention by the State in religious questions would have complete application to school as well as to church, and the members of the Church of Rome would see that, while refusing to sustain Roman Catholic schools, we were not inconsistently supporting those of another religious character.

And now what prevents the adoption of such a comprehensive and wise measure? Simply the fanatical determination of certain zealous religionists, who would rather not defeat the Roman Catholic scheme than to have their own also precluded. Those who bitterly denounce the Roman Catholics for their objections to common schools, conducted on Protestant principles, will virtually join hands with them in defeating a constitutional amendment which would forever render it impossible to appropriate public funds to the support of sectarian and thus of Romish schools. The evidence of this appears in the recent action of the United States Senate on such an amendment, which had been recommended by the President, had been introduced into the House of Representatives by Mr. Blaine, and had been adopted by that body unanimously, with the exception of two or three negative votes. With such a start as this, everything appeared hopeful; for if the Senate should, with a similar unanimity, coincide, there could be no doubt that three-quarters of the States would ratify it. There seemed at last to be a prospect of a permanent settlement of this vexed question. But it is unsafe to count upon anything until it is actually done. Human nature, even in well-meaning men, is very uncertain. And so it happened that when the amendment reached the Senate a diligent tinkering began in committee, and finally it was so altered that its father would not have known it, to make it stronger here and weaker there. A slight change of phraseology to make the prohibition of aid to sectarian schools still more sure might have been well, as it would have caused little delay if adopted. But the entire recasting of the amendment and the adding of numerous clauses, and especially of one excluding from the scope of the amendment the reading of the Bible in the schools, were fatal to success, as must have been foreseen. A two-thirds vote of the Senate could not be secured for the amendment of the amendment; and so the golden opportunity was lost. If we were given to Scriptural analogies we might say that it was another instance in which Pilate and Herod became friends by striking hands in opposition to good. The original amendment, as it came from the House, met the combined opposition of the Roman Catholic and of the Protestant Bible-in-school party; and the latter changed it so as to turn an anti-Catholic triumph into a defeat. Let us hear no more from them after this dog-in-the-manger policy of their anxiety to keep the Roman Catholics from gaining their end. The grandest opportunity of our history to accomplish this very thing was offered to them, and was rejected, unless consent should be given at the same time to make the constitutional amendment self-contradictory by so phrasing it as, first, to forbid the support of Roman Catholic schools, and then to allow the support of Protestant or Bible-reading schools.—Chicago Tribune, Sept. 17.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 14.

G. H. Briggs, \$3.20; Maria E. McKaye, \$3.20; Cash, \$1.24; O. H. Phillips, \$3.20; J. C. Zimmer, \$3; H. Bedlow, \$3.20; W. R. Smalley, 75 cents; Jacob Hoffman, \$3; Edith W. Bradford, \$2.15; F. A. Angel, 35 cents; F. Loeser, \$3.20; J. H. Collins, \$3.60; R. B. Merriweather, 75 cents; A. A. Bell, \$5; J. S. Cox, \$3.20; Thomas Nye, \$3.20; William Muer, 75 cents.

The Index.

BOSTON, OCTOBER 19, 1876.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 231 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON. Toledo Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

The transition from Christianity to Free Religion, through which the civilized world is now passing, but which it very little understands, is even more momentous in itself and in its consequences than the great transition of the Roman Empire from Paganism to Christianity. THE INDEX aims to make the character of this vast change intelligible in at least its leading features, and offers an opportunity for discussions on this subject which find no fitting place in other papers.

N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, Editorial Contributors.

REMOVAL.

On and after October 1, 1876, the publication office of THE INDEX will be No. 231 Washington Street, Boston. Office hours will be from 10 A.M. to 3 P.M.

A LADY writes from Philadelphia, ordering some extra copies of THE INDEX of October 5: "If you keep publishing such good campaign documents as Mr. Frothingham's 'Proving and Holding Fast' and 'The New Faith,' I fear I shall spend most of my loose change in buying and disseminating them."

THERE ARE persons so dull or so malicious as to hold us personally responsible for what our contributors say. It ought to be superfluous to repeat that whoever writes in THE INDEX stands sponsor for his own opinions or statements of fact, and for these alone. The editor assumes no responsibility for contributed writings which is not imposed on every editor by the laws of the land.

MRS. BESANT's letter this week gives an exceedingly interesting narrative of a second attempt to prevent her from lecturing at Hoxley. Every respectable Christian must be ashamed of a defence of his own cause by such means. Mr. Conway has described in the Cincinnati Commercial a previous attempt of the same sort, with eulogies upon Mrs. Besant's courage in the midst of what he well calls the "Bashi-Bazouks of Yorkshire."

THE LETTER of Mr. L. S. Tyler to the New York Tribune, published in our last week's issue, has been pronounced a forgery. It is manifestly impossible to discover the truth about the connection of Governor Hayes with the American Alliance. Too many persons, on one side or the other, are attempting to deceive the public. The New York Telegram calls upon the Governor to declare the truth himself; but it is unlikely that he will speak on the subject.

A SUBSCRIBER writes thus from Chimney Hollow, Colorado: "Alone, far back in the Rocky Mountains, herding cattle, where I seldom see any person, reading THE INDEX and some other papers, some eighteen miles from any post-office, indulging in my own meditations as profoundly, perhaps, as Volney did among his old ruins, feeling a desire to acquire knowledge and a desire to communicate it to others, I enclose a pitiful mite for a few copies of the 'Patriotic Address.'" They were sent, with many kind wishes to the lonely reader.

THE SIX lectures and addresses of Professor Huxley in this country, including his Buffalo, Nashville, and Baltimore addresses, and his course of lectures on Evolution at New York, are published all together by the New York Tribune in a neat pamphlet, "Extra, No. 36," for twenty-five cents. The wide-spread interest excited by these lectures, and the replies to them with which the pulpit and press are teeming, render it a very timely publication, which many of our readers would especially value. It must be ordered from the Tribune itself, not from THE INDEX.

NOTICE.

On receipt of \$3.20, THE INDEX will be sent to any name not already on its mail-list, from the present time until January 1, 1878. This is an excellent opportunity for friends of the paper to increase its circulation among their acquaintances; and it is hoped that they will not neglect to render in this way some greatly-needed assistance to the important cause it represents.

THE SITUATION.

The political situation is a most perplexing and embarrassing one to all who believe, as we do most emphatically, in the sacredness of individual human rights and in the paramount obligation of government to protect them. The question of the national finances is at bottom a question of the property rights of individuals, creditors and debtors alike; and financial honesty itself is nothing but practical respect for these property rights. Civil service reform is demanded by all good citizens because it is an indispensable condition of administering the entire government so as to secure protection for all the rights of all the people. The Southern question is at bottom a question of the protection of the individual rights of the people at the South, negroes just as much as whites, and whites just as much as negroes; and to-day it is the negroes that need this protection most. Every day, in our opinion, it becomes clearer that, if a "white man's party" is hereafter to control the national government or the State governments, the monstrous iniquity of such a policy will entail monstrous injustice to the negroes and equally monstrous disasters to the whole country. And the State Secularization question is at bottom nothing but a question of the protection of individual religious rights, whether of the orthodox or of the heterodox. All these questions turn on fundamental human rights, and the duty of society to defend them impartially; and whoever disregards considerations of human rights in his zeal to establish an honest financial policy or to reform the civil service shows how defective is his comprehension, and how shallow his analysis, of the very reforms he desires to accomplish.

Now we hold that the rights of life and liberty are even more sacred than property rights, and tower above the latter in their claim to protection. If they are endangered, they must be protected first of all. There is no use in splitting hairs over "State rights" and "Constitutional limitations"; the United States are a nation, and it is every nation's duty to protect above all things the lives and liberties of all its citizens. No matter if the citizen is a poor, ignorant black man on a Southern plantation: the United States must be his defence in the last resort against all violations of his right to life and liberty. If the Constitution does not warrant any interference with State governments for this purpose, then it must be changed; for a nation which recognizes no obligation to protect the lives and liberties of all its citizens is no nation at all, and must perish from the earth. We care not a straw for the legal technicalities which are brought, or may be brought, against this conclusion; we insist that human rights, and above all the rights of the person, are the very things that government exists to protect, and any and all laws should be swept out of existence which stand in the way of this protection. We insist on the absolute equality of all human beings, white or black, rich or poor, young or old, orthodox or heterodox, with respect to these fundamental rights of life and liberty; and we insist on the absolute necessity of the national government (no matter through what forms or by what means, provided they be only efficient) acknowledging and performing its duty to protect the rights for which it was instituted and alone exists.

With these convictions, who is not perplexed at the present condition of our national politics? The Democrats give every indication, as we see things, of being a "white man's party" still, so far as the South is concerned; its contempt for the human rights of the negro seems as cruel and infamous as ever. Further, its attitude on the financial and the civil service questions seems to be thoroughly tricky and insincere, and to justify the worst anguishes of its probable action on those points, if placed in national control; while, as to State Secularization, its past record interprets its present studied silence as indicating a ruinous subservience to Roman Catholic schemes. On the other hand, the Republican party is now what it was in the beginning, a party pledged to the protection of black as well as white citizens, and so far entitled to the support of every true patriot. On the

financial question, it is somewhat divided and wavering, yet probably will act at least in the direction of a restoration of honest money; on the civil service question, it appears just as tricky and insincere as the Democratic party; while, as to State Secularization, it ominously threatens the country with action on behalf of Protestant Orthodoxy which will plunge it, for a century perhaps, into a religious strife of yearly increasing bitterness, to end no man can tell how.

Such is the situation as we see it. If we confess ourselves hopelessly perplexed by it, and consciously unable to advise any one to vote for either of the two great parties which divide between them all the possibilities of success next month, we have done all that honesty permits. The "choice of evils" policy is open to all who approve it; we do not. If we did, we should vote the Republican ticket. But we cannot bring ourselves to vote for a positive wrong on the plea that some other wrong is still worse. This is woefully "unpractical," perhaps, as so many are swift to declare. But we can only give our personal testimony on behalf of equal individual rights for all, whether white or black, male or female, Christian or non-Christian, and to declare our conviction that property rights are not so sacred as those of life and liberty, and the rights of life and outward liberty not so sacred as those of conscience and soul-freedom. That is why we think the State Secularization question of such overshadowing importance even at this early stage of the great impending struggle on that issue; it is not because we do not appreciate the vast consequence of the other interests at stake, but because we see that in the long run all other interests must depend on the protection of the equal religious liberty of all the citizens. The peril to the secular character of the National Constitution, on which all religious liberty here depends, is so subtle and reconceals as not to be visible to the over-confident and careless people; yet it is real and imminent. It now looks as if the mischief would be actually accomplished before the people are at all aroused to its nature, and as if nothing but a long tuition in the bitter school of experience would ever teach them what a priceless jewel they are now carelessly letting slip from their grasp. It is easy to call this cheerfully or impatiently the "hobby" of THE INDEX, and pass to other thoughts; but inappreciation changes no facts and protects from no evils. In the confusion of issues which marks the present Presidential campaign, it is our own duty to point out steadily and faithfully this issue which others overlook, and then to wait quietly for the revelations of events.

JUSTICE, NOT PARTISANSHIP.

I cannot let a day pass without making at least a brief protest against some statements by "R. C." on the Southern question in the last INDEX. He says, in reference to the condition of South Carolina, that "we have presented to-day the curious paradox that every well-wisher of the negro must desire the success at the coming election of the rebel General Wade Hampton and the defeat of Chamberlain, notwithstanding the latter's excellent purposes and his attempts at genuine reform." I happen to know a good many "well-wishers of the negro," sincere, long-tried, and wise, who certainly have no such desire, but deprecate the success of Hampton and his party as a dire misfortune to the negro.

He speaks of "the rule of the negro and his fellow-scalawag, the carpet-bag white man." This is unjust to a good many white men whom, with the old Southerner, it indiscriminately styles carpet-baggers; but it is more unjust to the negroes, whom, as a whole, it classes as "scalawags." Of course the writer does not mean this, but it is a piece of carelessness in writing that becomes of the nature of a crime. It is the same exasperating injustice that is committed by many of the Democratic newspapers in South Carolina, that habitually speak of the Legislature as a "gang of thieves." Such language helps to deepen the color-line, and works mischief.

He says that the Southern negroes have proved themselves "utterly incapable of self-government," and that peace and order can only be assured "when the intelligent portion of the community—that is, the white race—make and administer the laws." And he points to South Carolina for illustration. Last winter and spring I had some opportunity for studying the political problem in that State, and it is my opinion that there, in spite of all the exceptional and difficult conditions of the experiment, and the disaster and disgrace that have in some respects attended it, negro-suffrage and negro-government have proved a hopeful success. The proof is in the facts that each succeeding Legislature has been an im-

provement on its predecessor in intelligence and morality, and that the ruling party has been gradually sloughing off and rising out of the very evils that were the natural consequence of its sudden rise to power. I think my friend on further reflection will agree with me that what the South wants to insure peace and prosperity is, not government by either race as such (there is a large section of the white race more ignorant and degraded than the negro), but government in which the races shall learn to work amicably together, and the rights of all classes shall be equally guaranteed and respected. More education and virtue by all means; but they are needed in the South by millions of whites as well as blacks.

W. J. P.

A CIRCULAR.

The Secretary of the National Liberal League makes the following announcement to the liberal public:—

OFFICE OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, {
231 Washington St., Boston, Oct. 16, 1876. }

To the numerous liberals who desire to do something to aid the Liberal League movement, but who, on account of isolation from others of like spirit, find it impossible to form a local organization, I would say that the best possible aid at present can be rendered by becoming at once members of the National Liberal League. Having the names and addresses of all strongly interested liberals enrolled on the Secretary's book, it would be easy to communicate with the true friends of the movement in all parts of the country; and the fact of having such an enrolment would give to the movement a greatly increased influence with the general public.

Previous to the National organization, the Local Leagues frequently desired to circulate printed matter in the shape of tracts, petitions, etc.; but, because no adequate means for such circulation existed, much less was accomplished, as can readily be understood, than could have been accomplished, had there been a large list of the friends of State Secularization in existence.

Let every person favoring religious equality for all before the law join either a local or the National organization, or (better still) both, and the Liberal League will soon be a great power for good.

Since it is assumed that each member is willing to give to the cause a little of the necessary pecuniary aid, a fee of one dollar for annual membership, or twenty-five dollars for life membership, is required by the Constitution. Upon application with fee enclosed, together with name and full post-office address of the applicant, the Secretary is now prepared to forward at once certificates of membership, either life or annual, as may be desired.

Let us all "stand and be counted."

R. H. RANNEY,
Sec'y N. L. L.

The certificates of membership will all be authenticated with the beautiful new seal of the National Liberal League, embossed on gilt with a surrounding circle of scarlet. It represents a spirited group—a Catholic Bishop with crozier and mitre, and a Protestant clergyman in his robe, striving to wrest the scales of justice from the hand of Columbia, who, draped in the national flag (which is torn by the rude grasp of one of the assailants), holds the emblem of equal rights out of their reach. In the background, the National Capitol and a Protestant meeting-house stand at opposite corners, to typify the separation of Church and State. This group is encircled with the legend, "National Liberal League: July 4th, 1876"; and the whole seal eloquently speaks to the eye the great central idea of the Liberal League movement.

While the publication of the "Patriotic Address" and the Report of the Centennial Congress of Liberals (which has involved an enormous amount of labor and been most vexatiously delayed), together with the drafting, debating, and printing of numerous papers, have been in progress, no special efforts have been made to increase the individual membership of the National League. But several persons have indicated their strong sympathy with the movement by making themselves members without delay. Besides the one hundred and seventy charter-members (a complete alphabetical list of whom will be published in the forthcoming Report of the Centennial Congress), the following persons have become Life Members of the National Liberal League:—

JACOB HOFFNER,.....Cincinnati, O.
DAVID FERGUSON,.....Wapuna, Wis.
E. P. HURLBUT,.....Albany, N. Y.
CHAS. A. GURLEY,.....Pulaski, N. Y.
MRS. KATE F. ABBOT,.....Cambridge, Mass.

The following also have made themselves Annual Members of the National Liberal League:—

IVAN PANIN,.....Boston, Mass.
FRANK BACON,....." "
EMERSON BENTLEY,.....Morgan City, La.
F. A. ANGELL,.....Passaic City, N. J.
B. DOSCHER,.....Charleston, S. C.
T. W. HIGGINSON,.....Newport, R. I.
JOHN G. JENKINS,.....Denver, Col.
F. S. NEWELL,.....Boston, Mass.
S. T. STOREY,....." "
MRS. ELLA J. ST. JOHN,.....Elkhart, Ind.
JOHN C. GRIERSON,.....Jacksonville, Ill.
GILBERT BILLINGS,.....Chicopee, Mass.
JOHN M. ARNOLD,.....South Boston, Mass.

All these will probably have received their certificates of membership before this reaches the reader; if not, we desire to be informed. And we hope that now both lists will be speedily increased. A report of new members will be made from time to time in THE INDEX; and any one whose name is not reported in the list next succeeding his application should notify us by letter.

It may be well to state that the certificate of membership in the Centennial Congress of Liberals, except for those who were actually present, does not give membership in the National Liberal League,—the General Centennial Committee, of course, having had no authority to confer it. As there were nearly eight hundred persons who signed the application for membership in the Congress, of whom only one hundred and seventy could be present, it is hoped that the remainder will now at once join the National Liberal League.

IN MEMORIAM.

THE INDEX has already announced the death of Benjamin Rodman, of New Bedford, and spoken of his interest in the principles it represents. But of a character so marked and faithful as was his, something more may well be said. Though considerably past seventy years when the Free Religious Association was organized, he welcomed it with the ardor of youth. He was an earnest friend and advocate of free religion long before the phrase began to be spelled with capitals or the free religious movement took any general organic shape. Each year until the present, when ill-health prevented, he has taken special pains to purchase for free distribution a considerable number of the Annual Reports of the Association. The same thing he was accustomed to do with other liberal books and pamphlets that attracted his attention. Many persons are indebted to him for such publications, without, perhaps, in all cases knowing from whom they came. A book that specially pleased him in these latter years was General Hitchcock's *Christ the Spirit*. Reading this book for the first time some three years ago, from a copy loaned him by a friend, and finding that it was out of print in the market, he secured a new edition by agreeing with the publisher to pay a portion of the cost.

He was little of a mystic himself, yet this mystical book attracted him, probably because of its affinity with his Quaker doctrine of the Inner Light, to which he gave a very large and liberal interpretation. For Mr. Rodman was born and bred a Quaker, and, though for many years he had not been identified with the Society of Friends, he was very fond of tracing his theological ancestry to George Fox. Fox was one of his heroes whom he never ceased to admire and never outgrew. In the great division that took place among the Quakers in this country fifty years ago, he and other members of his family warmly espoused the liberal side, maintaining that this was true Quakerism. But they were outnumbered by the Orthodox in the New Bedford meeting and were disowned. To one of this group of freethinking Quakers—Mary Rotch, a woman of great strength of intelligence and character,—I heard Ralph Waldo Emerson, a few weeks since, express his own large personal indebtedness for mental stimulus. In his pulpit-days Mr. Emerson spent considerable time in New Bedford, preaching in the Unitarian Church there, and was often a guest at her house. Previous to this time most of these liberal Quakers had connected themselves with the Unitarian Society, at the advent of Rev. Orville Dewey as its minister, in 1823. Mr. Rodman was one of this number, and ever afterward was counted a member of the latter society,—popularly called Unitarian, but legally entitled "First Congregational"; but none the less did he consider himself a good Quaker, after the order of Fox and Penn. It was one of his common sayings that "the whole world is turning Quaker." Neither

by temperament nor conviction could he be a denominational man. His religious sympathies were too broad, his demand for liberty of thought too thorough for that. To the last he retained his interest in new fields of inquiry. Seldom do we find men keeping so much of their youthful enthusiasm for ideas through maturity and into old age.

Mr. Rodman had a vigorous and athletic nature, physically and mentally. He was as vigorous in expression as he was intense in conviction, and often became impassioned and boisterous in speech. He could dislike with as much fervor as he liked, and was in danger of not doing full justice to an opponent. There was with him no concealing of opinions for the sake of suavity of social intercourse. But this plain and sometimes bitter speaking had its root in the utter sincerity and robustness of his moral nature, which could brook no flattery nor shams. He was no diplomat. Yet he was respected for thorough honesty, for his uprightness and downrightness in all his business affairs as in matters of opinion. In his earlier years, becoming embarrassed in business, he went to prison at the instance of an importunate creditor, though plenty of friends offered the financial help requisite to prevent it. But he took the ground that the law, as it then was in Massachusetts, was very unjust, since the rich man, with numerous friends of wealth and social position, could easily escape imprisonment for debt, while the poor man, having no such relief, would be thrown into jail; and so he resolutely refused the proffered aid and took his place in the debtor's cell. While there he wrote a pamphlet entitled "A Voice from Prison," on the subject of the law concerning debt, which helped to awaken public sentiment on the matter and was instrumental in securing better legislation. At one time he was a State Senator, and at another a member of the Governor's Council.

With all his plainness and bluntness of speech, his sympathies were quick, and he was genuinely benevolent. There was no stint in his giving for the objects in which he believed. It was a pleasure to go to him to solicit aid for any such object,—or rather to suggest, for solicitation was not necessary. In such cases there were no excuses to hold back his ready hand. To the poor and unfortunate he was a staunch friend. Not many knew how much he was doing to befriend the needy. Only by accident did his family discover many of his generousities. His extensive and pleasant grounds, once quite out of town, had become nearly surrounded by a factory village and the dwellings of the poorer class of people. Yet no gate barred free access to them. Poor, worn women came to sit under the shade of his trees and enjoy his flowers and fruits, and children played upon his lawns. He had let it be understood, without any public notice, that children were especially welcome there on Sunday, and I have seen flocks of them there from the neighboring tenement houses on a pleasant Sunday afternoon, behaving with perfect propriety, yet freely enjoying themselves. Once on directing my attention to them he called them his Sunday-school; and sometimes he would go out and talk with them. The following anecdote of his benevolence has recently come to my knowledge; an Orthodox gentleman was inquiring of one who knew him better, what were Mr. Rodman's religious views, and looked grieved and sober on hearing the answer, as if for one holding such views there could be little hope in respect to the future world. An old Scotch weaver, who was standing by and heard the conversation, thereupon broke in: "I don't know where Mr. Rodman went to church nor what he believed; but I know that between 1861 and 1865 there were a half-dozen good milk cows in his barn, and that the great bulk of their milk was distributed among the poor; and I would rather have that as a passport to heaven than all the creeds."

For several years our friend has led a retired and quiet life, enjoying his rural home and his favorite books, and the correspondence still kept up with old friends; and thus with cheerful serenity he has awaited the great change, which now, after nearly eighty-two years of brave living, has quietly and beautifully come to him.

W. J. P.

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY H. C.

A great deal of the political talk of the week has of course referred more or less directly to the result of the elections in Ohio and Indiana. Most politicians hoped that the result in these States would prove the existence of a very decided change of public sentiment in favor of one or the other of the two great parties; and the actual result—a small majority for the Democrats in Indiana, and a small majority for

the Republicans in Ohio—is, therefore, satisfactory to neither party, as it goes to show that if many people have lost confidence in the Republican party, they have not transferred that confidence to the Democratic party. It leaves, also, the ultimate result in November still in doubt, and gives promise of one of the closest contests of the present generation.

With reference to the ultimate result of the contest, we venture to present the following calculation of probabilities, which, if not correct, has at least been carefully made, and is not affected by any known political bias. As States reasonably certain to vote for Hayes, we set down Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire, Vermont, Wisconsin, Rhode Island, and Colorado; these cast 154 electoral votes. As States equally certain to vote for Tilden, we put down Alabama, Arkansas, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Missouri, Mississippi, Nevada, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia; these cast 146 electoral votes. Of States which, whatever the probabilities with regard to them, may yet be claimed as doubtful, we can name only New York (35 votes), New Jersey (9 votes), South Carolina (7 votes), Indiana (15 votes), and Oregon (3 votes); and of these Oregon and New Jersey are conceded to Tilden by the National Republican Committee, and it is hardly possible that Indiana will reverse in November her last week's choice. Now, remembering that there are 369 electoral votes in all, 185 being necessary for a choice, it is evident, if the above division be correct, that Tilden can be elected only by carrying New York and one at least of the three States, New Jersey, Indiana, South Carolina; and that he will carry one of these three, at least, is decidedly probable. On the other hand, although Hayes might be elected without New York, this result could be reached only by his success in New Jersey, Indiana, and South Carolina, and that he will carry these three is not very probable. The ultimate result, therefore, seems to depend entirely upon the vote of New York, which is claimed with equal earnestness by both parties, with the probabilities, in our opinion, decidedly in favor of Tilden. The above calculation, let it be understood, is based upon appearances to-day; it is not that which we should have presented three weeks ago, and may require to be changed, therefore, before the November election.

The Democrats of Massachusetts have decided that the Republicans shall not reap all the glory of bad nominations, those of the eleventh district having last week nominated Mr. Chester W. Chapin for Congress. Mr. Chapin is President of the Boston & Albany Railroad, and some of our readers will remember him as one to whom we referred several times some months ago when speaking of the sharp practices connected with the Ware River Railroad. We then expressed an opinion—which, by the way, we have since met with no good reason to change—that a proper sense of honor on the part of Mr. Chapin or his most influential supporters would result in his immediate resignation as a member of Congress. Mr. Chapin's record in Congress has not been a brilliant one, and his Ware River affair proves that he is one of the men who, if the Democrats should obtain control, would be mixed up in all future Credit Mobilier and kindred enterprises. We trust sincerely that all Democratic papers which have exhibited righteous indignation at the spectacle of Blaine's railroad doings will not forget that Mr. Chapin is a man who deserves to receive similar attention.

The South Carolina Democrats are determined to elect Wade Hampton at all hazards, and they have our best wishes for their success, although some of their methods of gaining votes are unquestionably dishonorable, and are paralleled only by the action of the national administration toward its employees. They are giving the negro to understand that future employment and consequent bread and butter will depend upon the transfer of the negro's allegiance to the Democratic party. Democratic butchers, and bakers, and candlestick-makers are advertising their wares in the South Carolina newspapers, and it is evident that all white Republicans are to be put, if they are not already, under a social ban. We have no desire to attempt to justify these proceedings, but pious Republicans who are grieved at their appearance must have forgotten that human nature is not angelic nature, and that ten years of subjection to ignorant negroes would not be likely to develop the purest methods of political action.

This last fact seems to have been forgotten by Mr. William Lloyd Garrison, who writes to the Boston Journal a long letter full of praise of Governor Chamberlain, to whom the letter is addressed, and overflowing with the rhetorical platitudes with which the speeches of the old anti-slavery agitators were wont to abound. Mr. Garrison suggests no plan of alleviation of the miseries under which South Carolina has so long suffered, and hardly, in fact, recognizes their existence. The letter shows that its author has learned nothing from the political events which have taken place since the war, and that his work as a reformer was really finished at the time of his retirement from the Anti-Slavery Society.

Mr. Wendell Phillips is another gentleman whose expressions are beginning to be interesting because of their fantastic resemblance to genuine satire, carried to such an extent at times, that, apart from their connection, it would be easy to mistake them as intentionally sarcastic. Thus, last Thursday evening, in Boston, in the course of a lyceum lecture having the

peculiar and incomprehensible title of "The Holy Alliance—Rum and the South," he stated that among the "real observers and helpers in the present crisis" were Blaine and Boutwell, Morton and Butler; and among the real impediments were "Charles Francis Adams, the Boston press, and the civil-service reformers."

The Rev. Dr. Talmage, a sensational preacher of Brooklyn, with many attributes of the clerical mountebank, has been guilty of a precious bit of rascality, reported, first, we believe, in the New York World. Talmage was editor of the *Christian at Work*, and under contract to give to the publishers of the paper thirty days' notice of any intention to retire from its management. Bearing in mind that his publishers had received no intimation of any intention to retire, the Boston Journal thus reports Talmage's neat little game of last week: "The paper was duly made up on Monday and ready for the press. The Doctor came to the office late in the evening, when the publisher and clerks had all gone home, and required the foreman to take out an editorial and insert in its place, 'Good by, old friends,' announcing his retirement and future connection with the Chicago Advance. At the same time he placed on the last page a flaming advertisement of the Advance. He went to the printers and ordered them to commence printing and work all night, a thing unprecedented." During the course of the following day the publishers discovered what had been done; the edition was suppressed, and a new edition prepared and sent to the subscribers some twelve hours or more behind time. We are acquainted with some people, who, when they receive information of this pious trick, will be likely to ask the following questions: (1) Will the Chicago Advance continue to employ a man who is capable of the above-described act? and (2) will the Baptist denomination, to which the reverend harlequin belongs, allow him to remain in full fellowship as a representative of its theology and morality?

Another clerical mountebank, the Rev. Henry Morgan, of Boston, in a Sunday discourse upon "Samson," whom he considered as typical of Butler, furnishes the following paraphrase of a passage of Scripture, which we quote without comment: "And there was a great gathering in the Seventh District, and they said, 'Send for Benjamin that he may make us sport.' And when Benjamin appeared all the Pharisees and Sadducees, the Seers and Sight-seers did laugh and shout, for they said, 'Now we shall have sport!' And Benjamin came and spake funnily to them, and told them that he was eminently fitted to represent them in the councils of the nation, and furthermore that he was no coy maiden, but like unto a widow that knoweth what she wanted. And the saying furnished sport to Benjamin's enemies ever after."

Quite a remarkable auction sale took place the other day in Boston—that of a small old psalm-book, known as the Bay Psalm Book. The book was printed in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1640, and was the first book printed in America. It was originally the property of the Rev. Richard Mather, grandfather of the famous Cotton Mather, and was given by the latter to his friend, the Rev. Thomas Prince. Prince bequeathed it, together with the rest of his library, to the Old South Church. Some of the deacons of the Old South exchanged it for some antique books belonging to Dr. Shurtleff, but after his death endeavored to regain possession of it, on the ground, we believe, that they had no right to give the book away, and had only loaned it to Dr. Shurtleff. A suit brought for the recovery of the book by the Old South was decided recently, by the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, in favor of Shurtleff's heirs, by whom the book has just been sold. The first bid was \$100, the next \$500, and the last \$1025, at which sum the book was purchased by Mr. S. S. Ryder, a Providence bookseller.

The affairs of Serbia and Turkey have made but little progress toward a peaceful settlement during the week. The Porte is quite willing to accept a five or six months' armistice, upon certain conditions. These conditions, it is reported, are acceptable to nearly all the powers, with the very important exception of Russia. No battle of importance has taken place, and, with regard to the future, speculation is almost useless.

ENGLISH SKETCHES.

BY MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

LONDON, Oct. 1, 1876.

As I have often spoken of our propagandist labors, it may interest American friends to hear somewhat of the rougher side of our work,—a side not yet quite unknown among us, although more seldom seen than it was some years ago. Some few weeks since, at a colliery village named Hoyland, I met with a very rough crowd, who, led and directed by a primitive Methodist minister, named Hebblethwaite, and two very low Irish Orangemen, endeavored to stop my lecture (an effort in which they failed, for I delivered it in spite of them), and mobbed me afterwards. At the beginning of the present week, our President and myself "fell among thieves." At a very tory and religious town, the Town Hall had been refused to secularist lecturers by the tory Mayor and Corporation, and no other hall was to be had. Congleton seemed a shut door, and we made up our minds to see if it could not be opened. So some good friends there, Mr. and Mrs. Elmy, looking about for a place where lecturing would be possible, found a large upper room in an old mill, capable of holding about six hundred persons. This they engaged, and printed

and posted bills which announced that, being refused the use of the Town Hall, the Progressive Club had taken this room for the delivery of two lectures by Mr. Charles Bradlaugh and Mrs. Annie Besant. We accordingly went down on Monday last, and took up our abode with the Elmys, thinking no evil. Mr. Bradlaugh was to lecture on the Monday night, and we quietly strolled down to the room—distant about a mile and a half,—and were surprised, on our arrival there, to be greeted with hooting and shouts. It was the beginning of sorrows! The room was crowded. An extempore platform had been fitted up, on which Mr. Bradlaugh and the chairman, Benjamin Elmy, took their places, Mrs. Elmy and myself being seated on one of the front benches. A child was brought to be named, and this was done in perfect quiet. The chairman made a short speech, and then Mr. Bradlaugh commenced his lecture. Very soon it became apparent that preparations had been made for preventing its delivery. A number inside were noisy, and outside a tremendous din commenced. Hooting, shouting, whistling, howling, made an indescribable uproar, and as the lecturer quietly went on, dominating the noise outside by his powerful voice, and by reproach and threat reducing the inside disturbers to meekness, the attack became more vicious. Stones came in at the windows, scattering the shivered glass in every direction, and one rather heavy missile, flung from inside the room, struck me somewhat hard on the head. Spite of all, the lecture was delivered, and an hour's discussion took place. But when Mr. and Mrs. Elmy, Mr. Bradlaugh and myself, issued into the street, we found a pleasant spectacle,—a large crowd, clearly bent on mischief, who, having failed to prevent the lecture, were determined to mob the lecturers. For that long mile and a half they followed us, swearing, cursing, with intervals of Sankey's "Safe in the arms of Jesus," the chorus being emphasized by occasional showers of mud. Mr. Bradlaugh occasionally turned and drove them back, but they always returned, running away like the cowards they were when he faced them, but coming forward again as we walked on. Not for one half-minute did the din cease, and when we reached the house they surrounded it until midnight in the same fashion. A tory county magistrate living opposite came out and stood at his gate, without making any effort to check the uproar, and the magistrate's clerk urged the children on. The tory policeman was similarly inactive, and Mr. Bradlaugh has reported his conduct to the Home Secretary.

The following night things were even worse. The lecture began at eight in the evening, and the crowd outside the Elmys' began to gather two hours previously. This time we drove down, to avoid the long walk, and, as we started, we were saluted with a shower of stones, some too heavy to be pleasant. At the entrance to the room the crowd was dense and uproarious, and inside it was soon seen that an organized attempt to break the meeting was to be made. Eight men came in, soon after the lecture commenced, one of whom was a man named Burbury, who is spoken of in a Manchester paper as a well-known wrestler, and who has many cups won at athletic contests. I went on with my lecture for some time in very fair order, the interruption being slight and easily checked, till some one shouted, "Turn her out," the apparent signal for the row. Mr. Bradlaugh, who was in the chair, intimated that any one who refused to be quiet would have to go out, and instantly this man Burbury jumped up and challenged Mr. Bradlaugh to put him out. Mr. Bradlaugh quietly answered that he had not addressed him, but that he must be quiet or else go. Mr. Burbury defied him, and Mr. Bradlaugh stepped from the platform, Mr. Burbury flinging himself on him. It was clear in a moment that he was a practised wrestler, as he endeavored to throw his antagonist. Mr. Bradlaugh preferred, however, to go down on the top of him, and, as their champion fell underneath, there was a general rush. Christians are chivalrous, and it was one against many. One big fellow was aiming a blow at Mr. Bradlaugh as Burbury was wrestling with him, but this was stopped by the only blow our President struck, full on the man's breast, knocking him back, and he then, through the crowd, pushed Burbury on. Three times the two men went down, Mr. Bradlaugh each time simply kneeling on his antagonist, as lightly as he could the two first times, heavily the third, as Burbury essayed kicking, and after that the champion wrestler was very meek. Mr. Bradlaugh handed him over to the police, returned to the platform, ordered the people to be quiet and sit down, and the lecturer to finish her lecture. This I accordingly did, and there was no more disturbance. We had a short and very orderly discussion, and the meeting then broke up. The crowd was again outside, and behaving in its Christian way, and most unfortunately one of the flints struck Mrs. Elmy just over the eye, raising a large bruise. The remainder rattled harmlessly against the cab. The hooting crowd at Mr. Elmy's was lively as ever, and, tired of the uproar, Mr. Elmy and Mr. Bradlaugh went out with a horsewhip and scattered them in every direction, at last reducing them to yells in the far distance.

I had not imagined it possible that, even among Christians, so brutal and generally offensive a mob could be gathered against infidels. The only satisfaction in the affair was our complete success in pulling through the two lectures and discussions as announced. The more decent Christians of Congleton of course disavow that they had anything to do with the disturbance; but they are really responsible for it. In the first place the ignorant among the people only tried to stop the lectures, and they did, after their fashion, just what the Mayor and Corporation did in theirs; the spirit is identical. Then the mob (consisting chiefly of young lads and girls from fourteen to twenty years of age) was organized and directed,

and we heard afterwards of the instructions they had received. One man, a Methodist leader, was identified as one of the mud-throwers by a woman to whom he was known. Christians make a fatal mistake in imagining that weapons of this description really serve their cause. They only disgrace it, and disgust decent people. The day has gone by for the use of violence. Of old, when the Church was strong, she ruled by such means, and the nations crouched under her rod; now, she only makes herself ridiculous by such proceedings, although it is instructive to note that the power, not the will, is wanting to exercise the old cruelty.

Communications.

"FANATICISM OF UNBELIEF."

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

The *Tribune* heads with the title, "The Fanaticism of Unbelief," an editorial censuring Mr. Conway for having, as it says, reported at second-hand concerning Miss Harriet Martineau—"that, being questioned on her death-bed as to her belief in immortality, she answered by a blunt and epigrammatic disavowal of any such expectation for herself." Mr. Conway's communication, which is to the *Cincinnati Commercial*, is given in the last INDEX, from which it appears that Miss Martineau's answer was: "I have no reason to believe in another world. I have had enough of life in one, and can see no good reason why Harriet Martineau should be perpetuated."

If what was uttered by Miss Martineau was unreasonable, the statement of it was not improper on that account, though it should afford to some person opportunity to show it to be so. At the worst, it could only show that sensible people may fall into vagaries as well as say sensible things. If, in reporting it, Mr. Conway had affected great horror at what the *Tribune* considers the absurdity or the impropriety of it, then it might have been all right. But what claim has the *Tribune* to enjoin upon the rest of the world the same appreciation which it chooses to entertain of the value of a prejudice, of the truth or falsity of which no possible evidence can be given? Rather should it be considered that the habit of asserting that to be true which cannot be proved to be so, tends to subservience, untruthfulness, and general demoralization, and that the acceptance of dogmas prescribed without proof leads to habitual indifference as to the distinction between truth and falsehood. In matters which are not susceptible of proof, courtesy may require the largest and the most patient toleration even of absurdity; but it is not right or modest for any man to prescribe his particular view as a rule for the rest of the world, or to doubt that humanity at large has a depth of sympathy, a breadth of experience, where that is possible, and a reach of thought not to be despaired in comparison with his favorite system of mere speculation. So far as practical utility is concerned, there is a standard more or less apparent of truth and propriety. The moral law, as necessary, eternal, and universal, claims the obedience of all mankind, and all are interested in the mutual observance of it. But the moral law is concerned with actual facts and matters capable of positive proof rather than with things of mere speculation; nor can it be treated as applicable to these latter without danger of grievous injustice. He who teaches that it is right to steal, and thus encourages theft, is an enemy to society; but he who thinks that the planet Jupiter is, or that it is not, inhabited, or who thinks that his conscious existence will, or that it will not, be perpetuated in another world, after existence in this has ceased, has surely a right to his opinion, and mankind are interested in putting down by proper means the social or political tyranny which would interfere with that right.

The justice of the *Tribune's* claim of occupying the very foremost position among American public journals will hardly be rendered the more apparent by its advocacy of dogmas accepted by its editor, and resting on mere conjecture, as incontrovertibly true. One man's acceptance through faith of such a dogma affords to another no proof, or even presumption, of the truth of what is thus accepted. Therefore, such things are out of place in a journal claiming to enlighten mankind, and asserting its claim to general approval on that ground. Prejudice, as such, ignores reason, which is the groundwork of argument, and reason, which can operate only by virtue of convictions and apprehensions of truth already acquired, is silent where prejudice is made the groundwork of logic. If the assertion of truth has the air of absurdity to those whose prejudices stand in the way of its acceptance, the fault is not with those who assert the truth, but with those who, from ill-regulated mental action or want of adequate information, are incapable of receiving it. Indeed, many who are accustomed to read the *Tribune* cannot be indifferent to the danger it incurs of having the merit of its services in the diffusion of useful knowledge obscured and compromised by its advocacy of dogmas resting on faith, so-called, or vagrant speculation. It was no longer ago than the last month that the *Tribune* made this announcement: "What the world needs just now is, not simply scholars, *littérateurs*, or theologians, but men on fire with the message given them to deliver, men absolutely constrained to their work by the love of Christ." This is the technical acceptance and approval of the principle of sectarian servitude. It is at least charitable to consider that the imputation of fanaticism on occasion of the plain and simple statement of an interesting fact could come with sincerity or good grace only from the fanaticism really prevailing somewhere else than with Mr. Conway.

What is natural and true is a more important ques-

tion than what is fashionable, unless Nature can be improved upon by fashion. Without attempting to do justice to what is judicious and unexceptionable in the editorial referred to, it is no more than fair to say that, although the *Tribune* does not say so in terms, yet in advocating a system understood to be supernatural it would seem to agree with Rev. Dr. Bellows in thinking that Nature can be improved upon.

The quotation in the last INDEX from Rev. Dr. Bellows is as follows: "The ground alike of Trinitarian and Unitarian Christianity is that the religion of Jesus has an authority peculiar to itself; established and vindicated historically, that it is a permanent religion, destined to universal sway; that it cannot be improved, and that essential changes in it are fallings away from the truth. Nothing making a less claim than this can be called a revealed religion, or an absolute religion, or be at anything less than a disadvantage as compared even with natural religion." There is in this a confusion of ideas, to say the least. Here religion is admitted to be natural and subject to necessity of natural conditions, and yet the words imply that natural religion is so very imperfect that any one of several other religions, which of course must all be artificial, may be far superior to it. At this rate, we must not be surprised if we hear before long of some newly-invented magnetism or chemistry, far superior to that which is natural. If religion has anything in it of the nature of moral virtue, it would seem plain enough that all real and substantial religion must be natural, and that consequently all that comes in to set it aside and supply its place must be false and spurious. If what is claimed to be religion has in it nothing of the nature of moral virtue, and especially if it despairs of the very principle of human virtue and ignores it, then it is plain enough that the less we have of such pretended religion, the better. It is something else than the part of reason, or piety, or modesty to pretend that the supposed Divine hand which conducts and energizes Nature's law has been seen to have become, in the progress of time, more and more skilful by practices, or that others have graciously stepped in and perfected the crude work of the Almighty. If this is the drift of our reverend doctors and our preaching public journalists, they ought to be careful how they wander beyond the limits of their special sphere, lest they be set down as more ignorant of divine things than some of our pietistic Senators, in proposing an amendment to the Constitution, lately showed themselves to be of contemporaneous history and of the legitimate functions of civil government.

CHARLES COLLINS.

NORTHUMBERLAND, Pa., Aug. 31, 1876.

THE DECAY OF SUPERSTITION.

ONTARIO, Sept. 17, 1876.

ED. INDEX:

Sir,—It is, I believe, a fact that the terrors of future punishment are now less frequently referred to in our pulpits than they used to be, and that the term "Hell" is rarely mentioned. If this be true, as I believe it is, may we not look forward to the day when this terrible dogma of the Orthodox faith shall be entirely cast aside as no longer the belief of either clergy or people?

There have been periods in history when the ferocity of men could not be restrained by the Church except by appeals to their fears. The migration of barbarians to Southern Europe from the North, at various periods, imposed upon the Church the most difficult task she ever had to perform; and any means in her power to employ to bring these hordes under subjection, would be, perhaps, justifiable. Goth and Visigoth might be cowed by the prospect of retribution, presented to his imagination by a vivid description of Hell; and if this oral description were not sufficient, the Church might add, by the resources of art, such representations as would bring before the eye of the barbarian the scene and the victim. The Church knew well the value of art either to kindle devotion or to excite terror.

Is it not a matter of surprise that a dogma so repulsive to reason should have held its place so long, and particularly in these days when science and intelligence are so generally diffused? May not one cause of its longevity be that the dogma never probably secured any strong, active belief? For the mind would instinctively recoil from it, and unconsciously reject the justice of so terrible a punishment. John Stuart Mill says, in one of his posthumous essays, that "nobody except a *hypocondriac* here and there ever really believes that he is in any very serious danger of incurring these punishments."

The effect of this dogma in the present day, would be to repel rather than attract; to excite terror and hostility rather than admiration and love. Horrible as this doctrine is, and incompatible with the existence of a benevolent and just Creator, it is not without an effort that a man bred in Christianity can confidently reject it; but when, however, he has arrived at this point, the love of truth, his aim and his guide, will induce him to proceed farther, until he has embraced, in his review, the whole Christian scheme.

What tends much to perpetuate our ignorance and superstition is our unwillingness to examine the grounds of those doubts which must occur to every man of any intelligence as to the truth and authenticity of doctrines taught us from childhood, as axioms not to be questioned.

The shackles in which our minds were so early bound are, however, day by day, becoming lighter; and as the liberating process advances, so will our hesitation become less and less operative, until at last we shall find it to be an imperative duty to investigate for ourselves, and not to content ourselves with what interested and paid expounders so dogmatically teach us as truth.

I. FINLAYSON, M.D.

MARTYRS WANTED.

We need martyrs. Society is venal and without the enthusiasm of truth. The faith of decaying religion has lost its grip, and Christians are no longer able to stop the mouths of lions or infidels. But they are making a desperate effort at present to reinstate the ninth century in the nineteenth. The Church has not yet given up the hope of recovering its lost power. The Romanist, as well as the Protestant, is struggling to regain authority; and both are working earnestly to secure their ends. The Liberal element which opposes both Catholic and Protestant, is doing very little to thwart their purpose. Secularism lacks enthusiasm. In its eye evolution will do the whole work; so it lumps the job and lets the world wag on. A good fat martyr at the stake would do the world more good just now, it seems to me, than anything else. We are, as a liberal people, too indifferent about the great principles of liberty. We are asleep while our foes are awake and quietly undermining the very ground on which we stand.

Why should God's name be put in the Constitution? "To honor him." How do you know it will honor him? How do you know but that it will dishonor him? The nation has lived one hundred years without the name of any God in the Constitution, and the country has prospered; whence the necessity now of injecting therein some deific name? Has it come to that, that the Creator must have his name engraven on everything? If it is essential that the Deity have a name on the charter of our liberties, which name shall we put there? Shall it be Brahma or Jehovah? Krishna or Christ? Buddha or Mohammed?

If this constitutional recognition of Deity possesses such great merit, it is remarkable that the Southern Confederacy should fall when their Constitution plainly acknowledged him, and professed allegiance to him.

It is painful, indeed, to see how many good people can be duped by the specious arguments against the Constitution, against free speech, free religion or no religion, against a free press. I would be charitable, but I cannot believe the agitators in this movement are either intelligent, generous, or just. They must be aware of the fact that such amendments as have been proposed would be no amendment to the Constitution, but its overthrow.

W. S. BELL.

NEW BEDFORD, Mass.

AUSTIN KENT.

It is fitting that something more than a desultory allusion to the demise of this pioneer in the cause of freethought should be made.

Here was a man, for long years a cripple, devoted to the diffusion of principles which had as their end and aim the promotion of liberal views.

He was possessed of an intellect of no common order. His many works and communications, which from time to time made their appearance in the *Investigator*, *THE INDEX*, and I doubt not other papers of the liberal school, are sufficient proof and evidence of this. He always manifested a kind and courteous spirit.

From what I have been able to learn, his bodily infirmities were borne in a spirit of patience and forbearance.

We shall all miss his familiar words in our papers. One by one the fathers of Liberalism are passing off the stage of action. It is to be hoped that there are those who may fill their places. The times call for workers in the cause, especially as the upholders of Christian views are uniting their forces to put down those who endeavor to disseminate principles which make for the common good of the republic.

Let us all do our part in this good work, and thus emulate the example of our departed friend, Austin Kent.

Yours respectfully,

EDWIN H. BARTLETT.

SOUTH DARTMOUTH, Mass., Oct. 3, 1876.

THE USE OF A PRIEST.

ROCHESTER, N. Y., Sept. 18, 1876.

ED. INDEX:

Dear Sir,—A Unitarian friend once told me of a little anecdote which I think is too good to lose, and none the worse for being literally true.

His female domestic so often used the term "Holy Virgin, Mother of God," as to annoy him. Although he did not make a practice of trying to unsettle any person's religious faith, he felt compelled for once to question her as follows: "Why, Bridget, who made the Virgin Mary?" "God," was the prompt reply. "Did God make his own mother?" was next asked. This was evidently a "pooner"; but after cogitating a few moments, she replied, "I don't know how that could be, but the priest says it is so." "But, Bridget," said he, "you need not believe all that the priest tells you." She quickly replied with evident sincerity, "Faith! and sure, what is the use of having a priest if you cannot believe all he tells you?"

Yours respectfully,

EDW. LINE.

ROMANISTS believe in religious liberty for countries like the United States, in which they are in the minority. In other countries, however, like Austria, where they have ruled for ages, they will not concede an inch of freedom unless they are compelled. The *Missionary Herald* states the position of the missionaries of the American Board in Austria thus: "They can enter no pulpit; they can hold no public service to preach the Gospel; they cannot even occupy a room for a Bible-reading or lecture unless official leave is given by the authorities; they cannot sell, or give away, or even loan, a tract without risking the penalties of the law."

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WM. J. POTTER Sec. F. R. A.

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ARTICLE V.—... All charter-members and life-members of the National Liberal League, and all duly accredited delegates from local auxiliary Liberal Leagues organized in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution, shall be entitled to seats and votes in the Annual Congress. Annual members of the National Liberal League shall be entitled to seats, but not to votes, in the Annual Congress.

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VOLUME 7.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1876.

WHOLE NO. 357.

THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church; in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.
2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.
3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.
4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.
5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.
6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.
7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."
8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.
9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.
10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.
11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.
12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.
13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT: PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

THE REPORT that Mr. William E. Dodge is going as a missionary among the Sioux, to prevail on Sitting Bull to keep the Sabbath, is pronounced untrue. His experiment with General Newton probably discourages him.

THE FIRST number of the *Sunday Review*, a new quarterly periodical, has been issued for the current month by Trübner & Co., London. It is edited by a committee of the Sunday Society, and is devoted to an excellent movement for the increase of Sunday freedom for the people of England.

A VERY EMINENT COOK is preparing, with more than French culinary skill, what will doubtless be recorded in history as the Great and General Centennial Stew of Massachusetts, in which "small philosophers" like Ralph Waldo Emerson are to be served up as oysters for the Orthodox, while the proud artist of the occasion is to stick his ladle in his hat-band, fold his arms, and smile grimly at the empty shells.

THE PAINE BUST was presented on October 13 by Mr. Kilgore, on behalf of the donors and the committee, to Hon. William S. Stokley, Mayor of Philadelphia. Mr. George A. Smith, President of Select Council, submitted Mayor Stokley's communication, with Mr. Kilgore's letter, to that body; and, on motion of Mr. Jones, they were laid on the table. What further action, if any, is to be taken, we are not informed.

THERE is in Boston a new light of Orthodoxy, Rev. Joseph Cook by name, who has been radiating darkness upon the subject of "Evolution" in a way that threatens to bring upon the "small philosophers of Massachusetts" (as he styles them) a more terrible "Twilight of the Gods" than overtook the old divinities at Bayreuth. Wagner ought to be sent for at once, to get up the final catastrophe with due dramatic splendor; while prudent insurance companies will in hot haste cancel all their policies in Concord, the doomed Walhalla of the impending conflagration.

THERE ARE some ways, it seems, of advocating State Secularization which we should be sorry to see adopted in this country: "It is the custom in Lima when any religious question is debated in Parliament for the ladies to go to the House of Assembly, carefully watch the proceedings, and, after a way of their own, take part in them. For example, during the last debate on liberty of worship, each speaker who defended the proposal to separate the Church from

the State had a garland of weeds flung at his head from the ladies' gallery, and the defenders of the Church were honored with garlands."

RUSSIA is as intolerant as Spain, to judge by this statement: "Two hundred members of the Russian sect of 'Old Believers,' who had been banished to the Ural because they refused to join the Orthodox Russian Church, have been treated by the Russian authorities with a cruelty which has hitherto been supposed to be only characteristic of Turks. Having been ordered for service in the penal regiments at Petro-Alexandrovsk, on the Caspian, they were so ill-used that many perished on the road, and others jumped into the sea to avoid their oppressors, and one hundred only arrived at their destination."

AN ENGLISH Methodist minister has written to Cardinal Manning to request for Spanish Protestants the same tolerance which Roman Catholics enjoy in England. The Cardinal replied that "where the people of a country are all of one mind about a religion it is only right that the latter should be vigorously supported by laws." There is infinite impudence in this reply. Where the people of a country are all of "one mind" about a religion, whom are the "vigorously supported" laws to reach? What need of them at all, unless somebody fails to be of "one mind" with the rest? The Cardinal merely means that the majority must make him of "one mind" with the rest, or get rid of him; and that is what Rome means for this country, when she is able to carry it out.

THE PONDEROUS CHAMPION of Orthodoxy, Rev. Joseph Cook, who marches over the ruins of Radicalism once a week at the Melosmen, with what one of his admirers effusively designates as "an elephantine tread," is the latest sensation of this Modern Athens. His Monday lectures bristle with so many heads that Evolution herself is at last scared, and peers anxiously in all directions for a new Hercules to decapitate this lineal descendant of the Lernaean Hydra. But unless the Boston *Globe* does him most woful and unusual injustice, this doughty theologian does not know the difference between Hegel the philosopher and Professor Ernst Haeckel, of Jena, for the former's name occurs eight or ten times in a single lecture where the latter's alone should have been used. Probably the "elephantine tread" is too heavy for such small differences. His lectures are the latest samples of "inflation" we have seen. Rev. M. J. Savage did not overstate the truth, when he wrote to the *Globe* that this bustling demolisher of Evolution "betrays a method that would do honor to the assumption and the face of a book-agent."

THE GRAND RAPIDS (Michigan) *Eagle* is quoted as follows by a New York paper: "The *Eagle* of last Friday contained a circular from Chief of Police Moran, in which he informed the citizens of what he intended to do in obedience to the Council's orders that the police enforce the statutes and city ordinances relative to Sunday, the first day of the week. The enforcement of the Chief's circular has led to many arrests for alleged violation of the Sunday laws, in divers ways, and many arrests are yet to be made. The most numerous class of alleged offenders are those who went to the post-office yesterday noon to post or receive mail. Forty-four citizens' names were taken, and warrants have been served on them. Twenty-five or thirty milk-peddlers have been arrested for vending or delivering milk on Sunday, and the owners and employees of two barber-shops are to be arrested for keeping their establishments open. The employees of the Gas Company were arrested for laboring in the gas works on Sunday. The employees of the Valley City and Crescent Flouring Mills were arrested for laboring in the mills on Sunday. The employees of the *Times* and *Democrat* offices were arrested for laboring on those papers after midnight Saturday night, or on Sunday morning."

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N.B.—For further information, apply to the Secretary, as above.

RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and feasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

Gods Admonition.

A SERMON DELIVERED AT ATLANTA, GA., OCT. 23, 1876.

BY RABBI HENRY GERSONI.

We often hear the stale adage, "Life is but a dream." Pulpit orators take this phrase as the keynote of their sermons, and, illustrating in glowing images the "instability of life," as they call it, and creating in their imagination an eternity teeming with singing angels or cruel demons, they try to lure or to frighten the sinner from his wicked course. Their object may be good, but their system is fallacious. For life is not a dream; it is a reality.

"Life is real, life is earnest,
 And the grave is not its goal;
 Dust thou art, to dust returnest,
 Was not spoken of the soul."

Aye, and not of the body either, in the sense in which it is generally understood. Everything in Nature is eternal. Not an atom of matter is lost in the economy of Nature, and not an idea of truth is lost in the history of existence. No matter into what chemical combination the substances which compose our frames may enter after dissolution, which we are so used to call death, they will continue to exist in perpetual action and counteraction, forming the unperishable "wheels in wheels" of Nature, which is at the throne of the great I AM the Eternal Existence. Those who try to persuade themselves that "life is but a dream" close their eyes to the fact that their own lives are tinged with the impressions, ideas, fancies, and attainments of life that has been before they were in the world,—and thus the very life which they declare perishable asserts itself otherwise in themselves. Life is not a dream: it is reality.

"The grass dryeth out, the sprout fadeth away; but the word of our God standeth forever," was spoken by the prophet in one breath. This most beautiful passage gives the truthful pledge of immortality. It takes for its evidence the very phenomenon which our false prophets take to prove a mortality. This "instability of life," this constant rotation of growth and decay, this perpetual renovation of the aspects of life, proves that there is no mortality; that "the word of our God standeth forever." Nature is the word of our God. Therefore be not afraid, my friends; you will not die. Once called into existence, we shall continue to exist. The truth, the divine soul, the breath of God within us, will live forever in God, its author and the source from whence it sprang. Although we do not presume to know anything definite about this eternal existence of the soul, we know, we feel that there is such an existence in store for us.

This is a cheerful message to those who have no reason to be afraid of an existence which is hidden from the knowledge of man. But it is an awful message for the sinner. A perpetual existence for the man who is afraid to meet the next hour; a universal existence in common with all for the one who shuns the sight of the next man; an existence in the light and truth of God for such as would fain crouch in darkness, hiding their sins and their disgrace from their fellow-beings,—aye, it means something frightful! More frightful than the brimstone localities and the monstrosities which the fertile imagination of our theological friends creates for us!

And the consciousness of this eternal existence does frighten every sinner, and gives him a taste of his deserved punishment while he lives. If you hear a man boasting of his sins, believe not that he is so courageous as not to be afraid of the consequences of sin. The wrong he has committed and boasts of, he does not consider a wrong. He thinks that the social organization which considers such an act wrong is mistaken in its notions, and that he is in the right, deprecating the rule of this organization. He boasts of his philosophy, which does not consider such an action wrong. This is what the Talmud says: "He who repeatedly commits a certain sin considers it a lawful act." He is therefore not afraid to speak of it; but he is the more anxious to hide such of his actions which he knows to be wrong.

The thief, for instance, will tell his mates about the theft he has committed; he will boast of the ingenuity and skill he has displayed by perpetrating this act. But he will be afraid to tell how he has played false toward his fellow in crime. Against all the rest of society he has a grudge, and he claims an imaginary right to steal; while he knows that he has no such right against those who are on the level with him.

The sensualist will boast of his achievements among his friends; for by a false notion he considers the social laws which forbid him his sinful pleasure as mere superstitions. But he will be afraid to reveal the falsehood and knavery which were the means by which he has achieved his object.

I could multiply examples to prove that every sinner is afraid—as he has good reason to be—of sin! And the conscience which has become dull on one side will sting the sharper on the other. The moral constitution of man is like a skillful knitting; where one loop becomes loose, the whole web is impaired. When one moral principle is spoiled, no other principle can be trusted. In this sense our sages have said: "One sin is the cause of another one." The loosened loop must be skillfully and promptly fastened, or the whole fabric will go to pieces.

But there are our unphilosophical friends who have no other excuse but "circumstances." It is true, "circumstances" may sometimes press us out of the right path. But with a strong-hearted, brave man, this pressure cannot last long. He who complains about "circumstances" being the cause of his sin, and perseveres in the wrong path, is either a

weak-minded fool or a hypocritical knave. Hear ye the awful admonition of God: "Sin lurketh at the door; its desire is toward thee; but thou shalt subvert it! Thou canst do it if thou wilt!"

Man is created in the image of God; the breath of divine wisdom animates him to elevate him above the brute creation, and not to make him the slave of animal passions, or worthless desires, or thoughtless fancies. There is something more than mere animal instinct which teaches man to brave the changes of climate, the fury of the elements, for physical and changeable life. And there is certainly something higher and loftier in him which prompts him to aspirations and hopes of which he cannot give himself a clear account. This is the very "breath of God" which makes him the lord and ruler of creation here, and is the pledge of an eternal existence hereafter. And this is what enables him to place himself in opposition to everything that threatens to degrade him as a superior being. He who yields to threatening or alluring "circumstances," and neglects his advantage as a rational being to maintain his dignity as a man, is unworthy of the name of man; he degrades himself to the position of a lower creature. He is useless to the society of man. Divine truth does not recognize him any more as a superior being; it asks: "Adam, where art thou?" Aye, the sinner is no more the man! Eternal wisdom finds him not in the place which has been destined for him. In this sense our Talmudists have said: "No man becomes a sinner unless a spirit of folly (loss of his right senses) has entered into him." A man in his right senses, with the consciousness of his superior station in life, cannot degrade himself with sinful actions.

"But what is sin?" I hear some ask me now. My friends, do not ask me this question, for I cannot give you any definite answer. Do not rely on the explanations of our friends, the theologians, for they cannot tell you what sin is, nor can they give you the right means to avoid it. Most of them deal in patent medicine for moral sickness. No human being can tell the other one of his sin. It is only God, the Creator, to whom your sins are known. And it is only he who can tell of your sins and how to amend them. And he makes it known to you, not in articulate words, not in writings on parchment, or in any time-honored book or books, but by his work in Nature and through the voice of your own conscience.

The more you study the work of God in the universe, the deeper you penetrate into the wisdom which rules, controls, and maintains the order of the universe, the more you listen to the voice of God "in the spirit of the times," in the progress and development of the human race, so much the clearer will you perceive what is right and wrong, the better will you be able to judge about your own actions. A sense of unspeakable pleasure and self-assurance will tell you of the good that is in you; a feeling of untold mortification and dejection will announce the wrong you have done. And it is better you listen to this voice of God yourself than to rely on others to interpret it to you. "Tant de gens entre Dieu et moi!" exclaimed a French philosopher, who was considered an infidel by sanctimonious knaves. Judaism, however, fully approves of this sentiment. We need no people between God and ourselves; we need no books to tell us what pleases or displeases our Father in heaven. Wisdom and knowledge, patented by the approval of sound reason and sealed with the harmonious feelings of peace and love,—these alone can teach us what is right in the sight of the One who "creates peace in his heavens." Study the world, material and spiritual, and see how far your own actions and feelings harmonize with it. In this way the heaven will speak to you, the earth will speak to you, the shadows of your own actions that will pass in your memories in the stillness of the night will speak to you; and from your own flesh you will see your God and learn his pleasure, as the sages of old did.

Do you notice those wrinkles, those crow's-feet, around the eyes of you young faces? They may be the consequences of sickness or hard struggle in life. You can efface them by kindness, and smooth them out with your sympathy or sympathetic actions. If they be the marks of sin and dissipation, they are the signs of God's inscription, as he has ever written on the faces of sinners. Nothing but mending his ways will help the sinner. It is an account which he has to square with offended Nature. It remains for him alone to take heed of this "God's admonition," and to avoid the threatening consequences by restoring the harmony of his own constitution which he has disturbed. Nobody can tell him how to do it, for nobody knows—nor has anybody a right to inquire—why these marks have been engraven on him. Prayer will not help him, for actions and not words have been the cause of these "God's marks."

Do you notice that man who leads an isolated life? He shuns the noise of the world and brings a sense of mistrust and cheerlessness into the hearts of those who come into contact with him. It is because he yields to his fancies and notions which are in discord with the social order and with the natural feelings of his human heart. If he will apply his ideas to action, the laws of social organization will punish him. If he is a coward and has not the courage to bring his thoughts into action, isolation and a feeling of estrangement will gnaw at his life. But his sickness is known to him alone; let him make peace with the order of society at the cost of his egotism and he will be restored to society, and the blessings of social life will be his reward.

Every one of us here has some hidden thought, the memory of some hidden actions, which he is afraid to make known to society. He feels that they are or were in discord with the harmony of the whole. Let every one of us therefore apply the cure which a clear knowledge of what is good and harmonious

with the rest will dictate to him, and escape the punishment which threatens him. This is the fear of the Lord, and its beneficial results are peace and harmony with all, good will towards all. The feelings of fear or shame which we have at the thought of our wrong actions becoming known are the admonitions of God himself. They tell us where the wrong is and how it is to be mended. And every man, worthy of the name, is his own spiritual guide in this respect.

"May it be so that your fear of the Lord be equal to your fear of men!" was the last blessing which a dying Rabbi bestowed on his disciples. "The man with whom men are pleased is also the spirit of God pleased," is the wise saying of another Rabbi. "Every punishment that comes upon a man is the consequence of a lack of enlightenment," says a third Rabbi.

"Let us search our ways, and inquire deeply, and return to the Eternal," is the admonition of the prophet. Storm in harvest-time, irregularity in the working of the elements, was Samuel's evidence of sin. I could multiply quotations to show how Judaism teaches that sin and punishment, the admonition of God and the reconciliation of the sinner, are in this world and of this world. We can perceive them with our senses or understand their nature by analogy, and mend ourselves by an honest application of thought to action. Thus God has made known his will by the laws on which he has fixed the order of the universe. May we always listen to that voice of God, and of Eternal Existence, in the light of truth and in the bliss of harmony with all, and heavenly peace will be our portion in the bosom of our Father, who is "the place of the universe." Amen.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

THE SCIENCE OF UNIVERSOLOGY.

BY STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

The discussion, in THE INDEX (closed with the issue of August 10, 1876), between Mr. Benjamin R. Tucker and myself, in respect to Proudhon, leads to the opportunity, and in some sense to the necessity, for an attempt to give to the readers of THE INDEX some fair understanding of the nature of universo-logy. Col. William B. Greene, who has been alluded to by both Mr. Tucker and myself, and for whom, as one of our first minds, I have the utmost esteem, as the friend of Mr. Tucker, requests of me, in a card in THE INDEX of September 7, to make such a presentation; and to this course the editor of THE INDEX has kindly added his own personal invitation. So encouraged, I will endeavor to do what is required of me, fully aware of the difficulty of the effort to assign to a "condensed statement" what would more appropriately be the burden of a text-book.

Condensed statements are far advanced and severe thinkers, and the majority of the readers of a journal even so elevated in rank as THE INDEX can hardly, it is probable, be classed in the latter category. Considering, therefore, that I can hardly hope for an appreciation of what I shall have to expound from more than a portion of those to whom it will be tendered, I shall carefully avoid any abuse of the privilege accorded to me, even at the risk of some misapprehension from the want of more elaboration.

For the merely preliminary statement of what universo-logy is, the reader is referred to the last half of my reply to Mr. Tucker (INDEX August 10). That statement will enable the reader to know about the subject. But to know about a thing is one thing, and to know the thing itself is quite another thing. I am now to undertake to enable one to know universo-logy itself in some measure,—still, however, a very primary and incipient sense; to give to the reader that insight at least which will enable him to judge whether it is the kind of thing which it would interest him to pursue further, by the study of the more extended expositions contained in books published and to be published on the subject. I must, at the same time, however, occupy a portion of the very limited space which I feel is assigned to me, in simple declaration of the true nature and immense scope and value of this new sciento-philosophy. If I had my readers in class, as an organized university, held by any considerations to the exhaustive study of the whole subject, it might be more logical, and it might seem to be more modest, to leave them to come to their own conclusions, in due time, as to the applications and true estimate of what I have to teach; but grown people are no longer children, to be set to their tasks, irrespective of their own judgment of the ulterior uses and value of what they are to be taught. The propounder of new truth for them, has the double task of imparting the knowledge, and of maintaining the interest of the learners through the preliminary drudgery, by assurances and by encouragements drawn from an occasional picture of the charms of the new realm into which their laborious first steps are about to induct them.

In the article I have alluded to, I have spoken of universo-logy as a method in science and philosophy. It is, in fact, all of these,—a method, a science, and a philosophy; and, as it is more specifically a philosophy within and of the sciences, it is also best described by the new coinage, sciento-philosophy. It will be best, perhaps, to begin by considering it as a method, and by contrasting it inferentially with the methods which have hitherto prevailed.

Swedenborg speaks of continuous degrees, and of discrete degrees; and of the former as lower, and of the latter as higher, in rank. A continuous degree, in the progress of thought, would be the farther on evolution, and the greater perfection of knowledge, by a process or method already initiated, pursued, and prevalently known. A discrete degree, in this domain, would be the discovery of a fresh initiation, and the inauguration of a new method. Universo-logy is a discrete degree, or differs, in this manner, by

a discrete degree, from everything which has been known as science or philosophy in the past, and must stand or fall upon its own merits. The first thing, therefore, of which the inquirer is to be warned, is that he must avoid confounding it with a mere expansion of something which he already knows. He must consent to study it on its own grounds; and for that purpose must begin by acquiring some insight into its domain and its method.

The domain covered by universo-logy, in the first instance, is as new as the method, and is one which has been overlooked and neglected by the thinkers of all schools. I say, in the first instance, because when it has been elaborated, on its own ground, and in its own way, it then invades the fields of all past thinkers; surveys them by new and improved instruments of measurement; accepts, rehabilitates and perfects all old systems; annexes them to the new, and ends in a grand reconciliation of all human conceptions. It is, then, the philosophy of reconciliation or integralism. We need, therefore, to begin by defining the peculiar domain of universo-logy, as well as its method; and, in so primary an exhibit as this, it will not be necessary to keep them formally distinct.

As to domain and method conjointly, suppose, then, that we take our departure from Hegel. He divides the universe, as the totality of the subject-matter of human contemplation, into three grand departments or domains. These are (disposing them in our own order, not his), 1. Nature; 2. Mind (or human nature); and 3. (an intermediate) "Logic," the domain of Laws and Principles. In other words, there is first an outer or objective world, the domain of physics in the largest of the senses ever attached to that overloaded and overworked technicality; in a word the domain of "Nature," occupied by that whole immense army of investigators who strive to arrogate to themselves the name of scientists; hence the region of science or the sciences, excluding psychology. There is, then, secondly, Mind, expanding vaguely into metaphysics, or that which is beyond or aside from physics, and especially including and allied with psychology, or mental philosophy. Thirdly, there is the intermediate or third realm, called "Logic," for the want of a better name, but meaning a thousand times more than school logic, which is hardly more than a branch of the mere science of mind; somewhat as common salt, having given its name to "the salts," in chemistry, proves to be no salt at all, itself.

There are, then, we may say, three worlds: 1. An objective or outer world, called "nature"; 2. A subjective or inner world, called "mind"; and 3. A middle, intangible, abstract world, more difficult of appreciation, called "logic," being the domain of the pure reason, of laws and principles, or of abstract truth and truths, which are neither the outer world of nature nor the inner world of mind merely as such.

Let us conceive these three worlds after this manner: I look at my face in a mirror. The image which I see, apparently back of the mirror, may stand for Nature. It is my objective world. I, myself, who cast the image, may stand for mind. I am my own subjective world. But intermediate between the subject and the object, which have grown to be familiar terms in philosophy, there is a third object, so limpid and level that it is invisible to the eye of the ordinary observer, and goes for nothing; while yet it is that object itself, the mirror, which by its peculiar properties is the central and main functionator in the whole scene. The mirror is, then, the analogue of that intermediate world, poorly described as logic, and which is the peculiar home and seat of transcendental science and philosophy, and, in the last analysis, of everything which is entitled to the name of either science or philosophy.

It is this which is peculiarly the realm of German or the so-called transcendental metaphysics, a domain which, so far from being exhausted (as our superficial sciolists in science would make us believe), is only just opened up or initiated by those greatest thinkers who have ever lived in the past, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, worthily supplemented by our own Stallo, Hickok, and the Frothinghams. The glare of material successes in the world of "science" obscures, just for the present, the more solid values of absolute philosophy, somewhat as the vulgar *nouveaux riches* temporarily bedazzle and obscure the higher-style merits of a true aristocracy.

"Nature," or matter, is then objective; "mind" is subjective; and "logic" is intermediate. These three items of discrimination answer to or correspond with the meanings of the three universalizing prepositional words *out*, *without*, or *outside of*, *in*, *within*, or *inside of*, and *between*. Hegel begins with the *between*, as origin, and proceeds to the *without*, from which he reverts to the *within*. I have chosen to change the order, for our present purposes, so far as to begin with the *without*, proceed thence to the *within*, and revert to the *between*. Betweenness is relation; and the science of relation, abstractly and universally, is logic, in the broad Hegelian sense of the word. The relational department of grammar is the prepositional; and the universal summing up or generalization of the prepositions of grammar occurs in and as between the three prepositional words, *without* (outside of), *within*, and *between*. This is why we are conducted by Hegel's first grand distribution of the universe to this seemingly minute and trivial domain, the prepositions, and to a particular group of them; and this kind of connection between great things and small may give a suggestion of the scope and character of universo-logy.

Observe, in the next place, that two of these three worlds, or departments of universal being, can be thrown into a single class as distinct in kind from the third one; and so a binary division substituted for the ternary one. Matter and mind, the objective and the subjective, are alike, or constitute one class, in the fact that they are both concrete (grown to

gether), thick, or real-like, as having body or substance; while logic, the intermediate realm, is abstract (drawn asunder), thin, filmy, or unreal-like. It is this bifold distribution which Herbert Spencer adopts as the basis of the total classification of the sciences, placing matter and mind, or universal physics and psychology, in one class as "the concrete," and the abstract domain, on the other hand, as "the abstract." Hegel in distributing the universe, and Spencer in distributing the sciences, are dealing virtually with the same subject-matter, since every domain or department of being is represented in or by the science of that domain; and with this mere change from the threefold to the twofold first branching, they two are brought into harmony with each other. It will be a great convenience if I may be allowed to be so technical as to call "the concrete" by the new term concretism, and "the abstract" by the corresponding new term abstractism, this termination *-ism* being taken, as by German usage, to denote a domain, or as equivalent to our English termination *-dom*.

The abstractism is then, as a whole, what Hegel means to cover by the term logic, including as he does quantity and its science, mathematics, under that head, as a branch of logic. Here again, however, Spencer differs, and divides the abstractism into (1) logic, and (2) the mathematics. These and a thousand other disharmonies among philosophers, in the extension of their terms or the meanings of words, hinder and discourage the student even more than the difficulty of the ideas; and it is part of the need of a universo-logy, that it should remove these obstacles, and bring order out of chaos, as between the several achievements of its predecessors, in the whole field of knowledge.

The science of the concretism we may now call concretology, and the science of the abstract, abstractology; and we may say, inversely, that the concretism subdivides into "nature," (or matter) and "mind"; as the abstractism does into logic, in the Spencerian sense, and the mathematics. It is obvious, therefore, that the twofold, the threefold, and the fourfold method of distribution can each be justified, a fact admirably demonstrated by Proudhon, in his *Création de l'Ordre*; but he has not shown, as it belongs to universo-logy to do, the precise plan, properties, and values of each of these methods, and their relations to each other, in an absolutely exhaustive classificatory system. It will suffice here if I call attention to the fact that these varying orders of the division of things necessarily relate to the series of primal number, one, two, three, four,—one being taken for the undistributed totality; and if I affirm that in the relations of these first numbers lies the nut of all classification, then, we have the authority of Mr. John Fluke for the dictum that "all knowledge is classification."

The *without*, the *within*, and the *between*, taken merely as words, are, as I have said, prepositions; more strictly speaking, spatial prepositions, passing readily into adverbs of place; but as ideas, they are geometrical, or more properly morphological, discriminations, and the most general or universalizing possible discriminations of that class; that is to say, of the statu or spatial, which is the governing order. We are thus carried back of words to the realm of form, for the objective source of those grand primal divisions which make the basis of Hegel's philosophy, and which are, in truth, the appropriate primal divisions of the universe, and so, in a sense, to the bottom region of philosophy.

But neither Hegel nor any of the philosophers has traced either these or any other of their fundamental discriminations into their relation with words, or forms (figures, diagrams), or with any objective realm whatsoever. They have brought them, therefore, to no objective tests, which would determine how far they were right; would correct them when wrong; and would serve as means of facilitating the acquisition and right understanding of the ideas themselves. Metaphysics or philosophy has thus remained a something apart from all objective or properly scientific knowledge; true, perhaps, but disconnected with real things, and only attainable by a class of minds which could hold bald, naked ideas before the mind, analyzing and combining them in a thousand ways, unaided by the slightest reference to anything tangible by the senses.

Universo-logy differs precisely at this point, and holds no idea to be constituted into a term of true knowledge, until it can be construed into its appropriate objective representations. It brings the abstruse and far-off truths of metaphysical philosophy out and down into the realm of common knowledge by means of their analogy with common things. Inversely, it refers all common things by the same analogy, back to those logical and metaphysical counterparts in the realm of pure ideas. It is, therefore, a unification of science and philosophy, a lifting of science and the sciences into unity, by the discovery of their fundamental and unifying principles; and on the other hand a *scientizing* of philosophy by bringing it forward into the details of all the sciences. In a word, universo-logy is neither philosophy, in its former purely abstruse and metaphysical significance, nor science, in that lower sense which excludes metaphysics; but it is a new and third thing, which by a new and simple and far-reaching discovery bridges over the wide chasm which has hitherto separated science and philosophy; constituting first a universal and all-inclusive one science, and then identifying it with logic in the Hegelian sense, and so again with metaphysics in the more generic and indiscriminate meaning of the word. Hence the term sciento-philosophy seems requisite to describe it; a term which also, in a less specific sense, is applicable to the generalizations of science made by Comte, Spencer, Haeckel, and others.

Let us now return to the threefold distribution of

the universe, substantially equivalent to that of Hegel. For the two extremes we may say matter and mind, or the objective and the subjective,—the two sets of terms not being synonymous, but sufficiently nearly so, for this incipient allusion. For the middle or intermediate realm we have already before us a variety of expressions or namings; thus logic (Hegel), the abstract (Spencer), abstractology, and, as that which is most simple and most certainly right, the betweenity, or the between.

This realm of the abstract, as including a group of the sciences, Prof. Louis Elsberg, in his classification of the sciences, denominates "logics," he recommending the termination -tes, for the abstract sciences in the place of -ology, which he reserves for the concrete, and Prof. Michael A. Clancy, a pupil and teacher of the universological school, insists on the single word "language" for this department of being, in that immensely large sense in which it signifies all intermediation and communication whatsoever, whether vocal or otherwise. He may be inclined to intervene in this discussion, so far as to give his reasons for this preference, amounting with him to a fixed opinion based on universological grounds.

In this latter view of the case, this first threefold distribution of universal things is greatly simplified, and is merely to be stated as (1) matter, (2) mind, and (3) language. It may be appropriate to state here, that the first specific outgrowth of universology is a universal language—*Alwato* (Ahl-wah-to),—the immense scope of which seems fully to justify Prof. Clancy's idea that language fills the entire domain intermediate between matter and mind.

But setting aside this latter view, for the present, and confining ourselves to the term abstractism, as naming the domain of this betweenity, it in turn divides, not with Spencer and Elsberg into two merely, but into three grand subordinate domains; the lowest of which, repeating "nature" or matter, is catalogic, or the whole grammatica-logical domain; dipping backward more especially into the science of mind, the middle one of which is mathematics, repeating the betweenity; and the third or highest one of which is analogic, the new abstract science which universology brings to light, and which leans rather to the outer or material world, while yet originating subjectively, and repeating mind.

It now appears that mathematics is the *middle* of the betweenity; and, as such, it is peculiarly the central, germinal, or origivative sphere of universal being. Universology pivots, therefore, upon mathematical discriminations. The primal differences of number and form furnish the type for all true classification, whether of matter or mind. The middle ground yields the new clew to the acquisition of all knowledge. This is the new domain, and departure from it the new method referred to. "Science" finds in matter the field for its spacial exertitation; philosophy in mind, and its allied metaphysical domain,—even the logic of Hegel more strictly falls here, though I began by conceding it the middle ground; and the true betweenity, or the middle ground proper, is this new domain of thought and being, which holds tenaciously to mathematical analogies; and sciento-philosophy belongs, strictly speaking, to this realm.

I have so far, therefore, merely conducted my "condensed statement" to its proper beginning-point. In another article, which I hope may not be long delayed, I will endeavor to make obvious what I mean by the mathematical analogies, and to give such illustrations as to render the general field of analogic comprehensible.

Proudhon, in the work I have alluded to, made a noteworthy effort to bring the abstrusities of philosophy out into the clearness of scientific expression; but he came short of making the definite discovery of the virtual identity between the broadest speculative discriminations, and the simplest, most immediate, and most specific of mathematical differences.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

ORGANIZATION OF LIBERALS.

I am waiting with a good deal of interest to see what response will be made to the call for immediate and thorough organization of liberals, and I am sure, whatever may be the precise danger of impending legislation on the school question the coming winter, we cannot be too quick nor too much in earnest about it. In the first place, we have already in the field against us a large, active, well-organized, and well-disciplined foe, untiring in effort, relentless in purpose, and evidently not scrupulous in methods. In addition to the organization of the National Reform Association, the movers of that scheme have practically in their hands the working machinery of the entire Protestant Church. The members of the National Reform Association are the active portion of that Church concerning these questions. The remainder, if they do not actively join the Association, yet fail to indicate any preference for the secular side, and so by a passive neutrality put the entire representation into the hands of the active few. If a million active voters vote yea on a given scheme, and a remaining ten or fifteen million keep silent with shut mouth, it is but fair in logic and in fact to infer that the voting million represent the whole number; and this in effect is always done.

It is also to be noted that nearly every resolution of the passive element in the Church throws that element into the active ranks of the Association. The conversion of a neutral church member is seldom to the support of the secular State, but usually the reverse; and the fact is one of the most significant signs of the times, indicating imminent danger. So long as the balance of sentiment seemed to hang nearly even in the Church, inclining little one way or

the other, there was possible ground for hope that, when the movement came, it would be on the secular side; but now, since such movement begins to show itself clearly on the other side, the ultimate preponderance can no longer be in doubt. The downward movement is already begun, and the motion is now sure to find constant acceleration, like that of all falling bodies, until it reaches bottom.

The constituency of the National Reform Association are almost wholly inside the Protestant Church, and the Protestant pulpit stands open as a direct avenue through which that constituency can be reached. Nearly if not quite all the agents of the Association are accredited ministers in that pulpit, and find therein easy and welcome access. The appeal made falls directly into line with the average instruction of the pulpit. The logic of the National Reform Association and the logic of the pulpit, as has so often been pointed out in *THE INDEX*, are absolutely one. In both, the same motives and the same fears are appealed to, the same alarm cry raised, the same passions stirred, the same ambitions excited, and the same duties enforced. The constituency inside the Church are only awaiting the demands of a clear, practical issue to fall into line as active members of the Association, and as an aggressive party against the secular interests of the State and against all personal rights therein involved. It is a party that will be found well trained and thoroughly armed and equipped for its work.

The liberal sentiment of the country cannot cope with this active and organized foe without an active and organized constituency of its own. A few isolated, single-handed liberals cannot do it. It is a movement that cannot be talked or reasoned down. The day of argument has passed by on that side. It has come down entirely from that field of controversy. In the field of thought and before the bar of reason, the movement has lost its case already in advance, and is more or less conscious of the fact. One advantage, however, remains in its hands. It has a strong hold upon many organized institutions which still occupy more or less the public ground. These institutions are held by the assumed rights of possession, and are henceforth to be defended on these grounds. It is now a question of might and a question of numbers, and not any longer a question of argument or of reason.

The aggressiveness of the movement is to be pushed forward on the same grounds, and there is no resistance against it which can avail, except the resistance of right and reason backed by organized might. We are utterly defenceless on the existing field of controversy without organization. The controversy is pushed forward into the field of politics and civil life, and is to be determined by the majority of organized numbers. The Legislature of the country has no way of knowing the will of the people except by counting votes, and unorganized votes cannot be counted. The attempt of Republican Senators to vote away the rights of liberals under the defeated school amendment, with such supreme unconsciousness of a single liberal in the country in whom such rights inhered, grew out of the fact that liberals as such have no sign by which to make their presence known. And since liberals themselves are so little conscious of their own rights in this matter, Republican Senators are not to be too much blamed for their deficiency. There is no possible representation on the field of controversy in which our rights are now sought to be invaded, except an organized one, and the sooner we organize as liberals to defend them, the better will our own appreciation of those rights be shown, and as a consequence the better will be the recognition of them by others. He that will be free must strike the first blow himself, and nobody will take up the liberal cause until liberals take it up for themselves.

There is another reason for the immediate organization of liberals in a fact which is likely to be taken by many minds as an occasion for delay of such action. I refer to the covert and indirect character of the movement against us in its initiatory steps towards realization upon the field of politics and civil life. This covert and indirect character is already illustrated in the Bible clause of the defeated school amendment above referred to, and is likely to find more ample illustration in many ways in the progress of the controversy. The National Reform Association have an issue, it is true, direct and open enough; but that issue is not likely to find its way into the national life, full-grown in form and feature at the outset. It is more likely to come in, if at all, by piecemeal, and to gain at first some indirect and covert advantage. This will become the stepping-stone to more direct and open ones, and so by gradual acquisitions the whole object will be accomplished. This is the natural history of all incipient movements, and is not likely to be disproved in this case more than in another.

It is to be remembered, also, in this connection, that it is the *absolute secular entirety* of the National Constitution which is the one great impeding obstacle in way of the success of the whole Christianizing scheme; and that entirety can be broken more easily by indirection than otherwise, and quite as effectively. The scheme has now the entire logic of the Church, as already indicated, on its side. It has also the logic of a vast number of national precedents and customs, and the logic of many State constitutions and State laws. Many of these constitutions and laws would need little change to carry into effect the whole Christian amendment, should it pass the National Legislature. Many more could make little difference, after that result had been accomplished. All these facts are accumulated in a strong argument in favor of that amendment. The National Constitution, however, in its absolute secular entirety, remains forever a complete and absolute rebuttal of the whole array. This is seen and keenly felt, and

how to break the force of that rebuttal is the one thing first in hand. The popular reverence for the Constitution as it stands largely in the way of any direct accomplishment of that object; and so through indirect effort the end must be sought. *THE INDEX* has shown that the indirect Bible clause of the school amendment would have effected that end. Many another indirection will accomplish it just as well. One severed link makes a broken chain as soon as another. Whatever gives the Christian scheme a foothold in the National Constitution gives it command of the whole structure. Its absolute secular entirety is gone, and its defence of secular rights goes with it. There cannot be a too diligent watchfulness nor a too diligent exposure of every step of that invasion, however indirect and covert it may be. That watchfulness and exposure cannot be had without organization to keep the public mind alert and active both to watch and to do. No individual voice or pen can reach all over the land to instruct or expose. It is only by organized cooperation that the work can be done thoroughly and completely.

Another consideration follows on the heels of this. It is evidently the purpose of the Christian movement to effect, if possible, an invasion of the Constitution before the public mind can be thoroughly aroused against it. At a recent local meeting held in the interests of the movement, a speaker confessed it as his conviction that, if the sentiment at large in the country could find expression, it would demand the withdrawal of the Bible from the public schools. The point to be enforced by that confession was that the Bible should be securely established there by enacted law before such sentiment found expression. Every delay of organization of liberals delays the expression of that sentiment, and so makes possible the success of that measure. Every consideration demands immediate organization. Without it liberals are weak and defenceless. With it they are strong with little to fear.

Organization is not an easy task. It cannot be effected without a cost of time, labor, and money; and oftentimes, where the liberal sentiment is weak and the opposite strong and prevailing, cannot be effected without cost of reputation and social standing. But the difficulties in the way only add urgency to the necessity of immediate action. The liberal cause will not gain strength by inaction, while social pressure and other obstacles in the way of organization are likely to grow stronger and stronger by every delay. The weak need the help of the strong in this enterprise, and at whatever cost; but one thing in right and reason remains for liberals to do. That is, to join hands in a common cause and for a common defence all round the land.

ZERAH MASTERS.

WAUPACA, WIS.

BULGARIAN ATROCITIES.

THE RESULT OF CHRISTIAN CRUELTY TO MOHAMMEDANS.—THE THREE GREAT RACES AND THEIR RELATIONS.

Rev. Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, who has been for a number of years identified with the missionary cause in various parts of the Turkish Empire, including Bulgaria, and who has therefore had good opportunities to use his faculties as a keen observer of events, is now in Boston, and talks freely and frankly of affairs in the East of Europe, as well as of the political attitude of the three great races of that section of the globe towards one another. In a conversation a day or two ago he threw some light upon the Bulgarian atrocities, committed in the early part of the summer, which, in the interest of fair play to all concerned, it may not be amiss to record for general information. He says these atrocities could in no sense be set down as the immediate consequences of religious fanaticism on the part of the Mohammedans, but rather the result of remote causes combined in the subjugation and expatriation of the mountaineers of the Caucasus by the Russian government. After a most gallant resistance of some thirty years to the immense power of Russia, the brave Circassians were at length subjugated, and, about the years 1862 or 1863, from five hundred thousand to six hundred thousand of these people—men, women, and children—departed from Bulgaria, determined never to submit to Russian rule,—driven into exile by merciless conquerors. It is said that by the time these unfortunate people reached the western shore of the Black Sea, fully one-half their number had succumbed to the disease and hardships incident to that movement. They were Mohammedans, and had learned by bitter experience what Russian intolerance meant, and with them Russian intolerance was synonymous with Christian intolerance. The Russians had surrounded parties of them with troops, forced them into lakes and other waters, where the Greek priests seized on and immersed them in baptism, and then hung crosses on their necks as a token of conversion. But such forced change did not work conviction in the minds of these people, but rather embittered them against all Christians.

The remnants of the expatriated Circassians settled in Bulgaria, where the Turkish government gave them lands, agricultural implements, and in other ways assisted them to supply their immediate wants and make provision for the future. It is true some of these new-comers may have taken to robbery as a means of subsistence, and the wonder is that there was not more of that kind of work carried on by men rendered desperate by oppression and starvation. The Circassians are naturally a hardy, brave, and warlike people, while the people among whom they settled were averse to war, peaceably inclined, and more agricultural in their tastes than anything else. But they were Greek Christians, and as such, in common with most people holding the same doctrines, were in sympathy with nearly all Russian intrigues having for their object the dismemberment of the

Turkish Empire. The fact of the Russian political and religious systems being so closely allied, and even identified, has always made it easy work for that great nation to keep alive a spirit of discontent among the heterogeneous peoples composing the Turkish Empire, and to use the same in furtherance of her known object of subjugation and absorption. Russia, to make the pursuit of her cherished policy one of well-defined regulation, appoints two sets of consuls for Turkey,—one having a business character, and the other political entirely. Her spies and secret agents permeate the whole land, and are all the time in active employment. The Turkish people are generally patriotic, but some of their leading men have no patriotism. This latter class may be said to be possibly, at least, in the interest of Russia. In other words, the men composing it form a very powerful element in favor of Russian designs and against Turkish nationality. It is the old idea carried out of dividing to conquer, and Russia would not hesitate for a moment to array Turk against Christian or Christian against Turk if it would further her designs in the least.

As the present war in the East is altogether the result of Russian intrigue, let us see how the Bulgarian atrocities are related to it. Simultaneously with the declaration of war by Serbia against Turkey it was arranged by Russian agents that, among other points, there should be a rising among the Christian population of Bulgaria. The more intelligent Bulgarians, and those who were conservative and inclined to peace—and these comprised the great majority of that people,—had no sympathy with such an enterprise, and even opposed it in a quiet way. But a certain number of the population, including the most wild and reckless of the young men, were in the plot and ready to strike when the time came. This time was set in May last, and was to be simultaneous with the declaration of war by Serbia. The time arrived, but the latter power failed to declare war then. The Bulgarians, however, not knowing of this failure, carried out their part of the programme, and raided on the unfortunate Circassians—the only Mohammedans in easy reach,—destroying about twelve of their villages, and killing some two hundred or three hundred of their people. This aroused the slumbering spirit of revenge against the Christians in the Circassian breast, and this warlike people, being supplied with arms by the Turkish authorities and told to protect themselves—perhaps in some cases being unofficially prompted to retaliate for the wrongs they had suffered,—rose en masse and made terrible havoc among the Bulgarian people, slaughtering from ten thousand to twelve thousand of them, and destroying from fifty to sixty of their villages. Thus, though but a comparatively small number of the Bulgarian people took part in or sympathized with the rising incited by the Russian agents, they suffered indiscriminately for that ill-advised movement; and thus, though the most terrible work of slaughter was done by Mohammedans, it was by a portion of them that had suffered everything but death from Christian brutality, and not by a people who lived as neighbors and merely differed in religion. If there was any religious fanaticism displayed in the business, it was on the part of the Bulgarians; but even they are to be excused when we know the agency which moved them in the business.

On the general subject of European politics Dr. Hamlin talks very clearly. He is convinced that the struggle which Russia has made for over eight hundred years for possession of the Bosphorus is not yet given up, but, if anything, more determinedly pursued than ever. The attitude of the other great races in Europe, however, necessitates greater caution in carrying out these designs. It may, indeed, be said that the conviction exists among the most intelligent Russians that only disintegration of the Turkish Empire will give the proper opportunity for acquiring the coveted dominion. Regularly organized invasion, they know, will encounter the united opposition of both the Germanic and Latin peoples, who would view in the success of any such enterprise a predominance of the Slavonic race that would be dangerous to the independence of both. Hence the efforts in another direction. But even were this not a serious objection to armed invasion, the state of the Russian government finances is such as to preclude the idea of any desire for war on the part of her emperor and his advisers. Therefore, it is assumed that, even while there is always a likelihood of trouble in the Turkish Empire and principalities, there is little immediate prospect of a general war taking place. The German peoples stand between the Latin and Slave races, and can, therefore, hold the balance of power between them. The Germanic interest is most intimately combined with that of the Latin race in keeping Russia out of the control of the Mediterranean Sea. Once give the latter power free access to this sea by her fleets, and she can control Europe. Her fleets could dash out at all times, and carry destruction to the heart of Europe, while the place from whence they would emanate would be remote and practically unassailable. This is the fear that will make Germany a unit with England and with the Latin nations in preserving the outlet of the Black Sea to a neutral power. Russian influence is ever operating to neutralize everything that England proposes to Turkey, and has thereby prevented many wise reforms from being adopted; but the struggle will only be thus prolonged, and the designs of Russia—if to be ever accomplished—retarded in their fulfillment.—*Boston Globe, Oct. 2.*

THE ONLY Divine revelation which we recognize as true is written everywhere in Nature, and to every one with healthy senses and a healthy reason it is given to participate in the unerring revelation of this holy temple of Nature, by his own inquiry and independent discovery.—*Haeckel.*

Poetry.

[For THE INDEX.]

THE HERETIC PIETRO.

[The sketch which follows is based upon facts which actually occurred in Florence not long since. Such a society of protective Liberals exists there now.—J. L. S.]

In that fair city on the Tuscan plain,
Girt by soft hills and fields of waving grain,
Through whose old walls the Arno glides along,
Its banks reschoing with the glad song
Which from Italian lips comes blithe and clear
As flute-like music to the listening ear;
In fair Firenze, famed for noble men,
Who, skilled alike with chisel, brush, and pen,
Have given it most marvellous renown,
And shed rare glory o'er their native town,—
There where the dawn first broke on Europe's sight
After the gloomy darkness of that night
Which wrapped the world upon the fall of Rome,
And made for vice and ignorance a home,—
There whence the genius of a Dante sprung
To found in strength and beauty that rich tongue
Which now adorns great Ariosto's page
And Tasso's verses, and in later age
Held the keen wit of comical Goldoni
And the pure style of eloquent Manzoni,—
There whence arose the vast, Protean mind
Of Leonardo, who in truth combined
The painter, sculptor, architect in one,
Nor yet in music could be e'er outdone,
But shone alike in revelry at Court
And in researches of the deepest thought,—
There where immortal Angelo had birth
Whose fame remains unequalled upon earth,
Whose genius hung the "Pantheon in air,"
And whose Titanic statues proudly bear
The seal of inspiration so sublime
That it but grows more clear by lapse of time,—
In Florence, where Boccaccio sang of love
And Brunellesco reared his dome above
The checkered marble of that mighty shrine
Where grace and majesty so well combine,—
There where the mighty Galileo scanned
The starry skies, when by the priesthood banned,
Accused, and persecuted for the truth
Which now is learned by every modern youth,—
There where Cellini carved with silvered skill,
And great Giotto wrought in bronze, until
Such gates he formed, so perfect and precise,
That they were fit for doors of Paradise,—
There whence the cunning Machiavelli sprung
And Andrea del Sarto, who among
The painters of the Holy group ranks high,
Amerigo Vespucci too, whose eye
First saw the main-land to which still adheres
His Christian name despite the lapse of years,—
In Florence where the great Reformer dwelt
Whose life was blameless, and whose tones could melt
And sway at will those fickle Tuscan minds,
Who yet could give his ashes to the winds,—
In this fair city, fruitful of the Great,
In times more recent, and indeed so late
As five or six years since, there lived a man
Near to the bank where lordly Arno ran,
By name Pietro, destined to a place
Among the benefactors of his race.
His was a noble heart and active mind;
A soul more generous one could scarcely find;
He was an advocate and used his skill,
Which was not small, to remedy earth's ill,
To aid the good, and help as best he might
The hard-disputed triumphs of the Right.
He had been born in Florence, and well reared
By one whom all the citizens revered,
His father, good Lorenzo, who 'twas known
Could make a violin of purer tone
Than any other workman in the town,
And thus had gained legitimate renown.
Lorenzo was no scholar, did not look
From one day's dawn to another in a book;
His labor well performed, he was content,
And went to Vespere, took the sacrament,
Prayed for poor Pio Nono in his cell
Devoted all those wicked men to hell
Who kept poor Pio short of wine and jelly,
And even prayed for saintly Antonelli!
But his own son, Pietro, mockingly
Scoffed at "poor Pio's" feigned captivity,
Laughed at the tale of dungeon, chain, and straw,
And asked what guard stood at the papal door
Save Pio's own Swiss soldiery in yellow,
Who made a show of guarding the old fellow?
Much worse than this, Lorenzo's heart was grieved
To hear his son declare he'd been deceived,
Deluded, duped already now too long
By those vile priests whose conduct was as wrong
As their false creed on superstitions based,
Which in all thoughtful minds was now replaced
By broader, nobler truths, by which he saw
How grossly he had been misled before.
It was in vain that good Lorenzo prayed,
And called the Holy Virgin to his aid;
In vain he strove to change his son's condition
And warned him that he hastened to perdition,
Hopelessly doomed to endless punishment,
If he turned sceptic and ate meat in Lent.
Pietro pointed out what bloody strife,
What reckless disregard of human life,
Had marked the Church's history and stained
The Papal annals, and what triumphs gained
By evil over good, what dark array

Of dreadful persecutions, from the day
When first the Church through Constantine gained power,
Came down the ages to the present hour!
Pietro was a scholar, and could read
Books which had shown him what a hollow creed
Was that which had been taught him in his youth,
And made him stand forth manfully for Truth.
The German language, whose harsh accents hung
Like heavy weights upon his Southern tongue,
He yet could read, and from it power drew;
He studied well its critics, and he knew
The rise and growth of doctrines, and the way
In which they had descended to his day.
He saw with indignation the fierce hate
With which the Church had struggled to abate
The influence of science, whose pure light
Had steadily dispersed the dreary blight
Of superstition's miserable reign
With long continued evils in its train.
Pietro was not silent. Long enough,
He said, the world had fed upon the stuff
Which priests had manufactured for its diet,
And meantime murdered men to keep them quiet.
He taught his liberal doctrines far and wide,
And thoughtful men came over to his side.
In time he stood the leader of a school
Detecting naught so much as priestly rule.
Unsparringly they criticised away
The myth-sprung stories of an early day,
The silly miracles of this decade,
The bare-faced frauds of relics lately made,
And contradictions in "old mother church"
Which gave infallibility the lurch.
The maddened priests of Italy combined
By every means their subtlety could find
To crush Pietro and his liberal band,
And tried to have them banished from the land.
But still, in spite of hate, the Liberals grew
In numbers and in strength, and overthrew
The plots devised repeatedly to crush them,
And spoke more boldly as men tried to hush them.
When suddenly their leader and their pride,
Pietro, sickened and in three days died.

Lorenzo's grief was terrible to see,
For he had loved him spite of heresy.
He was his only child, and ere his death
He prayed and pleaded till his latest breath
That God would yet be merciful and spare
An old man's son, and tore his thin, white hair.
But now the priests, like vultures near their prey,
Came prowling round that form of lifeless clay,
And gave out word, whereat the city started,
That at his death Pietro had imparted
To Fra Silvestro, much to his relief,
A recantation of his unbelief.
Great was the joy that now through Florence flew;
Religious bigots overbearing grew,
And said, "Did I not tell you? Ha! at death
No heretic dares render up his breath
Without recanting what he knows to be
A mass of wickedness and falsity!"
Pietro's form was carried in great state
With a vast retinue of small and great,
All covered with white gowns and holding tapers,
(Thus furnishing employment for the drapers),
To the cathedral, where to the great crowd,
Which through the service stood with faces bowed,
A Frate spoke. He said that the deceased
Had now from sin and sorrow been released;
That he had been well known as one who had,
When living, criticised the Church as bad,
Reviled its precious doctrines of the past,
And on their history foul slanders cast;
But, thanks to God! when on his dying bed,
And when around his unrepentant head
Good and bad angels hovered in the air,
Contenting which should have him as their share,
The good ones conquered and the man relented,
The heretic Pietro had repented,
Recanted all, believed the Church's story,
And, dying then, had gone straight up to glory!
Loud was the following murmur of surprise,
Frequent the tears in many women's eyes,
As the good priest concluded his harangue;
When from the crowd an eager listener sprang.
"I say 'tis false! This priest has foully lied!
No man but I stood by Pietro's side;
I held his hand and watched him till he died;
No priest came near him till his life had fled,
And I had gone away and left him dead.
Of just this priestly scheme we had our fears,
And we, his friends, had sworn for many years
That, when one from our number came to die,
We would prevent this monkish jugglery.
Lorenzo knows the truth of what I say.
He knows full well that neither night nor day
Did we cease watching by Pietro's side;
Therefore again I say, this priest has lied!"
Great was the tumult which at once ensued;
Loud cries resounded, boisterous and rude
Against the priest whose lying trick had failed,
For at Silvano's words the monk had paled,
And hastily descended in the throng
And through the priests in silence passed along.
The crowd dispersed; the greater part withdrew
To the piazza, there to hear anew
And question of Silvano all the facts,
And learn with horror of such "holy" acts.
The attendant priests bore poor Pietro thence;
And, though they knew full well their false pretence,
Rather than yield as guilty of the crime,
They marched beside his corpse in measured time,
And buried him in consecrated ground;
No "holier" spot in Florence could be found!

Silvano took Pietro's vacant place,
And the Freethinkers' numbers grew apace.
But from that moment always took they care
To guard against this miserable snare
Of baffled priests, who strive at death to gain
The power which they in life could not retain,
And thus by death-bed stories fraught with terror
To keep their poor, deluded flock in error.

J. L. S.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 21.

J. A. Hentzelman, \$6.50; H. S. Mowry, 5 cents; F. T. Stuart, \$3.20; D. M. Bennett, 10 cents; Dr. Winston, \$3.30; Mrs. H. M. Bird, \$13.50; J. Ellenbaas, \$3.20; J. L. Hammett, \$3; W. C. McDonald, 80 cents; L. H. Stockbridge, \$3.30; Rebecca Johnson, 10 cents; S. C. Gale, \$3.75; A. N. Alcott, \$2.80; Mrs. J. H. Williams, \$3.20; C. F. Woods, \$3; B. Gardner, \$5; Joseph Beck, 75 cents; B. M. Smith, \$3.44.

The Index.

BOSTON, OCTOBER 26, 1876.

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TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

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tributors.

REMOVAL.

On and after October 1, 1876, the publication office of THE INDEX will be No. 231 Washington Street, Boston. Office hours will be from 10 A.M. to 3 P.M.

REV. ZERAH MASTERS contributes to this number of THE INDEX an article on the "Organization of Liberals" which we earnestly commend to the closest attention of every lover of religious liberty. It is in our opinion marked by very unusual insight and the clearest perception of the present position of affairs. Do not overlook it.

MR. ANDREWS, in response to the request of Col. William B. Greene published several weeks ago in THE INDEX, begins in this issue a condensed exposition of his philosophy, named by himself "Universonology." Mr. Andrews is recognized very generally as an acute and able metaphysical writer, and his articles (which will be published from time to time as suits his own convenience and ours) will interest those of our readers who desire to be well informed as to contemporary speculation on philosophical subjects.

THIS is what the *Nation* of October 12 says of Governor Hayes and the American Alliance: "The Democratic papers continue to make a good deal of Mr. Hayes' letter to the American Alliance, and try to make him out a know-nothing, which is probably the height of absurdity. Mr. Schurz has found it necessary to take up the subject on the stump and explain that the letter was probably a mere 'routine' letter, such as every politician writes to people who say they are ready to support him, and meant nothing. In our opinion, the moral to be drawn from the case is a slightly different one from that drawn by the newspapers of either party. The American Alliance is a political organization which has been in existence for some months, has held a Convention and drawn up a platform, which has been published in the newspapers, and which we some time since commented upon in these columns. Everybody in the country, therefore, had notice of its existence and of its character, particularly every one in public life, just as much as every one had of the existence of the Woman Suffragists, the Prohibitionists, or the Grangers, when those parties were first set on foot. Now, under these circumstances, whether the Alliance has a large membership or a small one, or whether Mr. L. S. Tyler, the Secretary, is a real person or a myth, is of little consequence; but it is of consequence that any one who receives a promise from them of political support, should, before thanking them and promising them 'coöperation,' make up his mind whether he wants their support or not, and whether they ought to have the 'coöperation' of his friends. Presidential candidates have no business to write 'routine' letters accepting nominations from people they do not know anything about, any more than Congressmen have a right to give 'routine' letters of recommendation to people whom they do not mean to recommend. Any one who wants to be a candidate of the American Alliance can be so; but, in that case, it is his business to tell us so, and not first accept their support and then assure us that it has no meaning. All proceedings of this kind have a tendency to increase the present prevailing disbelief in the meaning of all platforms, party professions and principles, and are on that account demoralizing." There is too much truth in this view of the case.

NOTICE.

On receipt of \$3.20, THE INDEX will be sent to any name not already on its mail-list, from the present time until January 1, 1878. This is an excellent opportunity for friends of the paper to increase its circulation among their acquaintances; and it is hoped that they will not neglect to render in this way some greatly-needed assistance to the important cause it represents.

PERSONALISM AND IDEALISM IN RELIGION.

When the practical difference between Christianity and Free Religion (by which we mean religion freed from all bondage to mere will, as such, whether human or superhuman) is traced down to its origin, we find that the former derives its vitality from a person, the latter from an idea. It is faith in what is called the "historical Christ," or the "Man-God," which has made the Christian Church a power in the world; and this is a person, supposed to be historical, though in fact to a large extent the unsuspected product of imagination. But it is impersonal devotion to what is called law—the law of truth and right, as such—which is making the "noble army" of freethinkers more than a match for all the serried hosts of the Church; and law is only an idea, a reflection of the unity of the universe in the soul of man. Personalism and idealism in religion—that is the ultimate issue, as a fact in the religious history of the race.

Personalism in religion appeals to the imaginative, the tender, the social side of human nature. It presents a concrete image to thought, to be loved, worshipped, idolized, clothed with impossible perfections, set on the throne as absolute sovereign of the inner life. Protestantism presents one phase of it in Moody-and-Sankeyism, with its endless monotone of "Come to Jesus!" Catholicism presents a far more luxuriant growth of the same root in its Holy Family and hierarchy of saints and angels. In every form, Christianity is incarnation—the embodiment of the soul's supreme ideal in personal form. Here lies at once its strength and its weakness—its power over the emotional multitude and its powerlessness with the intellectual few. Resting as it does so largely on mere superstition and delusion, it vanishes in the dry light of analysis like a wreath of vapor in the growing dawn.

Idealism in religion appeals primarily to the rational and moral side of human nature. Where these faculties are feeble, it has a correspondingly feeble hold. It presents, as it were, the clew of a general principle by which to thread one's way through a labyrinth of tangled human relationships; it does not give a guide, but rather a map; it teaches one to save himself from evil by intelligence rather than to be saved by faith. But it does not end here. While personalism has its alternately flaming and fading enthusiasm of love for an incarnated Deity by which to inspire the believer to great achievements, idealism kindles the powerful and permanent passion for truth—a passion which inspires to achievements and martyrdoms every whit as sublime, and far more productive of blessing to mankind. All that concerns humanity here and now, with all its varied intellectual, moral, affectional, social, and other needs,—everything, in short, but the fancied interests of salvation from unreal catastrophes in another world,—is amply provided for by idealism in religion, and far more efficiently than the personalism which expends its highest potency on another life than this. Personalism in religion blinds the intellect to an external authority, and thereby to a great extent paralyzes it; whereas idealism not only stimulates the intellect to its highest activity, but equally educates all the other faculties in which this marvellous human nature of ours manifests itself.

This is a point of great importance. He who inhabits the world of ideas is always a foreigner to the Christian, and encounters all the blind prejudices, the causeless suspicions, the mean hostilities and disparagements, with which the untravelled bumpkin usually meets the native of another clime. Idealism in religion is commonly supposed to imply coldness and heartlessness, and to furnish no nutriment to the higher and more refined affections; it certainly leaves one without any Methodistical "love for Jesus," and therefore is set down as a sure sign of a temperament spiritually phlegmatic and fishy. Nothing could be more absurd. The religious idealist is just as tender, warm-hearted, full of the "milk of human kindness," and alive to all the mystic and poetic suggestions of this glorious universe, as the veriest personalist of

them all. But instead of concentrating all his spiritual emotions in a delirious ecstasy of "Jesus-ism," he pours them out in the human relations he occupies to those about him. He is no bag-of-bones, juiceless and dusty. On the contrary, he finds in the exquisitely beautiful and precious ties of common life a deeper significance, a nobler suggestiveness, than can possibly grow out of religious personalism. Behind the mystery of human eyes is the mightier mystery of humanity itself, and this is to the idealist what Jesus is to the personalist—the Word of the Eternal Silence. The vistas of existence opened to the true idealist are to the "New Jerusalem" as the horizon of Tenerife is to the circumference of your back-yard. There is nothing in the enlargement of intellectual vision which even tends to dry the sweet fountains of human love and religious feeling; and the fears that science is going to kill out poetry, or that Free Religion has an atmosphere so attenuated that the spiritual affections must gasp in it and die, only show how impossible it is for personalism in religion to comprehend the idealism which includes itself and so much besides.

NEWTON-DODGE.

It may not be too late to say a word more on the Newton-Dodge case which was interesting the public three weeks ago. It will be recollected that Gen. Newton was the engineer employed by government to remove the rocky obstruction at Hell Gate in New York Harbor, and that he let off his blast on Sunday afternoon. The hour chosen was the hour of high tide when the danger from concussion and debris would be least; and the day was—not chosen but—appointed by the necessities of the case, the mine being just then ready for explosion, and the situation, being critical, was such that any accident from delay might frustrate the enterprise. If Gen. Newton thought of the day at all in connection with his experiment, he probably thought of it as an excellent day for his purpose; a holiday, when fewer vessels were passing up and down the river, and traffic would be little interfered with. For any excitement in the public mind he need not hold himself responsible. If people forsook churches and Sunday-schools in order to see the spectacle, or from fear lest the buildings might be thrown down, that was their business, not his. But Mr. Dodge thought otherwise. The sanctity of the Sabbath day was uppermost in his mind. He felt the choice of the Sabbath to be an outrage and a desecration, unnecessary from any point of view, and from a Calvinistic point of view wholly objectionable. The letter he wrote to Gen. Newton, narrow, supercilious, and arrogant, was the only sort of letter that could have come from such a quarter. The Orthodox community quietly assumes the divine sanctity of the Sabbath, and quietly assumes, moreover, that the dissidents from its belief are too few in number and too insignificant in position to be regarded. They do not read papers, or listen to arguments, except on their own side. With the mental condition of people outside of their own churches they are entirely unacquainted; the hum of speculation that is heard among the multitudes of reasonable men and women scarcely reaches their ears, and if it does it is unheeded. Nothing less loud or emphatic than Gen. Newton's detonating mines could penetrate their ears, and make them fully aware of the indifference that in many quarters was shown toward their superstition. That explosion fairly roused them, and Mr. Dodge's letter gave expression to the emotions of indignant surprise that filled their breasts. Gen. Newton's curt and insulting reply betrayed on his side an ignorance of the depth of the popular superstition, or else a contemptuous disregard of it, either of which must be surprising to one who does not consider how far apart from each other the protestant and the unprotestant worlds are. The letter warranted the cockles of the unregenerate heart. It sounded like a voice from the inmost recesses of rationalism. The radicals were delighted with the stern defiance of puritanism. But now it turns out that Gen. Newton is a Roman Catholic. At least, this may be inferred from the fact that he accepted an ovation from a Catholic association, and allowed himself to be congratulated by a distinguished company of priestly dignitaries, who were probably glad of an occasion to have their fling in an indirect way at the popular Orthodox precisian.

The incident is important as indicating the essential difference between the two Christendoms,—Protestant and Romanist. The two raise quite distinct issues with us. The Romanists are concerned about the supremacy of the Church. Their care for the Bible is that the reading of it shall not be urged. Their Sun

day is a holiday, not in Europe only, but in America as well. In all countries where its influence prevails, the ceremonies of religion occupy but a small portion of time, and the rest of the day is left free for amusement. The Protestants are concerned about the supremacy of the Bible. Their zeal for the book devours them. They would place it in every room, in every steamboat-cabin, on every table; they would make the reading of it compulsory on every child. Their Sunday is the Hebrew Sabbath, without the joy that animated the Hebrew observance of the day. The two parties require very different treatment at the hands of rational men. The Romanist antipathy to Protestant bigotry is no sign that Romanists have no bigotry of their own. The Jesuitical reception given to Gen. Newton by no means implies a good understanding between him and his admirers and the radicals to whom Bible and Church are alike fraught with elements of danger to the constitution of republican society. For the moment the laugh has been turned against the Protestants, a laugh in which Rome and Reason heartily join. But Reason must not feel that Rome is any more its friend than before. Reason has simply two deadly foes instead of one.

O. B. F.

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY R. C.

At one time last week the prospect of an immediate war throughout Europe was sufficiently imminent to draw attention from nearly all other subjects. The six months' armistice which had been proposed by Turkey, and accepted by England and other powers, was rejected by Russia, which demanded a six weeks' truce alone. This demand was quickly followed by the report that Russia had resolved, in the interests of humanity, to occupy Bulgaria with troops. Speculation was centred at once upon the probability that England, Germany, and Austria would be drawn into the conflict which certainly seemed inevitable, and the possibility of which has not yet passed away. As we write, however, reports are less exciting. The English Cabinet has decided that England need not feel called upon to oppose a Russian advance into Turkish territory; and it is possible even that Turkey may accept the Russian ultimatum—a six weeks' armistice, to be followed by the "autonomy" of Bosnia, Bulgaria, and Herzegovina. In the mean time, fighting has been resumed in the neighborhood of Saltschar, with results advantageous to the Turks.

The effect of the war-panic was shown at once by a rapid fluctuation in prices at the commercial centres of Europe and America. Russian securities declined seven per cent. in the London market last Wednesday, making twenty per cent. in a single week; and nearly all other foreign securities fell in price, American bonds, however, holding their own remarkably well. In this country wheat rose rapidly, and there were sudden alterations in the prices of railroad stocks, grains, and gold. The excitement continued during a portion of Thursday, and then quickly declined.

In response to a call from Governor Chamberlain for aid, the President, through the proper officers, has ordered additional United States troops to be sent to South Carolina, to be stationed at various points, under the command of General Ruger. Whether Chamberlain is right or not in his supposition that rifle-clubs are forming throughout the State in order to interfere with liberty of voting, there are undoubtedly many lawless persons in South Carolina upon whom the presence of soldiers will act as a salutary check. United States troops have been well received heretofore in South Carolina, and while they are not likely to have much, if any, influence upon the result of the voting, their presence will put an end to the cry of intimidation, and prevent the threatened throwing out of the vote of the State by either House of Congress.

Some remarks which we made two weeks ago upon the condition of affairs in South Carolina called out, from "W. J. P.," an article entitled "Justice, not Partisanship," in last week's INDEX. That he wrote the article in a hurry is evident from the opening sentence: "I cannot let a day pass," etc. Had he been able to let a day pass, and had he reflected upon the subject a little more thoroughly, we are persuaded that some portions of his "protest" would have been differently expressed. But however this may be, we concur most heartily in the conclusion reached; namely, "that what the South wants to insure peace and prosperity is not government by either race as such, but government in which the races shall learn to work amicably together, and the rights of all classes shall be equally guaranteed and respected." It is because of our desire to help bring about this result that we welcome the reply of "W. J. P." as it gives us an opportunity to state more fully our present attitude toward the South Carolina negro. Our assertion that the Southern negro—by which, of course, we mean the average Southern negro, and more particularly, in this connection, the average South Carolina negro—has shown himself to be "utterly incapable of self-government" is contradicted; but the only proof offered is the statement that "each succeeding Legislature has been an improvement on its predecessor in intelligence and morality, and that the ruling party has been gradually sloughing off and ris-

ing out of the very evils that were the natural consequence of its sudden rise to power." This statement may be true; but when we remember that the last and consequently the best Legislature of all is the one which elected Moses and Whipper judges in the State courts, we contend that the improvement is so gradual that, to attain to the comparative respectability of some other State Legislatures, would require a length of time to be computed by geologic periods. "W. J. P.'s" "proof" fails utterly to have any effect upon one who knows anything of the character of South Carolina Legislatures for the past nine years. Let us illustrate this point. In 1869, when the above-mentioned Whipper was a member of the House, and Moses was Speaker of the same, there was a bet of \$1000 between the two men upon a horse-race, which the House, notwithstanding the pressing business of the last four days of a session, adjourned for nine hours in order to witness. The Speaker lost the race and his \$1000. Three days after, as the House was about to adjourn, Whipper coolly moved that a gratuity of \$1000 be presented to the Speaker; and, with a full understanding that this was intended to reimburse the amount lost at a horse-race, the motion passed by a large majority. We have referred to this incident because we believe that it is thoroughly in keeping with and fairly illustrates the character of South Carolina Legislation for the past nine years; and to show also that when we referred to "the rule of the negro and his fellow-scalawag, the carpet-bag white man," we were not guilty, as "W. J. P." supposes, of "carelessness in writing." We admit that "scalawag" does not express our full meaning, for the reason that no single word could do so; but it does express our meaning better than any other single word could have done; and the fact that "W. J. P." considers it unjust convinces us that, notwithstanding his opportunities for observation, he has no adequate knowledge of what has been done by the negro in South Carolina Legislatures. In 1878—of the Legislature of which year we happen to have fullest statistics at hand,—the Assembly contained one hundred and twenty-four members, of which ninety-four were colored and thirty only were white; twenty-three whites represented the opposition, six whites being allies of the ninety-four negroes. As this was the sixth negro Legislature, and as each Legislature, according to "W. J. P.," was an improvement upon its predecessor, we have not selected the worst example. Of this Legislature, some of the members, says Mr. James S. Pike, formerly United States Minister to Holland, "were men whose costumes, visages, attitudes, and expressions only befitted the forecastle of a buccaneer." "Its intellectual level was that of a bevy of fresh converts at a negro camp-meeting." "Noisy riot," "chatter," "gush and gabble," are the words which he selects to describe its debates, "amid which the Speaker's hammer plays a perpetual tattoo, all to no purpose." Five preceding Legislatures had increased the debt of the State from less than \$5,000,000 to a sum variously estimated from \$27,000,000 to \$40,000,000,—all public accounts being, of course, in inextricable confusion, and no one knowing the exact figures. The State banks refused to advance money for any purpose whatever, and bonds of the State had been sold at twenty-five cents on a dollar, conditioned upon the payment of eighteen per cent. interest. It was simply impossible (notwithstanding "W. J. P.'s" supposition of improvement in intelligence and morality) to get any bill other than a general law through this Legislature without heavy payments of money to a majority of the negroes or to their recognized leaders. No fear of public censure restrained them from open confession of bribery, for they were responsible to a constituency as degraded as themselves. When, for instance, a bill was up for a much-needed railroad charter, against which there was not a single honest argument, so that the white leaders dared not oppose it, the blacks voted it down, amid loud guffaws, because they had not been paid to allow it to pass. These rascals and their predecessors stole in every conceivable way, until taxation which was about \$400,000 per year had risen then to \$2,000,000 per year,—an apparent increase of five hundred per cent.; but inasmuch as property in the meantime deteriorated more than one-half, a real increase of over one thousand per cent. The intelligent white men who once made the laws for South Carolina used \$400 worth of stationery per year, but these illiterate robbers squandered \$18,000 worth; and all other expenses were in similar proportions. The school-funds have been stolen to such an extent that to-day, after eight "improved" negro Legislatures have come and gone, the Trustees of the Peabody Fund will not allow one dollar to be sent to South Carolina because they believe it would be stolen. South Carolina government, says Mr. Pike, "is the installation of a huge system of brigandage." The men who now have it in control are professional legislative robbers. They are in no sense different from, or better than, the men who "fill the prisons and penitentiaries of the world." And yet "W. J. P." is troubled by the "exasperating injustice" of the Charleston newspapers that "habitually speak of the Legislature as 'a gang of thieves.'" What else would he have them term it? And to crown all, let it not be forgotten that these thieves pay no taxes. Can "the rights of all classes be equally guaranteed and respected" while this kind of government continues?

We believe that the above described state of affairs should cease. As early as 1871, Mr. Chamberlain, then Attorney-General, now Governor, begged for the introduction of cumulative voting in order to "put into an ignorant Assembly, many of whom can neither read nor write," gentlemen enough "to shame them into decency or frighten them from crime." We admit that Chamberlain since then has labored for reform, but the doings of the last

Legislature and the character of the nominations for the next one are sufficient proofs of his unmistakable failure. And now, let it be clearly understood that we admit the full force of the exceptions pointed out by "W. J. P." There are honest and intelligent negroes in South Carolina, and ignorant and dishonest whites; but the average South Carolina negro, we contend, is a liar and a thief. He is sometimes stupidly ignorant and vicious, and sometimes wide-awake and cunning; but in either case, and despite the possession of many good qualities, the inheritance of generations and the degradations of slavery unfit him as yet for the proper use of the power he has been exercising. On the other hand we admit that the average South Carolina white man is not an angel, but a very imperfect human being, with many glaring faults of character and temperament. Nevertheless, we believe that he alone can rule the State with any decent degree of approximation to the requirements of modern civilization. The opposition in the State, to-day—curiously described by the editor of THE INDEX as "Wade Hampton and his horde of murderers"—contains nineteen-twentieths of the respectability, wealth, morality, and honor of the State. Without doubt this "horde" contains some murderers and desperadoes; but it contains, also, all the descendants of the heroes of the Revolution and the children of the statesmen who argued with Webster in the halls of Congress. These men are struggling now against the absolute confiscation of the little remnant of their property, and for the redemption of their State from the despotism of brutal ignorance. The contest in South Carolina has nothing to do with the national issues which divide us into Republicans and Democrats. It is a battle of honesty against dishonesty, of the outraged against their plunderers, of civilization against barbarism. And, notwithstanding the sensational reports of Northern newspapers, there is no good reason for believing that the white man is hostile toward the black, or unwilling to treat him with fairness. He knows that he cannot do without the black man, but that they must continue to live together because they need one another. But they can never live together in peace while the artificial antagonisms resulting from the unnatural positions of the two races continue. If any well-wisher of the negro does not desire the election of Wade Hampton, and we accept "W. J. P.'s" assurance that in this assertion we were mistaken, it can only be because former philanthropic desires have not been rectified by the indisputable facts of the past ten years.

We desire to warn all readers of THE INDEX that Mr. Abbot must on no account be held responsible for any expression of opinion which appears in the department of "Current Events." We give this warning because we understand that some opinions contained in these columns have been referred to as representing the position of THE INDEX, or, more properly, of its editor. This is altogether a mistake, and we trust will not be repeated. It seems hardly necessary to state, also, that the "we" of these paragraphs is only the editorial "we," used from habit, and represents the single person "R. C.," whose full name may be easily ascertained by any one aggrieved upon application to the editor, Mr. Abbot.

ENGLISH SKETCHES.

BY MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

LONDON, Oct. 7, 1876.

You know that we have in England a certain notable divine, A. P. Stanley, D.D., Dean of Westminster, whose liberality is a household word among us. Dean Stanley's lines have fallen in pleasant places. His birth gave him the *entrée* into the highest circles of society, and his learning, culture, and great ability have vindicated his right to be highly placed, whatever his birth might have been. The Rev. A. P. Stanley made his way into royal favor, and he was appointed to accompany the Prince of Wales when that young "hope of England" was sent to improve his knowledge of the world by travelling in the Holy Land. Some of the sermons preached in these Eastern climes by the scholarly chaplain made a great sensation in England when published, and many angry cries of "latitudinarianism," "infidelity," etc., assailed the preacher. None the less did Dr. Stanley keep his secure place in royal favor, and the Deanery of Westminster was, in due time, bestowed upon the "neologian." The Dean of Westminster holds a unique position in the Church. He is subject to no bishop, and is practically independent. His abbey owns no allegiance to the Bishop of London in whose diocese it stands. It is a self-ruled principality, a little kingdom in itself. No position could have more exactly fitted the genius of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley. The studious scholar, the thoughtful writer, the polished courtier, seemed made for the gray, silent, majestic abbey. The Dean and the abbey made a perfect whole. Dr. Stanley is a small, slightly-built man, with chiselled features and delicately modelled head; manners most courtly, grace most polished, at once exquisitely finished and statelily dignified. As the beautiful and solemn abbey makes us half pardon the Christianity which raised it, so does its Dean make us half pardon the Court which has trained him. Why should not republicans learn this one lesson of monarchies, and emulate the graceful courtesy which gives a man the attractiveness of gentleness as well as of strength? So many good people seem to think that sincerity and bad manners are interchangeable terms, and that no one can be honest unless he is also rude. I confess that I should like to anoint republican life with the courtly oil that makes life's wheels run the softer and the smoother. But to return to our Dean. Independent in his abbey, Dean Stanley has become a

very real power for good in the Establishment. Disbelieving in the Dean's creed, I must confess that he, at least, makes that creed endurable. No one capable of honoring genius and of admiring beauty can fail to yield some meed of homage to this Christian gentleman, who, believing that the Establishment and Christianity are both invaluable weapons for good, does his utmost to mould those weapons into modern shape, and to use them for the general good. Guided and strengthened by his noble-hearted wife, Lady Augusta Bruce—as simple-mannered and gentle-hearted a lady as ever breathed,—Dean Stanley has made his little kingdom a centre of good and purifying influence. In the drawing-rooms of the Deanery were welcomed, during his wife's life-time, all classes alike; and while the Queen and the Royal Family were no strangers there, a warm and hearty greeting was extended to the trading classes also. In a country where classes are so sharply severed as they are in England, nothing but the most perfect tact could have made tradesmen feel at home in the rooms where, perhaps, on the preceding day nobles had been welcomed; but Lady Augusta's gentle courtesy smoothed away all difficulties, and she was really loved by the varying classes among which she moved. When she died, after a long and painful illness, she was mourned literally both in the Court and in the cottage, and many a poor home in Westminster is the sadder and the drearier for the loss of her kindly face. One of the chief aims of the Dean's life appears to be the gradual widening of the English Church. He is striving to draw into it the culture and intellect of all religious bodies. "Inclusiveness" might be the motto on his shield. When the Revision Committee of the Bible was appointed, Dean Stanley held a special service in the abbey, and to the horror and anger of the Orthodox he welcomed Dr. Vance Smith to the altar, and actually administered the Sacrament to the eminent Unitarian. The Church papers literally raved at "the sacrilege"; but Dean Stanley went on his way unmoved. At the special popular services in the abbey, held in the nave, the choice of preachers has not been confined to the clergymen of the Establishment. Max Müller, the leagued Orientalist, lectured there. An eminent Presbyterian divine filled the pulpit. The outcry was something fearful, but sensible Churchmen saw that the Dean was doing more to soften the pressure of the Establishment than any living man. When John Bunyan's statue was erected, the Dean went down and unveiled the monument of the "dissenting tinker," and a High Church paper howled that they had better put up a statue to Satan and ask the Dean to unveil that. When a memorial was to be put up to John and Charles Wesley, the Dean welcomed the monument and the eminent schismatics within the walls of his abbey. All one man can do to make the Church "national" Dean Stanley certainly does, and a dozen men of his description would do more to delay the final fall of Christianity than all the preaching and praying in the world.

He works in the same direction with his pen as with his life, and publishes the most liberal essays. His volumes on the Jewish Church, on Sinai and Palestine, on the Greek Church, are filled with the most liberalizing ideas, and many a student has received from them the impulse which has carried him into scepticism. Men and women who would refuse to open an "infidel book" have eagerly turned over the pages of the Church dignitary, and the liberal thoughts have permeated their minds unknown to themselves, and have gradually leavened them with rationalism. Orthodox Christians may well hate the Dean, for he has, in hundreds of cases, undermined Christianity, and when people once begin to think they do not stop thinking at the point where their first teacher of scepticism stands. The third volume of the lectures on the Jewish Church is, just now, much afflicting the souls of the pious. Father Ignatius—an eccentric gentleman who wanders about in monkish garb, and bare-footed, to the amazement and delight of the little street-boys of this sceptical nineteenth century—has delivered his soul upon it, in a letter addressed, *mirabile dictu*, to the *Rock*, an ultra-evangelical organ, which regards Father Ignatius as one of the wickedest children of the Scarlet Woman on the Seven Hills. Father Ignatius writes:—

"Sir,—I have just examined deeply Dean Stanley's Vol. iii. on *The Jewish Church*, and arise from its perusal with feelings of horror, indignation, alarm, and disgust. How such a monstrous mixture of heresy, blasphemy, and atheism can be tolerated within the pale of the English Church surpasses wonder. Every blasphemy and blasphemer of the age is patronized by this Dean Stanley. Not content with insulting English Christianity by his public support of Mr. Charles Voysey, in the book before us he recommends most heartily to his readers the prince of modern French blasphemers, the hideous Renan!"

The well-known fact that Jehovah-Adonai, and that Adonai-Adonis, seems to have been stated by the Dean—I have not read his book, and Father Ignatius may be misrepresenting him to the utter horror of his clerical reader.

"And to show how Dean Stanley handles the Bible, I would for example advert to one of his labored deductions, whereby he produces a blasphemy that has no parallel. We know that the name Jehovah—for reverence's sake, written in the Hebrew Adonai—is hundreds of times throughout the Bible translated in our version Lord, in large characters. Wherever this word Lord thus occurs, it is, we are told—I shudder to write it,—*Adonis*; viz., a Greek Pagan deity, worshipped with the most revolting and filthy obscenities! Also under the name 'Thammuz,' worshipped by the Phœnicians, this revolting, disgusting god takes the place of the ineffable Jehovah; so that whenever we read in our Bibles of 'the Lord,' it is, says Dean Stanley, 'the Phœnician deity whom the Syrian maidens mourned on Lebanon' (p. 161)."

Clearly, Ignatius is not a scholar, or he would know that this "blasphemy" has plenty of "parallels," and is a generally admitted fact. Again:—

"The glorious doctrine of resurrection and immortality we owe not to Jesus our Lord, as the Apostles preached, but to immortal Socrates, the pagan philosopher, and his more pure pupil, Plato. The Jews first learnt the doctrine from the fire-worshippers, but we got it 'full outburst'—from Jesus, the resurrection and the life?—no! from the teaching, if not of Socrates, yet of Socrates' greatest disciple Plato (page 333; see bottom of page 336)."

And then Jesus himself: oh this wicked, wicked Dean; he says that Jesus was a man "full of sorrows, yet full also of enjoyment." God forgive me for even writing the blasphemy, the lie. Imagine our divine sorrowful Lord's life on earth being one 'full of enjoyment'! No wonder that Ignatius asks: "Is this terrible man to be acknowledged as even a nominal Christian much longer? Is he still to be allowed to sow his poison broadcast among Churchmen, Dissenters, and Presbyterians alike, under the influential title of the 'Very Rev. the Dean of Westminster'? This matter, most nearly affecting our Church of England as her peculiar disgrace, affects also the interests of all Christians, Protestants, and Catholics alike. Let all conspire to suppress this monstrous scandal to British Christianity.—Yours truly in Christ, IGNATIUS, Monk, O. S. B."

This letter is so very funny that I could almost suspect it to be a hoax, were it not that Father Ignatius is quite Christian enough to write such an one. The editor of the *Rock* adds a note to the letter: "As to the Dean, unless he can prove that he is not the author of the book which bears his name, he should be expelled the society of all believers, and also, which to him would be a far greater punishment—for he loves those who are in soft raiment,—expelled the Court."

If the Church expelled the Dean, we sceptics would be only too glad, for he is far too good for Christianity. If it were not that the man is, in himself, so thoroughly honest, it would be hard to believe him sincere, so broad and free a thinker is he. Yet sure am I that he believes his opinions to be consistent with the highest view of what the Church should be, and is honest in holding the position he does. So let the bigots rave against him as they will, there is no Churchman more worthy of homage from the rationalist than the Very Rev. Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., Dean of Westminster.

Communications.

INTUITION AND CONSCIENCE.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I, for one, am very glad that you published Mr. Wickersham's interesting essay on "Intuition." It is in my opinion a subject that ought to be frequently and earnestly discussed until the truth in regard to it is thoroughly sifted and popularly understood. So long as the prevailing notion in regard to conscience and intuition is held, so long must there remain strong theological hindrances to scientific knowledge.

This subject of intuition, as well as that of conscience, has troubled my mind for years; and while my own thoughts in regard to them were too crude and indefinite to warrant me in giving public expression to them, I have looked eagerly for some one who could and would give expression to my ideas concerning them. This Mr. Wickersham has in a measure done, and I look now for some others to take up these subjects briefly and succinctly; for, as I am only one in the great army of investigators, I feel confident that in many respects the grooves of thought run parallel in all of us.

These subjects have not merely an interest as subjects of speculative thought, but they are also two of the strongest pillars of Christian superstition and theology; and science must be the Samson to displace them before it can pull down the whole rotten structure. To the theological and non-scientific mind, what is more reasonable than to suppose that these apparently momentary flashes of knowledge which we call "intuition" are special rays of light from the divine source of all knowledge, the Christian's anthropomorphic God? What more reasonable than to suppose that the "still, small voice" of the monitor and vice-rebuke within us is but the echo of the warning voice of a sin-detesting Deity?

It has been the habit of theologians for ages to point triumphantly to intuition and conscience as unimpeachable, irrefutable witnesses to the divine and supernatural origin of man. Like all the manifestations of physical nature whose causes were not at first understood by man, these manifestations of mind have also been ascribed to supernatural interference, as the easiest way of accounting for them. We have to thank Darwinism for giving us the key to these heretofore mysterious developments of mind, as well as for its more generally recognized work of furnishing us the keys to physical phenomena.

When it shall be demonstrated and popularly understood that intuition is but rapid and instinctive reasoning, a result of the inherited reasoning habit of our ancestors, strongest always in their descendants in the branch of thought to which by force of circumstances those ancestors had become most adapted, and that conscience is but inherited moral education, then may we hope to see superstition displaced and true scientific knowledge taking its place. Then will men no longer trust to the conscience and intuitions of the coming race to right the wrongs they do, but will endeavor to lay the foundations of the intuitions and conscience of future generations by building up within themselves the sort of moral convictions and habit of thought in which they wish their de-

scendants to excel; then will men no longer ignorantly "build wiser (or weaker) than they know," but may have the satisfaction of knowing whereto their character-building tends in the future of the race.

Respectfully yours,

SARA A. UNDERWOOD.

THORNDIKE, Mass.

MR. WALLACE'S LETTER.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Noting in a late issue of THE INDEX copies of the letters of Messrs. Lankester and Donkin concerning their alleged *exposé* of Dr. Slade, the medium, in London, I have taken the liberty to send you copies of the letters published in the *Times* by Dr. Slade and A. R. Wallace, F. R. S., replying to their charges.

As the phenomena of Spiritualism are fast assuming scientific importance, and have already obtained discussion before the British Scientific Association at Glasgow, it is but justice that the shallowness of such exposures as Lankester's should be understood by all lovers of truth. As an admirer of THE INDEX in its calm and unprejudiced treatment of all topics, and its willingness that all sides should have a hearing, I have thought a word on the other side of this question would not be amiss.

I also quote an extract from a letter of Lankester's to the *Times*, as a rare specimen of conceit and assurance, and also as throwing some light upon his rôle of exposé. He says:—

"The real question to be investigated in this matter is not, 'By what strange agency are these Spiritualistic marvels brought about?' but, 'How is it that apparently sane persons believe that the Spiritualists' tricks are marvels due to a strange agency?' The answer which all history and experience gives to the latter question is to be found in the existence of an unexpected amount of credulity and incapacity for observation, and of an unexpected amount of impudence and mendacity. . . . To convict the Spiritualist impostor, one must not approach him with theories based on recondite principles of modern science, nor should one put him on his guard, as though an honorable contest were in hand; but his habits and methods should be as minutely and covertly investigated as those of some elusive wild beast, and then at the right moment he may be seized and brought to the light, taken in the act." (The italics are my own.)

It is decidedly amusing to those who know of the large number of intelligent and careful investigators of this subject—among them Wallace, Crookes, Varley, etc.,—when informed that their conclusions are due to "credulity" and "incapacity for observation."

Dr. Carpenter admits that he was unable to detect fraud or imposture of any kind, the phenomena occurring in broad daylight. Sergeant Cox, President of the Psychological Society, testifies to the same effect.

If Slade or any other medium is proved a fraud, it will not be by such methods of Orthodox bigotry in science as this; for all candid minds, whatever their opinions upon Spiritualism, will admit its growing importance as a factor in the evolution of society and religious thought, and its claims for a calm and unprejudiced hearing before the bar of reason.

Yours for truth,

C. A. SIMPSON.

SAXONVILLE, Mass., Oct. 13.

[Dr. Slade's "Defence" having been already published in THE INDEX, we append the letter of Mr. Wallace.—ED.]

LETTER FROM ALFRED R. WALLACE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES:—

Sir,—In the *Times* of the 16th inst., Prof. E. Ray Lankester states that I am personally responsible for the reading of Prof. Barrett's paper before the Anthropological Department of the British Association, and that my supposed conduct is "more than questionable." May I be allowed to show that this accusation (for such it amounts to) is wholly without foundation?

The paper in question was brought before the Committee of Section D by the Secretary, before which time I had never seen it. A member proposed that it should be reported on, but after a full discussion this was negatived. The paper then passed to the Departmental Committee, where it was again discussed, and, on division, was left to be read in due course. Prof. Lankester is evidently ignorant of the fact that the reading of this paper was decided after a vote taken in two committees, and he was therefore not justified in making the unqualified statement that "in consequence of the more than questionable action of Mr. Alfred Wallace, the discussions of the British Association have been degraded by the introduction of the subject of Spiritualism." As to Prof. Lankester's opinion as to what branches of inquiry are to be tabooed as "degrading," we have on the other side the practical evidence of such men as Lord Rayleigh, Mr. Crookes, Dr. Carpenter, and Col. Lane Fox,—none of them inferior in scientific eminence to Prof. Lankester, yet all taking part in the discussion, and all maintaining that discussion and inquiry were necessary; while the close attention of a late President of the Association, and of a crowded audience, showed the great interest the subject excited.

As I have now shown that Prof. Lankester commenced his letter with an erroneous statement of fact, and a "more than questionable" statement of opinion, it is not to be wondered at that I find the remainder of his communication equally unsatisfactory. His account of what happened during his visit to Dr. Slade is so completely unlike what happened during my own visit, as well as the recorded experiences of Sergeant Cox, Mr. Carter Blake, and many others, that I can only look upon it as a striking example of Dr. Carpenter's theory of preconceived ideas. Prof. Lankester went with the firm conviction that all he was going to see would be imposture,

and he believes he saw imposture accordingly. The "fumbling," the "manœuvres," the "considerable interval of time" between cleaning the slate and holding it under the table, and the writing occurring on the opposite side of the slate to that on which the piece of pencil was placed, were all absent when I witnessed the experiment; while the fact that legible writing occurred on a clean slate when held entirely in my own hand while Dr. Slade's hands were both upon the table and held by my other hand, such writing being distinctly audible while in progress, and the further fact that Dr. Slade's knees were always in sight, and that the slate was never rested upon them at all, render it quite impossible for me to accept the explanation of Prof. Lankester and Dr. Donkin as applicable to any portion of the phenomena witnessed by me.

Yours faithfully,
ALFRED R. WALLACE.

GLASGOW, Sept. 18th.

THE PROFESSOR AND THE BISHOP.

WORCESTER, Mass., Sept. 26, 1876.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

I am not a subscriber to your paper, but I buy it and read it very often. It is not necessary that I give you my name. I can only say that ere long I intend becoming one of your regular subscribers, and thus help to forward the work in which you are engaged. But this is not the reason of my writing you these words. What I wish to say is this: Have you read the leading editorial in this morning's Boston Journal? If you have, why not insert it in your paper in the "Sanctuary of Superstition"? It is, as you will notice, an editorial in regard to Prof. Huxley and his recent discourses. These discourses, which have so lately been delivered in New York City, have been received with great favor (as you are well aware). Even those who do not agree with Huxley, have words of praise for him, saying that he has not attacked their religious faith in the least, and speak of him as a "perfect gentleman," and respect him for his faithfulness to what he believes in, and admire him for his patient studies as a scientific man. But Bishop Cox, of New York, has seen fit to pronounce the curse upon Huxley, even going so far as to advise every one to shun and avoid the Professor as they would an evil spirit. For this the Bishop gets rebuked by an Episcopal minister, who says Bishop Cox does not represent the entire Episcopal denomination. Now would it not be well for you to publish, side by side, the words of Bishop Cox and the editorial of the Boston Journal of this morning? Meanwhile, is it not refreshing to read those lectures of Prof. Huxley which the Tribune has now issued in pamphlet form, and would they not be good reading for THE INDEX subscribers? Pardon these suggestions. I only have written that I might free my mind on the subject to which I have alluded.

A READER OF THE INDEX.

TWO GOOD QUOTATIONS.

ROCHESTER, N. Y., Sept. 17, 1876.

EDITOR INDEX:

Dear Sir,—I take the liberty of calling your attention to the following extract from a sermon by Rev. Mr. Mundy, of Syracuse, on the "Secularization of God":—

"Sir Thomas More was at one time Lord Chancellor of England, and a gentleman who had a suit at law which was before him sent him a present of two silver flagons, hoping, of course, to influence the Lord Chancellor to favor him. The Chancellor immediately gave orders to his servants to fill them with the best wine in his cellar, and carry them back to the gentleman and tell him that it gave him great pleasure to have an opportunity of serving him, and that, when the flasks were empty, he would be welcome to have them filled again. Later in life the question came before him whether he would swear allegiance to Catherine; he could not take the new oath without abjuring his religion. He therefore refused, and for that refusal his head was cut off and put up on a pole on London Bridge. But the secular act by which he was true to the duties of his office, as Lord Chancellor of England, was as really the service of God as the religious act by which he was true to the duties of his religion. Faithfulness in office and faithfulness in religion are not separated in their principle; they are both duties to God. He who can be bribed to do injustice cannot have a title to any heaven to which respectable people ought to go, however faithful he may be in worship or in creed."

On reading the above, I began to question myself as to the reason why such a beautiful and suggestive circumstance as the one just mentioned has not had as general a circulation as that of the "little hatchet" of George Washington. Do you think that I am correct in coming to the conclusion that it is because Sir Thomas More was a Catholic? If that is so, what a despicable manifestation and illustration of religious animosity and sectarianism!

I also send you some remarks made recently by Rev. N. M. Mann, in a sermon delivered in the Unitarian church of this city, which I think deserve circulation at the present time:—

"A friend of mine says that, during a political canvass like that which is now progressing, he abstains as much as possible from reading the newspapers of his own party, and gives what time he can to the perusal of the opposition press. And what do you suppose is the reason he assigns for such a singular proceeding? He says the papers on both sides are sure to be filled with abominable falsehoods, and he is better pleased to find these coming from his political opponents than from his political friends. It is my opinion that there are a good many of the well-informed who feel the same way, and that the time

has come when this insincere and miserable detraction, which is sure to be poured upon the heads of the ablest and purest men as soon as they are named for high office, will return to damage the party that uses it. There are plenty of partisan papers now which it might pay the opposite party to scatter as campaign documents among all the better class of voters."

If I may be personal, I will say that for the first time in my life I am undecided, not for whom I shall vote (for President and Vice-President), but whether I shall vote at all or not.

Your remarks on page 426 of THE INDEX were, I think, quite pertinent to the present crisis, and I hope you will continue to present our views until we be heard and noticed by both political parties. Liberals and radicals may be in the minority at present, but I feel assured that they have at least some political power already, and that they may before long have even the "balance of power."

If you deem this letter, or any part of it, worth notice or publication, you are at liberty to use it.

Yours respectfully, EDWARD LINE.

"WHITE LINE" "REFORM."

138 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.
October 14, 1876.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—In the issue of THE INDEX of the 12th instant, the writer of "Current Events" said that—

I.

"The Southern negroes are incapable of self-government." If this be true, who is responsible? I answer, the whites, for the reason that they stand firm against the education and elevation of the negro. The ashes of school-houses attest this.

II.

He also says that "the whites take no interest in the questions which disturb our national politics." I answer that the Southerner has more pronounced convictions on national politics than the Northerner, and I assert that his appeals in relation to the negro are a mere pretence to consolidate the white race to seize upon the general government.

III.

He also says that "a return of peace and intelligent portion of the community—the C. Posters for Children, white race—make and administer the J. OHN. Origin of Civiliza- Primitive Condition of Man. is coupled with the advice to the nee Times. 5.00 Hampton. Behold a white liner's principles of Geology. 2 vols. 8.00 is unrepugnant, undemocratic, and of Geology. 3.50

IV.

He also says that "we cannot enter the affairs in our country until (HORACE). The Life of Horace men of the South splitting up. By his Wife. 5.00 and Annual Report on Education. 2.00 Why not include the black mutual Reports on Education, from 1850 to the South support the const. 3.00 Thoughts Selected from the Writings of and treat the freedmen with HORACE Mann. 1.25 Let them not RTINEAU (JAMES). Essays, Philosoph- as citizens, nor deprive themal and Theological. 2 vols. Per vol. 1.50 the equal protection of the GURNEY (REV. F. D.) The Ground and era orators need no longer Object of Hope for Mankind. 75 ings" (which is doing notERVALE (CHARLES) Conversion of ing the South of the resmble the Roman Empire. 1.00 Conversion of the Northern Nations. 1.25 whites of the South reced ALL (JOHN STUART). Dissertations and Discussions. 4 vols. each. 2.50 The Examination of the Episcopacy of Sir William Hamilton. 2 vols. 3.25 The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte. 1.50 Political Economy. New and revised edition. 2.50 The Subjection of Women—Essay on Liberty—both in one vol. 2.50 Representative Government. 1.50 Autobiography. 1.00 Memorial Volume. 1.00 Three Essays on Religion. 2.50 MILLER (JOAQUIN). Songs of the Sierras. 1.50 Songs of the Sun Lands. 1.50 MYTART (ST. GEO.) On the Genesis of Species. 1.75 MORLEY (PROF. JOHN.) Voltaire. 1.00 Rousseau. 2 vols. 2.00 MOULTON (LOUISE CHANDLER). Bed-time Stories. 1.50 MUELLER (MAX, M.A.). Lectures on the Science of Language. First Series. 2.50 The Same. Second Series. 2.50 Chips from a German Workshop. Vol. I. Essays on the Science of Religion. Vol. II. Essays on Mythology, Traditions, and Customs. Vol. III. Essays on Literature, Biography and Antiquities. Three vols. Price per volume. 2.50 Lectures on the Science of Religion. 2.00 NABBY (PETROLEUM V.) Swingin' Round the Circle. 1.50 Ekkoes from Kentucky. 1.50 NEWMAN (FRANCIS W.) A History of the Hebrew Monarchy. 4.50 Phases of Faith; or, Passages from the History of my Creed. 2.00 The Soul, its Sorrows and its Aspirations. 2.00 Catholic Union: Essays towards a Church of the Future, as the Organization of Philanthropy. 1.75 Theism, Doctrinal and Practical. 4.25 PARKER (THEODORE). A Discourse of Matters Pertaining to Religion. 1.50 Speeches, Addresses, and Occasional Sermons. 3 vols. 4.50 Additional Speeches, Addresses, and Occasional Sermons. 3 vols. 4.50 Critical and Miscellaneous Writings. Historic Americans—Franklin, Washington, Adams, and Jefferson. With an Introduction by Rev. O. S. Frothingham. 1.50 The Trial of Theodore Parker for the Misdemeanor of a Speech in Faneuil Hall against Kidnapping; with the Defence. 1.50 The two Christmas Celebrations.—A. D. I. and MDCCLV. A Christmas Story. .80 PARSONS (THEOPHILUS). The Infinite and the Finite. 1.00 PHILLIPS (ELIZABETH STUART). The Gates Ajar. 1.50 The Tropic Book. 1.50 Men, Women, and Gods. 1.50 Hedged In. 1.50 The Silent Partner. 1.50 What to Wear. 1.00 PROCTER'S (ADELAIDE A.) Poems. Portrait Cabinet Edition. 1.00

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evolution or creations because we have not personally the means of testing and proving or disproving them.

The masses of mankind are compelled to accept almost everything knowable or unknowable upon authority.

Tyndall, Huxley, and Darwin may know that what they teach is true; but the thousands or millions whom they teach neither know it, nor know that the teachers know it. They can, therefore, only accept scientific truth upon authority until they are enabled to demonstrate it for themselves.

The theologian has the same advantage with the people as the scientist, as they both deal in what the people do not understand and must therefore accept upon trust, and each has reasons for his belief satisfactory to himself. Thus there is a struggle between these two that may continue for centuries to come, as they have existed for centuries in the past; and the people will continue to be led by the theologians until scientific truth becomes so well established that scientists do not disagree.

Theology and science may both be true where they do not contradict each other and themselves; but both cannot be true when they come in conflict.

Immortality may or may not be true. That we cannot tell how we shall, may, or can exist is nothing to the purpose; for a future life is no more mysterious than the present. Life of itself, whether animal or vegetable, is a mystery for which no scientist, whether materialist or spiritualist, has ever been able to account. "Death or inertia is natural. Life is miraculous." Our consciousness declares the reality of life, but does not and cannot declare our immortality. Inference from man's religious nature is the chief reason for believing it.

Being myself but a "philo-scientist" and a "philo-spiritualist," I am compelled to accept both upon rational testimony, but I cannot say I know.

D. S. GRANDIN, M.D.

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2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.
3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.
4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.
5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.
6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.
7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."
8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.
9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.
10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.
11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.
12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practicing the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.
13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT: PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.
SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

THE EVANS (Colorado) *Journal* refers to the "Demands of Liberalism" as "the 'demands' of Atheism." That opinion is worthy of a wooden Indian.

THE PRETENDED "Sunday closing" of the Exhibition at Philadelphia is the Great Centennial Humbug, and excites universal derision of the hypocrisy of the Commissioners. Says the *Boston Herald* of October 27: "Three thousand 'dead-heads' were admitted to the Centennial grounds and buildings last Sunday. President Hawley publicly disavows all responsibility in the matter, and the public is curious to know who has reversed the decision of the Commissioners respecting Sunday admissions."

THE PHILADELPHIA Liberal League, through its President and Secretary, have applied for and received a charter from the National Liberal League, thereby entitling itself to representation in the Annual Congress of the latter. This is very desirable in the case of all the original Liberal Leagues and all other Liberal societies in sympathy with the general movement. The Philadelphia League has also elected its delegates to the next Annual Congress as follows: D. Y. Kilgore, Mrs. C. B. Kilgore, J. S. Dye, T. Phillips, and R. Wallin.

MR. UNDERWOOD writes from Chicago on October 19: "At Leesville, Ohio, a League has been formed. It will include the liberals of Connetton, New Market, and other towns, and I think will be a strong one. Mr. J. H. Holmes is President. The Constitution had been framed and adopted before I lectured there, but it will be changed so as to be in harmony with and auxiliary to the National Liberal League. . . . The closeness of the contest in Ohio and Indiana makes the excitement there so intense that I have deferred all engagements in those States, and come direct to Illinois."

PRESIDENT GRANT has again violated the proprieties of his office by issuing a proclamation appointing November 30 as a National Thanksgiving. President Jefferson's noble refusal to do this, and his dignified rebuke of a practice which goes far towards uniting Church and State, ought to be remembered as a lesson for all time,—an ideal of conscientious fidelity to the principle of secular government which is more and more despised by Orthodoxy in office. By degrees the cunning encroachments of the Church on the State have demoralized public opinion, and now nobody but a few "impracticables" protest against one of the most dangerous tendencies of the times.

A CORRESPONDENT sends us this droll bit of Scriptural exegesis, as an instance of the habit of ignorant preachers of distorting passages to suit their own ideas: "A South Carolina Baptist minister, desiring to impress upon his hearers the necessity of immersion, took for his text the verse—'The voice of the turtle was heard in the land,' and argued that inasmuch as the turtle had no voice, it must have been the sound 'kujank!' as he plunged into the water—thus proving a Biblical origin and authority for the practice of baptism by immersion." The grave question now arises whether a baptized "turtle," as a church member, is entitled to "open or close communion."

THREE THOUSAND people admitted to the International Exhibition grounds and buildings on Sunday, October 22! If any Orthodox advocate, in pulpit or press, hereafter quotes the "closing of the Exhibition on Sundays" as a precedent, it will be in wilful and flagrant disregard of the facts; and we give him fair notice that any such claims will be hereafter considered as proof of disingenuousness, hypocrisy, and "pious fraud." Let every liberal and sensible man remember that the formal vote to close the gates on Sunday has been repeatedly violated; and that it can only be regarded as toadying to a public superstition which the Commissioners themselves laughed at in their sleeves.

GOVERNOR CHAMBERLAIN's letter to the New York *Tribune*, October 25, proves to our own satisfaction the necessity of maintaining the freedom of the ballot-box by the presence of United States troops in South Carolina. He presents an array of facts and evidence which can hardly be set aside. The equal political rights of all citizens, whether white or black, must be protected, or the "republican experiment" is indeed a failure; no other issue can be paramount to this. When the "white line" is effaced forever, as it will be by the resolute suppression of all such wicked conspiracies as the "rifle clubs," and the maintenance of public order at all costs, the white and black friends of honest government can and will combine, and the dreary reign of rascality in office will come to an end. We wish nothing but happiness and prosperity to South Carolina, whites and blacks alike; but a "white man's party" in this country is an absolute impossibility, and the hope or attempt to create it can bring nothing but ruin to any State. The long misrule in the South by "thieves and carpet-baggers" can only be got rid of by political justice towards all races and classes and by universal education under a system of secular public schools.

THE *Liberal Christian* some time since published this estimate of Western Radicalism by a St. Louis correspondent: "It is wonderful with what ease some people obtain generalizations from very narrow premises. You will hear that the West is radical, given to doubt, and that the press is liberal, etc., etc. Now, the truth is that the Evangelical churches are the crowded churches, and the Radical churches are not crowded where they exist at all. The Presbyterian and Methodist churches are popular and everywhere. Out of one hundred and sixty churches living and working here, there are but two Unitarian churches. There is a mass of people who go nowhere to church in all cities East or West. But nothing is farther from the facts than to say the West is disposed to scepticism or radicalism more than any other section of the country. Neither radical nor conservative Unitarianism is gaining ground in the larger part of the West. It has little influence in shaping the religious opinions of the West,—so little that one does not like to think of it. The West is Catholic and Evangelical, with small squads of Radicals and Liberals here and there, but of very slight influence in the culture, or thought, or life of the great masses. This I think to be the real and unwelcome truth."

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE,
 AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fairs shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

Theism.

BY DYER D. LUM.

In a museum at Bologna may be seen the skeleton of an Etruscan partly embedded in earth, whose fingers still firmly grasp a piece of rough copper, once placed there by fond friends to meet the demands of Charon and gain entrance to the realms of the blessed. Though we may smile at the superstitious faith which sought to gain entrance into another world by means of a bribe, and may despise the culture which regarded as equally real the spirit of the man and the spirit of the copper, yet to the simple Etruscan this was far from an idle symbol. The early freethinker who should have essayed to dispel the belief by appeals to reason, even if successful, would have achieved but a barren victory unless he had left implanted in the mind a larger and more comprehensive sense of his moral relations, and unfortunately this broadened mental outlook does not lie within the power of man to communicate.

All symbols of faith retain their value until outgrown; until a still broader symbol is attained the soul has need of them. He who seeks but to destroy the value of these symbols, who treats them but as weeds to be uprooted, who has no conception of a higher than a negative criticism, is a moral incendiary who conceives the absence of moral guidance preferable to what his "mental liberty" may deem erroneous guidance. Though men no longer have faith in the physical symbol, copper, as a passport beyond the gates of death, still the same underlying idea survives associated with certain mental symbols.

Two of these—the soul and a personal God—are the immediate objects of the present inquiry. Though the question seems one admitting of but sharply-defined statements (for God is or is not), still, however radically opposed the two sides may be, it is the imperative duty of the radical in his assault upon old beliefs to discriminate between their real and ideal values, and, while striving to show the unreality of the one, to seek to find new channels for the other—to attempt to lead the current of thought to flow in straighter and even courses,—in a word, to evolve rather than to create or destroy.

In primitive ages religion and science were one; every phenomenon had to receive from it its rational explanation; and the growth of a more correct or scientific explanation had to contend with and displace the traditional animistic, or "spiritual" explanation which the mind had received. Every extension of scientific truth had to be wrought out through conflict, had to be "made good," in the words of Tyndall, "through tribulation and anguish, inflicted and endured in darker times than ours."

The earliest science to emerge completely from this shadow-land of religious philosophy was mathematics, and the history of its growth reveals the same intrinsic difficulty overcome which we witness to-day in any of the present conflicts. What are numbers? Are they abstract generalizations, merely symbols of certain relations, or do they possess some mysterious inherent power? It is difficult for us to comprehend the mysterious properties once confidently ascribed to numbers, yet the Pythagorean school regarded them as the causes and principles of all things. "Three," says Cudworth, "was not only accounted a sacred number amongst the Pythagoreans, but also as containing some mystery in Nature." In the Hebrew traditions we discern the vague idea of intrinsic power in numbers, and even to-day, in Massachusetts, the lower strata of mental culture will stand open-mouthed before a seventh son, or a seventh daughter of a seventh son, the mere fact of the numerical relation being considered sufficient ground for a greater or less credulity!

The conflict between science and religion for the right to expound the physical universe has been a long and bitter one; and, although physics and the related sciences have effectually conquered, the idea of the supernatural still remains strongly entrenched in many minds, though happily, so far as contravening natural law, like its kindred idea, the Pythagorean Number, too far below the surface of modern culture to impede or even disturb the progress of physical research.

The distinguishing feature of modern scientific thought, and one logically following the conception of the universality of law in Nature, is the hypothesis that the universe has been brought to its present condition from nebulous matter by a process of natural phenomenal sequence rather than by creative act. Logically arising from this we have the evolution philosophy of the nineteenth century, whereby the conception of evolution has been extended to cover all phenomenal events, and offering a rational explanation of all the various phenomena of Nature by giving their genesis, whether physical, mental, social, or moral.

Natural selection, or the survival of the fittest, has effectually displaced the theory of design in modern thought. In Nature we might say that hate rather than love seemed to be dominant, if either were to be asserted.

"Nature, red in tooth and claw,"

nowhere offers us the spectacle of protecting weakness or of shielding misfortune. The survivor in the struggle for existence owes its preservation to the possession of some slight structural deviation which renders it the better adapted to its environments. Where this slight deviation from the ancestral type is in harmony with the requirements of existence, the struggle is by so much the less severe, a greater adaptation to circumstances results. This adaptation, however, can in no sense be regarded as a special provision of intelligent design, for it is as operative

where the deviation from ancestral type is not in harmony with the environments. The term "special provision" may be as legitimately used where it involves a tendency to extinction as where it tends to the preservation of existence. Among many species of beetles increased power of flight has been of such obvious advantage that it has resulted oftentimes that the swiftest were most likely to survive and the slowest fall victims. As the survivors alone could be the source of the perpetuation of the species, heredity would preserve the modifications of structure following increased power of flight. As a result of the extinction of the slow flyers, we might say that the swiftest would become gradually "selected" to perpetuate the species until the degree of speed requisite to safety was attained by the species. But in some localities, as in islands, the high and enterprising flyers would be blown into the sea, and hence eliminated, leaving to the others the advantage of selection. Thus, in Madeira, of five hundred and fifty species, over two hundred fly imperfectly or not at all.

The beautiful verdure clothing the fields in beauty, decking the mountain slope in gorgeous varieties of color and shade, and filling the cultivated mind with ideas of harmony and adaptation, may well seem at first sight the result of intelligent design. But, alas! the wand of science dispels the fond illusion by its enlargement of vision. Each individual seed which has taken root and thrived has been but the successful victor where scores may have failed to obtain the required nourishment and consequently perished. If we find design in the whole, it must also be in the parts; and the design so apparent in the successful seeds is not more marked than in "the massacre of the innocents" which has attended the unsuccessful ones. The harmony of the landscape to human minds has led us to read design into the construction of its component parts, forgetting that the fancied analogy, if valid, would show but a limited intelligence working by methods which we should instantly characterize in any human sphere of action as reckless extravagance and unwise prodigality. The much-lauded order of Nature upon nearer inspection is seen to be veritable disorder, where spendthrift-wastefulness and a heedless use of means are as well-marked attributes of the Great Mechanic as the intelligence which they characterize.

Evolution is solely the result of mechanical causes. As Goethe long ago said: "The animal is formed by circumstances for circumstances." The only operating agent in Nature recognized by the evolution philosophy is molecular energy. Creation is never predicted of the particular, but only of the general. Each determinate thing is seen to have its determinate cause, and it is only the undetermined, the indefinite, the universe not as given in sense, but in imagination, for which an undetermined indefinite cause is sought. As Professor W. D. Whitney has said of language, we may say here: "That is no acceptable scientific explanation which calls in a special force at the beginning, like a *deus ex machina*, to accomplish what we cannot see to be otherwise feasible, and then to retire and act no more."

Religion, as "the sense of man's relation to the Infinite," being still held to embrace man and God after Nature had been wrested from her grasp, the contest became centred on man. What is life? Is it a mysterious force unique in Nature, or must this conception be abandoned? Step by step the advance has been made, and when biology had effectually displaced the idea of a vital principle as a distinct entity with the demonstration of its correlation to the physical forces, and shown it to be a functional process, the conflict became transferred to the citadel of mind. Has the scientific method triumphed here? Has man, mental as well as physical, been wrested from the domain of religious philosophy? If so, the question of a God may well be waived, for in that case, religion would but consist in an unrelated relation, equivalent to a negation, or (and mark the alternative) the old-time definition of religion and its province must be submitted to a thorough reconstruction.

Modern science, refusing to confine itself within the narrow limits set for it by those to whom it in nowise has been indebted for its growth, has not hesitated to bring its methods to bear upon the problem of mind. Although but few statements can be made in mental science not open to controversy, and many of the positions here maintained are still strenuously denied by distinguished thinkers, I cannot but regard the historical development of the science as indicating that the sceptre has finally passed into the hands of the associative psychologist, from whose stand-point we must take our logical departure.

We may assert that every mental fact has a physical counterpart, and the science of mind as imperatively requires the analysis and classification of these sequences as of those of consciousness. Through this method of research notable results have been attained. A sensation, so far from being an irreducible fact, when viewed from its physical side, is found to be a compound of elementary sensations, removed from the grasp of consciousness until grouped, so to speak. But how (it will still be asked) can these infinitesimal elements become a sensation given in consciousness? By what power is this effected? Instead of seeking to solve the mysterious connection of consciousness and molecular motion in the nervous system, science is indicating the identity of the two, that at bottom they are one and the same unique event; or, to use the words of Herbert Spencer: "Mind and nervous action are the objective and subjective phases of the same thing." Let us attempt to follow out this thought, and see if it does not offer us a clue to the asserted mysterious union.

Suppose a person, born blind, on reaching maturity, to have his eyes successfully operated upon and to open them for the first time upon the objects

which he had long known through the sense of touch. It would result that his knowledge of an object through the sense of touch, and that derived from the new sense of sight, would become two independent sensations, indicating not one object, but two, until experience, or inseparable association, should reduce the two events to one. We stand somewhat in the same position; all events are known to us in two different ways, and necessarily appear double because we lack the experience requisite to perform this reduction. Hence we cannot assert that the physical event causes the mental event, nor vice versa, but that the molecular motion and consciousness are the same event seen under two aspects, the concave and convex surfaces of the same curve.

As in chemical reactions a new grouping of elements gives rise to new sensations, so in mental phenomena we have a somewhat analogous method. By the law of contiguity sensations and states of feeling occurring together or in close succession tend to cohere; so that the subsequent presentation of one tends to bring up the other before the mind. The rational explanation of this need not detain us. Through the inseparable association thereby established, the foundation of all knowledge is laid. Through experience and inherited aptitudes alone can the crude sensations give rise to images, which serve as framework for all ideas whatever.

The sense of power that we exert is an illusion by which we deceive ourselves to believe that we are something distinct from the conditions or environment in which we find ourselves placed. The grand discovery of the nineteenth century, the correlation of forces, teaches us that the various forms of force, as heat, light, electricity, etc., are not so many peculiar agents possessed of special activities, but that they are one,—that because, operating upon us through the channels of the different senses, special sensations result, the difference between them consists not so much in the nature of the agent as in the function of the instrument by which the sensation is effected. As objective realities we only know them as states of molecular motion; and only as relative to sensation, as subjective feeling; do they become the various forces of Nature. These special sensations we label with the words heat, light, vitality, etc., and by a natural hallucination deceive ourselves into regarding these symbols as objective entities. As a logical artifice of the understanding, it is necessary for the purpose of classifying our sensations; but we should not forget that the forces we assign to the mineral, the vegetable, the animal worlds, as well as the intellectual and moral, are but logical and not real differentiations. By the pernicious fallacy of converting phenomenal relations into entities, we create an imaginary world to which we transport our feelings, and from them constitute a gigantic ego, which, as has been well said, is man "writ large," and then make it our chief object to speculate on the relation existing between this verbal entity and ourselves. Nature presents nothing but molecular change, in the unbroken continuity of which our life is but a moment; but in the logical understanding it is presented as force, the special forces being but the symbols of the special sensations resulting.

We call heat a power; but what do we mean by these words? Science has demonstrated heat to be a mode of motion. Where the molecular motion, or the motion of the particles of a body is increased to a certain degree so as to give rise to the communication of motion to the particles of other bodies, we have power. The continuity of motion is unbroken; but, the sensation of sight showing us fire in the engine and steam in the boiler, we are led to call the one cause and the other effect, and the steam again the cause of the motion of the machinery. We thus see that force is not a cause in the sense of exerting or bestowing a mysterious power, but is an effect, and the supposition that it is other than the conditions under which the event occurs is a logical artifice and has no warrant in Nature. Force and its manifestation is one thing, not two; we personify one factor in the process, and, having isolated it in thought, view it apart from its connections as a distinct entity.

We are thus led to another point. Mind is not an entity exerting force, but is an abstract term, a symbol expressing the sum of mental phenomena; it is a series of successive states of feeling, which by a logical artifice we divide into separate faculties. This sum we mentally isolate and regard as the source of the phenomena which constitute it. So with thought; we raise it from a functional process to something distinct from the process. Through the gates of the senses comes all knowledge; whatever we know beyond sensation is by an extension of data supplied by the senses.

"Vainly does each as he gilds
Fable and dream
Of the lands which the river of Time
Had left ere he woke on its breast,
Or shall reach when his eyes have been closed.
Only the tract where he sails
He wots of; only the thoughts,
Raised by the objects he passes, are his."

Mind is but an abstract generalization; so far from being a distinct entity and independent source of power, it is the most dependent of all the natural forces. Hence the ego, our sense of individuality, is but the residuum of all our former feelings, thoughts, volitions. We mentally extract fragments for the convenience of study and bestow upon them the name of faculties, forgetting that in so doing we empty them of all meaning, for the divisions we make in the web of mental events are purely fictitious. We are thus brought to the fact that intelligence is nothing but knowledge of relations, a comparison between the different links constituting the mind; all consciousness implying difference, we only know what a thing is by contrast with what it is not. My knowl-

edge of a thing in its final analysis is purely relative, relative to my sensations.

"Nature is nothing! Her charm
Lives in our eyes which can paint,
Lives in our hearts which can feel."

My knowledge of oxygen and hydrogen consists in the sensations given. Each constitutes a specific relation: the one we term oxygen, the other hydrogen. Their union under specified conditions establishes a new relation, and this relation we call water. Although we are logically compelled to speak of water as a compound of the two elements specified, all we really signify by so doing is to indicate the establishment of a new relation; so, when we are told that consciousness *per se* is an irreducible fact, the statement divested of double meaning merely indicates that one relation cannot become another, and remain itself at the same time. As for purposes of study we classify these permanent possibilities of sensation as elements, and the new relations entered into as chemical reactions, so we subdivide our mental events by arbitrary distinctions, and use the terms reason, intelligence, will, power, and self, as if they were more than literary metaphors. To say that these transformations are effected by a law of Nature is merely to assert an observed uniformity of succession or coexistence between two phenomena, and, the conditions being known, the cause is known. To assert a power behind the event, not given in the conditions, is to be deceived by words. "Causation is change of relations"; our abstraction of one of the conditions as a cause, by a figure of speech, does not bestow upon it any objective reality. We thus see that intelligence has a definite and prescribed meaning, and to use the word in an entirely different sense is merely to juggle with words. Except as descriptive of a relation, it has no meaning, and absolute or infinite intelligence is equivalent to unrelated relation.

We find the ground thus completely cut away from any doctrine of personal immortality. An abstraction cannot "inherit eternal life" in another sphere of existence independent of the conditions in which it is manifested, or rather which constitute it. Mind unrelated to an organism, as an entity apart from the nervous system of which it is a function, has no more warrant in science than contractility apart from the muscular system.

The history of all conceptions of the future life, such as that undertaken by Tylor, in *Primitive Culture*, shows them to have their roots planted in experience and fed by the waters of ignorance; and scientific thought cannot regard its fruit other than as superstition. The Greenlanders regard with tender pity the poor soul forced to enter the other life in winter or in storms, lest in its toilsome journey it perish on the way and meet "the second death" from which no return is known; with a higher grade of culture, Christian theology conceives the apotheosis of sentimental faculties as basking under the smile of a pitying Father. This forms the highest conception of future bliss, unless it be indeed the more "advanced" view, set forth by F. E. Abbot, of "conscious unity" with the "all," an existence which can only be defined as substance without properties, or subject stripped of its predicates.—a metaphysical abstraction more refined than the Buddhist's Nirvana, but which, unlike that,

"Has neither beauty, nor warmth,
Nor life, nor emotion, nor power."

In whatever form conceived, in whatever language depicted, science can but look on belief in a future life as a survival, and, however much modern thought may strip it of sensible qualities, and idealize it as spiritual longing, a rigid analysis will still conclude that "soul-land," in the words of Mr. Tylor, "is dream-land in its shadowy, unreal pictures, for which, nevertheless, material reality so plainly furnished the models, and it is dream-land also in its vivid idealization of the soberer thoughts and feelings of waking life."

Whatever may exist outside of the realm of human relationship, we cannot determine; it is to us as if it were not, and in no case can that which is not phenomenally related be assumed to form a basis for any system of thought claiming to come under the head of knowledge. The law of association, accepted as the key of mind and followed out to all of its logical conclusions, leads us, notwithstanding individual dissent, to the conclusion that the world of matter and the world of mind are but phenomenal aspects of a phenomenal ego. In a strict scientific sense we are therefore led to define law as observed uniformity of succession or coexistence between phenomena. "If the events in Nature are complicated and changeable, what is called the simplicity and uniformity of Nature is not what exists and is observed, but what is constructed in abstraction, letting drop the observed complexities and irregularities. The invariability we find in Nature is what we have put there."

Forces are but modes of being extracted from the event and set apart by a mental fiction, forgetting that, in isolating them from the connected conditions, we empty them of all meaning.

Cause is the event preceding a specified event. Nature is a web of events, and in knowing one we know the cause of the succeeding event. The idea of power which we associate with cause is but a speculative instinct, fully accounted for by the law of inseparable association; and, in seeking for the cause of a cause, we seek for something not given in the specified relation. The thing in itself is the relation; the cause of the cause is another relation. Among the radical thinkers of the present day, a foremost place must be accorded to Francis E. Abbot, of Boston; and the earnestness and ability which he has shown in presenting what he terms scientific theism demands some consideration of his position in this connection. Mr. Abbot says: "Finding the spiritual in

myself, I cannot escape admitting the spiritual in Nature." "Nature must be intelligent, or she could not bring forth intelligent beings. The fountain cannot rise above its source. In this manner the very existence of man as an intelligent being seems to prove that Nature herself is intelligent." And again: "Whoever denies a universal intelligence seems to me involved in greater difficulties than he who affirms it. For he is bound to explain how a thinking being like man can be evolved out of absolutely unthinking matter."

Without pausing to consider whether the *onus probandi* rightfully rests upon the assertor of a God, or upon him who denies the validity of the arguments presented, we come at once to the issue. We have seen the *how* of an event fully explained in giving its conditions; why the relation is what it is and not some other, is an idle question. To assert a radical distinction between mental and physical forces is a begging of the question. On the other hand, to assert their unity, and from this to infer intelligence underlying all force, is to be deceived by words and is not warranted by the facts. If mental force be correlated to other modes of force, its manifestation under stated conditions is all that can be assumed. If Mr. Abbot means by force something not given in the conditions, if his intelligent force or power is something over and above its manifestation, he is assuming distinctions not warranted by science, arriving at conclusions beyond the data of experience. The real question still remains. Is mind more than phenomenal relations? Mr. Abbot's inferences and assumptions are not to the point.

We find expectation, hope, aspiration, in man, constituting an essential portion of the world of mind; what is true of the whole must hold good in relation to its parts. Do they also exist then in that assumed source from which our intelligence is supposed to have been derived? We have as much right to abstract hope from its conditions as we have any other aspect of the case, or the sum of the aspects; at all events we have no right to suppress this important element in intelligence. When we analyze intelligence into its different aspects, or "faculties," we find them each and all, like hope, built up by inseparable association; results, not causes; functions, rather than entities. Can we abstract any of these from Mr. Abbot's "universal consciousness" with justice? We cannot discriminate; "universal consciousness" asserts universal reason and universal hope. The reason we use in deciding the problems of our life is but a reflection, then, of the reason exercised by Nature in the problems of universal life, and the hope which lights our path—and to which we owe the grand conception of humanity, its crowning glory—must also exist and throb with every pulsation of the mighty heart of Nature. Universal consciousness is as inconceivable as limit to space; but limits are not assignable to space, because to conceive a limit is to enter upon a new relation by which space would become something else, for which we have no warrant in experience. In like manner consciousness transcending the limits in which alone we know it, becomes no longer consciousness, but something else for which we have no name, have no conception, hence no place in scientific thought. Mr. Abbot, having mentally abstracted one of the bundle of functions known as mind as object, and constituting of the remainder the subject, points triumphantly to their union as evidence of unrelated consciousness; and upon this fiction rests one of the pillars of his scientific theism! "Where the consciousness of God is," says Feuerbach, "there is the being of God,—in man, therefore; in the being of God it is only thy own being which is an object to thee, and what presents itself before thy consciousness is simply what lies behind it."

Mr. Abbot, while admitting that "molecular changes or rearrangements in the great nerve ganglia" "are the conditions of thought," denies "absolutely" that they even begin to explain human thought itself. While recognizing the essential unity of matter and mind as the twofold aspect of the same thing, he asserts for them in the phenomenal world a dual existence, relegating the asserted unity to the realms of the unrelated. Science does not attempt to transcend the interrelation of phenomena; to seek to venture beyond or outside phenomena is to try to pass the bounds of experience, hence inadmissible. The fallacy of regarding logical distinctions as real differentiations lies at the root of this method of reasoning. Scientific theism, having its roots solely in metaphysical soil, leads Mr. Abbot indignantly to deny the relativity of knowledge. The habit of raising oneself, figuratively speaking, by the intellectual waistbands to a stand-point outside of phenomenal relations may be a method of mental gymnastics having its value; but from the examples given of the extension of the horizon of the senses from the lofty heights of imagination on these occasions, we cannot but regard the custom as one calculated to confuse the mind in dealing simply with the relations presented by mundane experience, with which alone we profess to deal.

We are, therefore, not surprised to find Mr. Abbot drawing in Nature an arbitrary and hypothetical line between the "moral and non-moral forces." The assumption of higher and lower forces in Nature, and of our being "bound to explain how a thinking being like man can be evolved from unthinking matter," are false statements of the question, which only serve still further to complicate us in the meshes of metaphysical illusion. What Mr. Abbot so confidently terms "unthinking matter" is, upon final analysis, found to be a set of human sensations, actual or inferred; why these exist is an absurd question, known only to the mental gymnastics we have described; and what is seen over and above them not explained in their conditions is only a metaphysical entity which Mr. Abbot, having constructed, calls upon us

to explain. There is no higher or lower in Nature. What we find in Nature is a series of events known to us through the relationship established by the senses. We have seen that force and power are but words used to describe events, and indicate a logical distinction only, not existing in Nature, but only in the universe as given in thought, and from thence reflected back upon Nature. Mr. Abbot, in accepting logical distinctions as objective facts, is confounding the ideal constructions of thought with the facts of sense, thereby introducing unnecessary factors into the problem; and these interjected factors constitute the mystery we are "bound to explain"!

We have no more warrant for assuming "moral and non-moral forces" in Nature than we would have in ascribing objective existence to social and non-social forces; or, if distinctions in thought are differentiations in Nature, why not natural and non-natural forces? The distinction made by Mr. Abbot is purely fictitious, and the alleged "unity" upon which he relies for a basis to erect a scientific theism, postulating a "universal consciousness" "infinitely more than person," is upon final analysis nothing more than a harmony and an effect. Asserting that "freedom from all that implies finitude or limitation of any kind is an essential part of a worthy idea of God," he does thereby remove it from the objective to the subjective; existing not as fact, but as ideal.

Mr. Abbot's pantheistic realism being so little in accordance with the requirements of scientific thought, we are not surprised to find him endorsing transcendental views as vague as the intuitionism he rejects. Ignoring the crowning glory of modern psychology in showing that organized experiences produce forms of thought, he argues from the forms of thought to assert for man the possession of a special "susceptibility to spiritual impressions from external Nature." Wherein lies the essential difference between this "susceptibility" and the intuition of the transcendentalist? Intuition, faith, or susceptibility, in so far as they are special "faculties," are but different names for what at its root is one, different forms of the same underlying idea. As Schelling denied the right of the man not in possession of intellectual intuition to dispute the conclusions asserted by him to be intuitively perceived, so Mr. Abbot might deny my right to dispute the validity of his conclusions upon the ground of my confessed ignorance of the requisite "susceptibility" through which he is enabled to discern love in objective Nature. Though he does not explicitly take this ground, still he impliedly adopts it by saying: "From physical data no sagacious mind will expect to draw any but physical conclusions; but physical data are utterly inapplicable in the treatment of moral problems, and have no force when opposed to moral conclusions." This contemptuous denial of the validity of scientific methods, and assertion of a metaphysical province transcending that of science, is part and parcel of a scientific theism. Matthew Arnold says that "man has a thousand gifts." While his "susceptibility" may lead him to regard them as veritable entities in Nature, his reason, trained in the methods of scientific thought, would reprove him when—

"The generous dreamer invests
The senseless world with them all."

The "higher teleology" to which Mr. Abbot refers need not detain us. Professor Fiske has well expressed the teaching of the evolution philosophy by saying: "It is not the intelligence which has made the environment, but it is the environment which has moulded the intelligence. In the mind of Nature the coin mind has been stamped; and theology, perceiving the likeness of the die to its impression, has unwittingly inverted the causal relation of the two, making mind, archetypal and self-existent, to be the die." The "higher" or broader view taken by Mr. Abbot is that taken from the stand-point already discussed, to which giddy height science confesses its inability to rise.

"It has sometimes occurred to us," says a writer in a recent number of the *Westminster Review*, "that, in all human guesses at the insoluble problem of the causation of phenomena, we perhaps inevitably attach too high importance to intelligence and conscious will, because under the different differentiations which limit our being it is only through their agency that we can accomplish anything. It is as though the eye were to fancy the other portions of the body impotent because they could not see." Leaving the reader to carry out the thought suggested to its various applications, we will take leave of scientific theism by recalling the words of J. S. Mill, where he evidently had some kindred system in view: "The root of all *a priori* thinking is the tendency to transfer to outward things a strong association between the corresponding ideas in our own minds; and the thinkers who most sincerely attempt to limit their beliefs by experience, and honestly believe that they do so, are not always sufficiently on their guard against this mistake."

In denying these time-honored dogmas any place in positive knowledge, have we ground left for the perpetuation of religion? Can that be the coming religion in which no room is left for these ideas? Whatever man and Nature may have been supposed to be, what they are is in nowise affected by the fall of these theories.

Many a school-boy is a far better mathematician or mechanician than the wisest of the Greeks, because he has had but to assimilate what they wrought out. The fund of knowledge has been continually augmented through countless channels, and not only have we thus preserved the result of ages of thought and endeavor, but the experience of the individual thus wrought out became registered, and is seen to-day as "improved faculties" for using and adding to the general fund. In the interpretation of Nature we have to use symbols, which we may compare to a

currency. The mind uses a currency, having its value from the perceptions upon which it is based. Man uses a far higher currency than the animal, but the perception and the conception are both alike reducible to the same fundamental fact; images and ideas are both based upon states of feeling.

Language opens to man a universe unknown to the animal; the interrelated worlds of society, art, poetry, separate him from the lower orders by an impassable gulf; and it is from these worlds, the worlds of thought, rather than from Nature, that man acquires his value as a moral being. "Entre l'homme et le monde il faut l'Humanité," said Comte. The reduction of ideas to their concretes lies in the province of science; but, by the reverse process of rising from what Herbert Spencer terms the "raw material of consciousness" to the ideal world, we find ourselves transported to new relations. The glory of the ideal has manifested itself through all previous religions, and, however obscured by superstitions, or seemingly buried in realistic creeds, has ever constituted the living element which rendered them so acceptable to the hearts of their followers. While the understanding constructed dogmas, the emotions, concerned less with methods than with aims, sought in the ideal for a law of guidance.

More than a generation has passed since Carlyle asserted that mankind were suffering from "spiritual paralysis," and with bitter scorn and fierce invective denounced the various "Morrison's Pills" which were offered by reformers, in the vain hope to resuscitate the body politic and introduce a millennial era. Although a generation has passed away, and new hands are everywhere discernible, guiding, or assuming to guide, the course of events, still we may discern as clearly as ever that "spiritual paralysis" remains unchecked.

Men who have no clear vision of the ideal before which they bend with awe and reverence, who seem to humiliate themselves before a high standard of duty, and hear only the voice of expediency, have no occasion to be surprised that we are now reaping the harvest where they have so seedulously sown. Notwithstanding the open contempt with which radicals view the efforts of Messrs. Moody and Sankey, I cannot but regard the vital animating spirit of the movement as far deeper than the jar and jangle of the various schools over methods, as in fact, a renewed assertion of the all-importance of the ideal. It is the glory of the human that he alone of all animate existence can rise above the world of perception; that he can paint upon the canvas of his mind an ideal to which he can turn in his better moments for consolation, inspiration, and aid. To enable men to construct this ideal is the office of religion, and so far as Mr. Moody leads the unthinking and indifferent to form such an ideal, with whatever superstitions it may be clouded, or with what "sensationalism" presented, still there will shine through a bright halo infinitely more precious than the practical materialism it has supplanted, and of far higher value than the flippant and shallow criticisms of so many apostles of freethought. Whatever Mr. Moody may think of the value of the means he uses, it is the ends sought that contain the secret of his success. It is the appeal of an earnest, thoughtful man, who, however unconsciously, regards the ideal as of transcendent importance over things of sense; a call to that within us all which excites aspiration towards something higher, better, nobler, than we have yet realized in experience.

The creed of the future, resting upon a scientific basis, must carefully discriminate between facts as real or ideal, and strenuously insist that the denial of the validity of the evidence of God's objective existence but emphasizes more distinctly the ideal value of the conception. An argument, however elaborate, tending to demonstrate the unreality as objective existences of poetical figures might be logically unassailable; yet what would it avail against the true value of poetry? Intellectual doubt or conviction can never arouse to action, and only when religion is as completely divorced from external reality as is poetry, can its development as an emotional force proceed free from superstitions to man's truest happiness.

"God," say Feuerbach, "is for man the common-place book where he registers his highest feelings and thoughts." The craving of the understanding for objective existence is met by identifying this "common-place book" with the ideal world of moral relations—the outgrowth of social life,—in a word, humanity. "All that we are," said Buddha, "is the result of what we have thought." All that men have thought, the aggregate of past thought, the Buddhist Karma, or modern humanity, becomes the first cause, the divine source from which man derives his idea of duty, the feeling of obligation; from this arises the conception of moral perfection arousing to action, to imitation, and, contrasting therewith our own shortcomings, we may well bow our heads in the deepest contrition.

In its subjective aspect, we have an ideal aim, before which man's emotional nature may well lead him to bow his head in humility, when he considers how often and how great are his falls from its requirements.

In the name of the highest ideal of duty, we call upon those who so superciliously sneer at the Christian "Evangelists," or who mournfully deprecate their lack of culture, to endeavor earnestly to present mankind with higher or clearer ideals, to set before men a standard of duty less objectionable to the "cultured taste," and freed from the "superstitions" they deplore, which will prove of service to human hearts filled with a sense of their shortcomings. By the negative process with which we are all so familiar, we may frequently accomplish even more evil than good; for, however successful we may be in liberating a mind from its mental bondage to the

authority of a Moses, a Jesus, or a Mohammed, if the so-called liberation is from both aspects, the historical belief and its ideal value, leaving the mind without either, our success is rather an utter failure. This essential distinction must be fully perceived and clearly stated, and the ideal preserved; otherwise the coming religion will remain but a dream.

But the prophet of the ideal has yet to come. Here and there one has arisen who has painted its beauty and sounded its praises in glowing words; but alas, his theism has ever led him to look in opposite directions for his inspiration; his vision never grew distinct, and his efforts were frittered away in fruitless tasks.

Mr. Abbot has defined religion as the "effort of man to perfect himself in all of his relations," using the word, as is evident, in its broadest sense to cover every effort of mankind to perfect their condition intellectually, morally, and socially. For my part, I cannot but regard this definition as too comprehensive, straining the office of religion from its rightful use as a force tending to the elevating of the emotions and development of character to embrace what may be more especially designated in other relations. Although by this definition the savage and barbarous races are denied the possession of religion, I would prefer to still further restrict its meaning by defining it as the effort of a human being to attain ideal perfection, believing that this statement would more clearly express its central truth, the need of personal consecration to the attainment of the ideal; that however we may perfect ourselves in other relations, in intellectual acquirements, in moral relations, and in social arrangements, they are all subordinate to the great pivotal duty of life,—the attainment of character, the nearest realization of our highest ideal of perfection.

The earnest soul, no longer seeking God in the past, or deifying himself by regarding him as a present aid, will place God in the future as an ideal aim. "Every man must place before himself a God; i. e., an aim, a purpose. The aim is the conscious, voluntary, essential impulse of life, the glance of genius, the focus of self-knowledge,—the unity of the material and spiritual in the individual man. He who has an aim has a law over him; he does not merely guide himself, he is guided. He who has no aim has no home, has no sanctuary. Aimlessness is the greatest unhappiness. Even he who has only common aims, gets on better, though he may not be better, than he who has no aim. An aim sets limits, but limits are the members of virtue. He who has an aim, an aim which is in itself true and essential, has a religion, if not in the narrow sense of common piety, yet—and this is the only point to be considered—in the sense of reason." [Feuerbach.]

The analysis of intelligence, the basis of morals, and the evolution of social growth, are matters for scientific consideration, and should receive profound attention; but individual reformation of character, the consecration of all our energies to the behests of duty and the sense of its obligations, are matters pertaining directly to religion. However valuable may be the efforts of reformers in their various fields of labors,—however essential to the perpetuities of our liberties may be our common school system,—however necessary for the continued progress of the human race may be the absolute separation of Church and State,—however requisite to self-government may be the success of the Liberal League movement,—still high above all these motives the resplendent light of the ideal, shining upon our pathway and unconsciously leading us to the realization of its beauty in the growth of character, must ever be accorded the chief place. However strenuously we may insist in the name of good government for equal rights,—in the name of mental liberty for freedom of thought,—and in the name of humanity for the reforms of social abuses,—still the instincts of Orthodoxy were right in according to man's mastery over himself the higher place; and while the coming religion will preserve all of the self-sacrificing devotion, personal renunciation, and lofty aspirations which have characterized some of its predecessors, its creed will recognize in humanity—the summation of spiritual endeavor—the highest type of Deity.

ANOTHER LETTER FROM MRS. STANTON.

Mrs. Stanton has laid us all under obligation by the following spirited communication:—

ED. INDEX:—

In a recent letter to me from Judge Hurlbut, the first Vice-President of the National Liberal League, a passage occurs which I desire to quote, and answer in your journal.

It may not be known to most of your readers that, a quarter of a century ago, Judge Hurlbut, a leading lawyer in the State of New York, published a very able work on *Human Rights*, and in the chapter on the "Elective Franchise" proved, conclusively, woman's absolute right to self-government, to choose her own rulers, and to have a voice in the laws under which she lived. As many others share in the fear he now expresses as to woman's influence in the State, I desire to call your attention to the point he suggests, and thus draw out from liberal thinkers some opinions on this question. He says:—

"I do not doubt that, taking a new people for the first time forming a government—having no old institutions to lumber up their path, no priests, no nonsense,—woman's equality in the suffrage should be deemed a matter of course. But I have hesitated of late, under our artificial system, with imported laws, usages, religion—with a priestly power all-controlling, religion as yet being but the mere myth and poetry of the barbarous ages, and having a most controlling influence with the female mind,—estimating it probable that universal female suffrage would give the priests the ultimate power of the State."

And priests I fear more than I do their infernal saint."

Woman in her ignorance and superstition is to-day a dangerous element under all government, blocking the progress of science and reform by her blind faith in man-made creeds and false interpretations of Nature's laws. Man for his own selfish purposes has made woman more completely his slave by the subjection of her religious nature than in any other way; and, with the false creeds and dogmas by which he has enslaved her, she now with prayers and tears enslaves the race.

To avoid the danger of her subtle influence, felt to-day in all ranks of society, shall we limit her personal independence and knowledge still farther, and thus perpetuate the very danger we fear and suffer? Or by giving her complete education, freedom of thought on all questions, equal political rights, with the full responsibility of an American citizen, with the dignity, self-respect, self-assertion, honor, and honesty—the cardinal virtues that follow in the train of liberty and equality,—transform her into a power for good rather than evil?

Many bigoted Protestants oppose woman's suffrage because they say Catholic women, being under the control of the priests, and being more numerous than any other sect, would outvote them, and establish their religion throughout the land. The whiskey rings and German beer-garden gentry all oppose woman's suffrage, because, they say, the women would introduce rigid Sunday laws, shut up the beer-gardens and saloons, pass prohibitory laws, grant divorce for drunkenness, etc., etc., there being no end to the good and evil women would do, if they had the power. ~~But~~ as men do not cease to vote the day women begin to exercise their right, and as men would always outnumber them at the polls, and as the women would not be a unit on most questions, there is no hope of any reform being speedily precipitated by women alone.

As to the power of the priesthood, the most philosophical way to ward off that danger is to emancipate woman's mind from superstition and blind reverence for authority, from the dogmas, traditions, and mysteries of the popular faith, by securing to her a thoroughly scientific education, her right of individual conscience and judgment in all things, her personal independence.

The only reason why men in general have not done this long ago is because they were sufficiently clear-sighted to see that to emancipate woman's mind from the control of the priesthood was to emancipate her from man's authority altogether. "Thus saith the Lord," in the Scriptures of all nations, is the weapon man has most skillfully used, and still uses with tremendous effect, to keep woman in subjection. Having so entirely perverted her religious conscience that she believes her condition, whatever it may be, ordained of heaven, and opposes great reforms in science and philosophy because some little text in the Bible seems to forbid progress in these directions, is it just or wise for liberal thinkers to propose to clip her wings still closer, in order to limit her power for evil? What are men doing to lift the darkness and superstition from the minds of women? How common the remark among men of liberal ideas: "Such are my opinions, but I never talk of these questions before my wife. She is happy in her church, its forms, and creeds, and I do not wish to unsettle her faith. Religion is a great thing for women; it makes them docile and manageable." Yes, but unfortunately as docile and manageable in the hands of the priest as the husband; and the children in turn receive the impress of the mother's thought and training. Thus the false theology intended only for women are ingrafted on the minds of sons as well as daughters, who show their training in the persecution of those who are battling for the "new faith"; and thus injustice goes round the circle, and they who perpetrate the first act are in turn punished.

Woman's thoughts and interests have been too much absorbed in the Church; and to change the current of her feelings by rousing some interest in political questions is a strong argument in favor of securing her right of suffrage. With a knowledge of political economy, women would soon take far more interest in those great questions that involve so many practical interests of humanity than they now do in donation parties, church decorations, and theological speculations.

While in their ignorance woman may be more devoutly religious, more superstitious than men, those trained to thought have generally manifested more interest in political questions, and have more frequently spoken and written on such themes than on theology. This may be attributed in a measure to the fact that the tendency of woman's mind is practical rather than speculative. Questions of political economy lie within the realm of positive knowledge; those of theology belong to the world of mysteries and abstractions.

Again, the number of women ready for liberal scientific ideas in politics, religion, and social life, is far greater than men imagine. It is not surprising that, in so marked a transition period from the old to the new as that of the nineteenth century, women trained to think, and write, and speak should have discovered that they too had some share in the new-born liberties suddenly announced to the world.

That the radical political theories propagated in different countries made their legitimate impress on the minds of women of the highest culture is clearly proved by their writings and conversation. The quickening power of the Protestant Reformation roused woman as well as men to new and higher thought. The bold declarations of Luther, placing individual judgment above church authority; the faith of the Quaker, that the inner light was a better guide than arbitrary law; the religious idealism of the transcendentalists and their teachings that soul

had no sex,—all such marked influences in developing self-assertion in woman. Such ideas, making all divine revelations as veritable and momentous to one soul as another, tended directly to equalize the human family, and place men and women on the same plane of moral responsibility. The revelations of science, too, analyzing and portraying the beauty and glory of this material world, crowned with new dignity man and woman, Nature's last and proudest work. Combe and Spurzheim, proving by their physiological discoveries that the feelings and sentiments of the soul mould the skull, gave new importance to woman's thought as mother of the race. Thus each new idea in religion, politics, science, and philosophy, tending to individualism rather than authority, came into the world freighted with new hope of liberty for woman.

Yours respectfully,
ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.
TENAFLY, N. J., Oct. 16, 1876.

THE AMERICAN ALLIANCE AND GOVERNOR HAYES.

As we have heretofore remarked, the main point to be considered in Governor Hayes' connection with the American Alliance is not so much the fact that the Republican candidate for the Presidency sympathizes with an organization which advocates the narrow and selfish principles of Know-Nothingism, as the disgraceful way in which he and his friends have sought to evade suspicion by quibbles, subterfuges, and downright falsehood. The glaring inconsistencies in which Hayes and his followers have been thus involved, place him in such a pitiable light that every attempt to secure public confidence in his promises must be answered with scornful laughter. To show the desperate efforts which Hayes has made to worm out of the embarrassment into which his connection with the American Alliance has brought him, it will be worth while to recapitulate the substance of all the statements in regard to it, including the attempt at contradiction on the part of the Republican candidate.

The first statement in regard to this subject appeared in the *World*, in which Hayes was reported to have written a letter on the 6th of July, 1876, to Lem. J. Tyler, the Secretary of the American Alliance, returning thanks for his election as a member of the Alliance, and expressing his sympathy with the purposes of that organization. Hayes thereupon had a statement published, in a letter written by his secretary, L. A. Lee, and dated at Columbus, Ohio, Sept. 14, denying that any such letter as that mentioned by the *World* had ever been published, or that there was a single word of truth in the story that he ever endorsed such sentiments as had been attributed to him, in writing or otherwise. This was followed on the 7th of October by the fac-simile of Lee's letter, which he had written by direction of Gov. Hayes, and in which the receipt of a copy of the resolutions of the American Alliance is acknowledged, and a promise is given of such assistance and cooperation, at the proper time, as may seem most advisable. At the same time it was explicitly asserted that on the 5th of July, in the Continental Hotel at Philadelphia, Hayes had received a deputation from the Alliance which informed him of his nomination; that another deputation visited him on the 9th of July, in Columbus, and tendered him a copy of the constitution and by-laws of the order, and of the oath of membership, and a certificate of his election to honorary membership; that he accepted the documents, and promised to give his answer of formal acceptance in writing.

By these revelations the Republicans were placed in great embarrassment. They did not seem to know, in the first moment of dismay, how to go to work to weaken the ruinous impression which was certain to result. Had the letter been a forgery and the reports about the interviews and nomination been untrue, this could have been proved by the person who was alleged as the author of the letter and by the persons named as the members of the deputations, all of whom could easily be reached. This, however, was known to be impossible, and Mr. Wickoff, the President of the Republican Central Committee of Ohio, hit upon the idea of asserting that Lee's letter had been written without Hayes' knowledge or authorization. This was the best explanation that could be devised, and Lee himself was obliged to confess a forgery, and, in a telegram sent to Chicago, acknowledged that he had written the letter in which assistance and cooperation from the Republican party were promised to the American Alliance, without consultation with Gov. Hayes and without his knowledge. It did not occur to them that this would make the denial of the genuineness of the first letter, to which Lee's signature was likewise attached, less likely to obtain credence. For if this man, in his master's name, but without his master's knowledge or assent, can accept a nomination and promise the assistance and cooperation of the Republican party, he will certainly have no scruples about questioning the genuineness of a letter, likewise, without his master's wish or knowledge, particularly when it is desirable thereby to release Hayes from a serious embarrassment.

Let it be remembered that Mr. Wickoff and Mr. Lee assert that the latter's letter, in which, by direction of Gov. Hayes, the announcement of his nomination by the American Alliance is acknowledged with thanks, and assistance and cooperation are promised, was written without the assent or knowledge of the Republican candidate. This assertion, however, is contradicted by Mr. Schurz in a speech, delivered at Akron, Ohio, last Friday evening, in which he says: "I spoke with Gov. Hayes in regard to the reports about this affair, about three weeks ago. The whole thing rests on nothing but a business

answer which the Governor's secretary wrote in reply to a friendly letter. I believe I have answered similar letters in a similar way—dozens of times in the course of my life." According to this, therefore, Hayes did know that the secretary had answered the letter received from the Alliance, and if this reply was so innocent as Schurz tries to make it out, why do the President of the Republican Central Committee of Ohio and Mr. Secretary Lee find it necessary to deny Hayes' knowledge of it?

But this is not all. The *Times*, a few days ago, published a letter from L. S. Tyler, the Secretary of the American Alliance, in which, while admitting the genuineness of Lee's letter, that person also asserts that two years ago the American Alliance, in the same manner, offered Mr. Tilden their support as candidate for Governor. And yesterday a telegram was received from Cincinnati, declaring that this same Mr. Tyler had resigned his position as Secretary of the American Alliance, and sailed for Europe on the 25th of August, while on the 6th of October he is represented as writing to the *Times* as mentioned above.

But this is not all. Yesterday's Cincinnati *Inquirer* is reported by telegraph to have published the following letter, of which the original is said to be in the possession of that journal:—

"COLUMBUS, Ohio, June 29, 1876.
"L. S. TYLER, Secretary of the American Alliance, New York:

"Dear Sir,—I have received your favor of the 9th and 19th inst., together with the certificate of membership, constitution, etc., of the American Alliance. Permit me to express my thanks for the confidence which you place in me. In the hope that I shall prove myself worthy of it, I remain your fellow-citizen,
R. B. HAYES."

Hayes was nominated at the Cincinnati Convention on the 14th of June. In the course of that month the officers of the Alliance probably endeavored to satisfy themselves as to whether he agreed with their views, and after the affirmative answer of the 29th June he was formally endorsed by them on the 4th of July, for which he directed his secretary on the 10th of July to acknowledge the announcement of the nomination with thanks, and to inform the officers of the Alliance that at the proper time he would send them further advice, which would enable them to get the requisite aid and support in their work.

The endeavors of Hayes and his friends to release him from the fatal predicament into which he has fallen are but a tissue of subterfuges, falsehoods, and inconsistencies, which place the Republican candidate for the Presidency in the light of a cowardly demagogue. Had Hayes openly acknowledged that he had accepted the nomination and even the honorary membership of the American Alliance without being explicitly informed as to the principles of the order, or that he did not consider himself bound thereby, should he be elected, to countenance its extreme demands, this might have hurt him with the adopted citizens of the country, but the public confidence in his trustworthiness in general would not have been shaken. But since he has not the courage to admit a fact which cannot be denied, and with equivocal and contemptible evasions seeks to avoid the responsibility for his acts, he creates well-founded doubts as to how much faith may be placed upon his assurances in relation to other questions of importance that come up for discussion in the Presidential campaign. Compassion for Mr. Schurz and a number of other gentlemen who base their preferences in the campaign upon the private promises made to them by Hayes, should at least have made that gentleman careful to avoid assuming a position in which the assertion that they have made their choice in reliance upon his private promises must appear absolutely ridiculous.—*New York Staats Zeitung*.

A LITTLE FIVE-YEAR-OLD BOY heard the Bible story of Samson a few Sunday evenings ago for the first time. He was much impressed with the efficiency of the weapon which Samson used in one of his hand-to-hand conflicts with the Philistines. A day or two after, his mother, just before getting into a carriage, was attempting to break a piece of candy which she had promised to divide between the little lad and his brother. The candy was tough and resisted her efforts. In this emergency the smaller boy looked up at the coachman, and said: "Say, James, you haven't got the jawbone of an ass about you, have you?"

MATTHEW ARNOLD says the definition of God, containing nothing that cannot be verified, is: "The Eternal, not ourselves, that makes for righteousness."

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 28.

M. R. Warren, \$3.20; W. J. Worden, \$3; F. H. Isham, \$3.50; J. P. Atwater, \$3.20; N. H. Webster, \$4.40; P. K. Wright, \$6.40; J. L. Stoddard, \$1; J. L. Hammett, \$1.75; D. A. Cline, \$3.20; Alex. Foster, \$3.20; David Feimley, 25 cents; Ella Dozier, \$1.75; Miss Hastings, \$3.20; A. H. Newton, \$3.25; W. H. Fitch, \$3.20; R. G. Merriam, \$3.25; M. Romahn, \$3.20; E. S. Wicklin, 10 cents; L. Campbell, \$5.45; H. W. Moore, \$3.20; J. H. Hill, \$3.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are not on hand will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

The Index.

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N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
OUTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, Editorial Contributors.

NOTICE.

On receipt of \$3.20, THE INDEX will be sent to any name not already on its mail-list, from the present time until January 1, 1878. This is an excellent opportunity for friends of the paper to increase its circulation among their acquaintances; and it is hoped that they will not neglect to render in this way some greatly-needed assistance to the important cause it represents.

THE LIBERAL LEAGUE of Houston, Texas, has published its Constitution and By-Laws in a neat little tract of fifteen pages, for a copy of which the Secretary will please accept our thanks.

MRS. SARA A. UNDERWOOD (wife of Mr. B. F. Underwood, the able, respected, and well-known lecturer) has just published a book, entitled *Heroines of Free Thought*, which will be read with intense interest by all who would learn something of woman's greatest achievements in character and intellect. It is a most charmingly written book, full of sympathy for the subjects of these brief and necessarily imperfect biographies, and marked by the same mental courage, delicacy of feeling, and dignity of moral tone, which have always greatly impressed us in reading Mrs. Underwood's articles in the *Investigator* and THE INDEX. We hope it will attain a large circulation, and refer to our last page for further information respecting it.

A FEW subscribers to THE INDEX have discontinued the paper on account of dissatisfaction with some of the political opinions which have been expressed in it. It is necessary to state plainly, it seems, that we are no more called upon than are these dissatisfied subscribers to "rebut" the opinions of our contributors. Why do they not imitate the far manlier course of those other subscribers who, when dissatisfied, do the "rebutting" themselves in these very columns? We respect the latter as truly liberal, for they have learned to be earnest on behalf of their own opinions and at the same time to respect the equal earnestness of others on behalf of other opinions. It is fairly mortifying to find any INDEX subscriber so bigoted and intolerant as not to endure the public expression of views he dislikes; THE INDEX has been published these nearly seven years in vain for him. Let it be distinctly understood that it is no part of our duty to "rebut" anybody's honest thought, and that we are ready to see THE INDEX die sooner than assume any tone of moral superiority when nothing but differences of thought are expressed. Our contributors are not our pupils, to be disciplined, punished, or rewarded; they are men and women with minds of their own, responsible to their own consciences and not to ours. Whatever their errors on religion, morals, or politics, the readers of THE INDEX are just as much under obligation as we are to correct them. Not a number of this paper is issued in which there is not something from which we dissent; and we comment on such things only when we find it convenient to do so. If the American public are still too narrow-minded to sustain a journal of freethought on the plan of THE INDEX, they may let it die when they please; we shall not change this plan in the slightest to save it from death. But we consider no man a liberal who cannot read an article which expresses views different from his own without straightway "rebutting" the editor for not "rebutting" somebody else by stopping his paper. If there is no other journal in America free enough to give equal rights to all honest writers, there shall at least be one while THE INDEX lives.

DEATH OF RALPH H. RANNEY.

Just as we go to press, the sad necessity is laid upon us of announcing the sudden death of RALPH H. RANNEY, Director and Treasurer of the Index Association, and Secretary of the National Liberal League. We can give no particulars now, but make this brief announcement with poignant grief and a consciousness of absolutely irreparable loss. A gentler, truer, braver, purer, or better man was never lost to the cause of liberalism, or to the friends who now follow him to the grave with tears.

"THEISM."

It is not possible, in a mere editorial article, to do justice to the elaborate and ingenious essay of Mr. Lum in our present issue. The theme he discusses involves the whole of philosophy, in the widest acceptance of that term; and the effect of continued study is only to beget a consciousness of the vastness, complexity, and difficulty of the questions which must be answered before a final scientific solution of the problem can be attained. To say that Mr. Lum has not answered all these questions, or that the reasoning he employs still leaves the subject open to further inquiry, is not at all to impugn the ability of his treatment of it; the fact seems to be that human knowledge is far too limited as yet to permit a final disposition of it, and that the world must wait a while longer before the ultimate bearings of the evolution philosophy on the question of theism can be definitely determined.

A few passing criticisms, however, may be properly offered. When Mr. Lum asserts, for instance, that "natural selection, or the survival of the fittest, has effectually displaced the theory of design in modern thought," it is opportune to cite the following language of Professor Huxley in the *Academy* for October, 1869: "It is necessary to remark that there is a wider teleology which is not touched by the doctrine of evolution, but is actually based upon the fundamental proposition of evolution. . . . The teleological and the mechanical views of Nature are not necessarily mutually exclusive; on the contrary, the more purely a mechanist the speculator is, the more firmly does he assume a primordial molecular arrangement of which all the phenomena of the universe are the consequences; and the more completely thereby is he at the mercy of the teleologist, who can always defy him to disprove that this primordial molecular arrangement was not intended to evolve the phenomena of the universe." This very remarkable passage from the writings of perhaps the ablest defender of the evolution theory—remarkable for its sturdy honesty as well as for the vast concession it makes—has received altogether too little attention in discussions on this theme. It is a distinct recognition of the truth that "natural selection, or the survival of the fittest, has" not "effectually displaced the theory of design in modern thought."

Again, Mr. Lum says: "Evolution is solely the result of mechanical causes." That is to say, Mr. Lum espouses at the outset the solely mechanical theory of evolution, and thereby begs the question! If he is correct, all the rest of his essay is surplusage. The whole issue between the mechanist and the dynamist schools of the evolution philosophy (and the existence of these two schools is one of the most important though least recognized facts of the case) is whether "evolution is solely the result of mechanical causes," or whether a universal dynamical cause is necessarily implied by each and every one of them. Mr. Lum himself unconsciously takes for granted this universal dynamical cause, when he proceeds to add forthwith: "The only operating agent in Nature recognized by the evolution philosophy is molecular energy." What is this "energy"? "Energy" is not a mechanical, but a strictly dynamical, conception; it is equivalent to "power" or "force" in action. All that the strict mechanist could have said would be: "The only ultimate fact in Nature recognized by the evolution philosophy is molecular motion." Mr. Lum has unwittingly but fatally betrayed his original thesis, by this admission of "molecular energy" as an "operating agent in Nature." Such admissions are continually made by those who defend the mechanist view, not intentionally, but (as we believe) because it is absolutely impossible to empty the mind of all dynamical conceptions, which constantly reappear in most unexpected forms to defeat the narrow mechanist interpretation of the universe. From this fatal necessity, it seems, Mr. Lum himself cannot escape.

The real issue between the theistic and the non-

theistic forms of the evolution philosophy is this: Shall the total process of evolution, from the first to the last, be viewed as a mere succession of molecular motions unconnected by any dynamical nexus and undirected to any predetermined end? Or shall it be viewed as a succession of molecular motions which, taken together, constitute the seriated manifestations of a universal dynamical cause, and had for a predetermined end the transformation of undifferentiated nebula into the existing differentiated universe? Put in a more popular form, the question may be stated thus: Has the existing universe been evolved with or without an omnipresent purpose and power? Each alternative assumes the entire fact of evolution, just as modern science presents it; the issue is as to the interpretation of this fact. The scientific theist finds the evolutionary process, as a whole, analogous in some very important respects to what he knows in himself as the operation of intelligence, and therefore, without a tincture of dogmatism, believes in God. The mechanist recognizes no such analogy, and therefore does not believe in God. The issue is one to be met in a spirit of the purest love of truth for its own sake, without the slightest assumption of superiority on either side; and it is an issue which can only be decided by the progress of science itself. Something, however, is gained by a clear statement of the question; and we hope that our attempt to state it afresh will set it in a clearer light.

THE SOUTH CAROLINA NEGRO.

The department of "Current Events" again furnishes me with a text for this week's paper. Political discussions like these may not be exactly in order in THE INDEX. And for this reason I made my criticisms on "R. C.'s" comments upon the political situation in South Carolina as brief as possible. But since he returned to the subject last week in a lengthy rejoinder to my criticisms—modifying, indeed, the sweeping character of some of his previous statements, but defending them in substance and preserving the same tone of contempt towards the negro,—a little more space may justifiably be used on the other side.

In the first place let me say, what I should have no need to say to any one familiar with my sentiments, that I am no denier nor defender of the misgovernment that has prevailed in many parts of the South since the war. The history of the South Carolina Legislature, and the evidences of corruption and public plunder in the State, are as familiar to me as they can be to "R. C." Perhaps I might even add some to his list of dark facts. But the conclusions I draw from the facts are very different from his. He has evidently followed Mr. Pike's book, to which he refers, too closely, especially in its spirit towards the negroes: a book that contains no little substance of truth, but written with so much prejudice as to be an unsafe authority. Yet even admitting all of Mr. Pike's charges against the Legislature and government of the State, I should still maintain that it does not follow that the South Carolina negro has shown himself "utterly incapable of self-government," nor that "the white man alone can rule the State" properly.

Such an incident as the disgraceful betting-scene between Moses and Whipper in which, it is alleged, the Legislature voted to pay the bet, does not prove much one way or the other. Moses is a white man, and no "carpet-bagger" either. He is a scion of an old Southern family. And he is a specimen of a good many white men that would be likely to come into power with Wade Hampton's party.

It would be said, of course, that a white Legislature would not have been led so easily, or at least so openly, into paying the bet. And this brings us to the real question at issue,—which is that of the wisdom and success of negro suffrage. I take it that "R. C." does not believe in "negro suffrage"; that at least he thinks it has proved a failure in the South. What else can he mean by the assertion that "the Southern negro has shown himself utterly incapable of self-government"? By the native Southerner such a saying would also be interpreted to mean that the negro is by nature incapacitated to take any part in republican government, and can never be governed except by the superior white race. Were it not that "R. C." quotes with approval a sentence from my previous article, I should be inclined to think, from his prevailing tone towards the negro, that this latter interpretation were the true one.

The wisdom of the decision to give the ballot to the colored man is a point that need not detain us. The act was a national necessity. But to see a political necessity and to yield to it in time, is wisdom in

statesmanship. When the old white voters in South Carolina attempted to reconstruct their government after the war, they were detected in the act of framing a "Black Code," which would have practically nullified emancipation and have reduced the colored people to serfdom. Then United States army officers, who were in the State, among them a distinguished general who had always affiliated with the Democratic party, urged upon Congress the absolute necessity of giving suffrage to the negro as the only means of insuring his freedom,—unless the Federal government were to continue military rule with a large army. Hence the suffrage amendment.

Now as to the success of the measure. That to put the ballot into the hands of the negroes, hardly emerged from the condition of slaves, and burdened with all the ignorance and degradation which bondage had entailed upon them, was to subject the principle of universal suffrage and republican institutions in general to a terrific strain, no thoughtful person will deny. And if the experiment was likely to prove a failure anywhere, it would be most likely to do so in South Carolina, where the negroes had a large majority of the population, and the native whites were least disposed to accept the situation, and the chances were greater for demagogues and adventurers of both colors to ply their calling. But the experiment even there has not been a failure. That gross evils of incompetency and fraud have attended it, is not to be denied. But in spite of all the evils and all the disadvantages, the experiment as a whole, when we consider the obstacles that were to be overcome, is a most encouraging proof of the strength of republican institutions, and of the capacity of the negro for the duties of citizenship. In support of this statement I referred in my previous article to the fact of the gradual improvement of the Legislatures in intelligence and morality. "R. C." tries to break the force of this fact by quoting from Mr. Pike a description of the ill appearance and evil acts of the Legislature in 1873, and thence arguing that the progress must have been geologically slow if so recent a Legislature was so bad as this description makes it, and the last Legislature was bad enough to elect Moses and Whipper as judges. Well, great social movements are slow, but nevertheless they may be sure and successful. But the progress in this case has not been very slow. Mr. Pike describes the Legislature in 1873 as a scene of disorder, folly, and crime. I was myself a frequent visitor in the Legislature that was in session in the winter and spring of 1876, and I can honestly testify that it was usually a well-conducted body; and that I never found it in more confusion or doing more foolish things than I have often witnessed in the House of Representatives at Washington. This is not to name a very lofty standard, it is true, but it is enough for my argument. I was a constant reader of the newspapers, and I do not recall any specific charges brought against this last Legislature for corrupt or fraudulent legislation. There were general charges, such as one may sometimes see in partisan newspapers concerning Northern Legislatures, but no accusations that seemed to have any other weight than as party epithets. It was the general impression of people with whom I conversed that the body was quite free from corrupt influences; and the improvement in the character of the Legislative assemblies and of the government in general was a frequent subject of remark by friend and foe. True, this Legislature elected Moses and Whipper, and it had other shortcomings. But it ferreted out some rascalities, and helped Gov. Chamberlain somewhat to reduce taxation and in other reformatory plans.

Further,—negro suffrage, or negro government, if that phrase be preferred, is shown to be no failure in the State by the fact that many of the bad men who were at first elevated to power have been detected and cast off, not a few of them through the regular processes of law having been sent to the penitentiary. Almost every jury that it summoned in the State has, I suppose, a majority of colored members. Yet there is no difficulty in convicting colored criminals, as the prisons themselves show, a large majority of their inmates being colored; a fact which, if, on one side, it tells against the morals of the negro, testifies, on the other, to his impartial respect for law, and his capacity for self-government.

Still further,—since the era of reconstruction the regular forms of government have been preserved in the State uninterrupted, and notwithstanding the early Ku-Klux outrages and the periods of excited political campaigns, the general condition of things has been orderly. The industries of the State have continued, and some new ones have been developed.

The railroads and other means of communication have been kept in operation. Schools have increased. Churches and charitable institutions have been sustained. Improvements have been introduced in prison discipline. The capital has been rebuilt. These, certainly, are not features that attend civil anarchy. They may not all depend on the State government, but we should hardly expect to find them all in connection with a government that is a total failure. Indeed, on the occasion of two visits of considerable length to the State in the last four years, when I have remembered what a complete social and political revolution the State suddenly witnessed, the slaves becoming at one step the political masters, the wonder with me has been, not that things are so bad, but that they are not worse.

Yet I am not blind to existent or prospective evils, and have no lack of appreciation of the distresses that have come upon so large a portion of the old citizens. Some of these distresses are the direct result, doubtless, of recent corrupt legislation and fraudulent office-holders. But not all. Loss of property was largely the result of their own suicidal act of rebellion. Increased taxation has, to some extent, been general throughout the country, as has also financial and business depression. But whatever the special cause of their distresses, they are all, in a sense, their atoning retribution for the war and its criminal cause.

And I am convinced that no permanent remedy for the troubles of the State, and no solution of its difficult political problem, is to come through now putting into power the extreme political faction that began the war and fought for its criminal cause. A remedy might have come (and there was some prospect of it last spring) through the union of the reform element of the Republican party and the more liberal and progressive portion of the Democratic party in support of Gov. Chamberlain. But this hope was frustrated, because in the Democratic councils the Bourbon wing of the party prevailed. This faction may have able and intelligent men, but it is utterly impossible for them to conceive that the negro can have the same right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness that the white man has, and therefore they are not the men that South Carolina now needs at the head of its government. They may promise to hold sacred all the negroes' rights for the sake of attaining power; but negroes' rights are not the same thing to them as white men's rights. The Confederate Gen. Butler, who figured so conspicuously in the Hamburg massacre, is one of the prominent leaders of this faction. In the State Democratic Convention last May, I heard him give solemn assurance to the two or three colored delegates present, that, if the Democratic party came into power, it would protect the negroes in all their new rights. But what he considers as their "rights" is illustrated by his own proposition for the settlement of the Hamburg riot,—which was that the assailed negroes, a legally authorized militia company, should give up their arms to the illegal white mob that was threatening to shoot them! I have no rose-colored view of the negro as a legislator, but I am unable to see how his condition is to be improved if such men are chosen to make and execute the laws for him. Nor have I yet discovered "the indisputable facts of the last ten years" which should have so "rectified former philanthropic desires" towards the negro, that humane feeling for him will now first and chiefly express itself by calling him a "liar and a thief," a "professional legislative robber," "rascal," and "scalawag," and then handing him over as an incorrigible barbarian to the keeping of his old master.

W. J. P.

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY R. C.

Certain peculiarities of the politics of New York City may, before the end of the week, exercise an unlooked-for influence upon the prospects of the presidential candidates. It is a well-known fact that some of the Tammany Democrats do not entertain very friendly feelings towards Mr. Tilden, and would much prefer a retention of their present hold upon the government of the city to his success in either the State or the nation. Mr. Smith Ely—a very excellent man, by the way—has been nominated by them for Mayor of the city; and, as we write, it is reported that the Republicans also may nominate Ely, thereby ensuring his election, and the defeat of the Morrissey and anti-Tammany Democrats. In return for this help from the Republicans, the Tammany men are to vote for Hayes and Wheeler. Bargains of this kind are always liable to sudden failure, but the prospects of the success of this one are sufficient to cause considerable uneasiness among Democrats and corresponding elation among New York Republicans. If it should be carried out, Tilden would undoubtedly be defeated.

Mr. Tilden's letter to Mr. Hewitt, published last week, should set at rest the fears of those who have believed that in case of Democratic success we should be saddled with Southern claims or any portion of the rebel debt. Mr. Tilden declares that, if elected, "the provisions of the fourteenth amendment will be maintained, executed, and enforced"; that "no rebel debt will be assumed or paid; no claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave will be allowed; no claim for any loss or damage incurred by disloyal persons... will be recognized or paid"; that "the cotton-tax will not be refunded"; that he will "veto every bill providing for the assumption or payment of any such debts, losses, damages, claims, or for the refunding of any such tax"; and that the claims even of loyal persons should in all cases "be scrutinized with jealous care," as they "have become stale, and are often tainted with fraud."

A recent invention may yet bring about a very decided alteration in our present system of telegraphing. It is an arrangement by which sounds—including words—are transmitted in place of the present symbols. We have not space to give a description of the apparatus, but those who have seen the little toy known as "the lovers' telegraph" may gain some conception of the invention without description. The invention has been in use for some little time, over a wire two miles in length, between Boston and Cambridge, and distinct conversations are carried on at that distance. The possibility of the application of the invention to longer distances is to be tested this week, we believe, between Boston and New York. "Telegraph" may yet be replaced by "telephone."

We desire to call the attention of friends of the higher education to the Harvard College examinations for women. These have now taken place for three successive years at Cambridge, but during the present year it is proposed to establish three places of examination,—Cambridge, Boston, and New York. Two examinations are required before the bestowal of the highest college diploma. Applicants for the first examination must not be less than seventeen years of age, and will be examined in English, French, physiology, geology, elementary botany or elementary physics, arithmetic, algebra (through quadratic equations), plane geometry, history, and German or Latin or Greek. Candidates for the advanced examination must not be less than eighteen years of age, and will be examined in languages, natural sciences, mathematics, history, and philosophy. We do not understand that these studies are to be taken as a whole. The examinations will be held the first and second weeks in June, but the entries must be made by the first of April. Fee for the first examination, \$15; for the second, \$10. In England, analogous examinations by Cambridge University are now held at fifty-six centres, and were attended last year by one thousand five hundred and fifty-two young women. The University of Oxford examined five hundred and eighty-three.

The British Arctic expedition has returned, having added somewhat to our geographical knowledge, but failing to reach the North Pole. The discoveries of the expedition seem to prove that the open Polar Sea is somewhat mythical, and that the sea, if it exists, is probably never navigable, because of enormous accumulations of ice. The existence of President Land is also, we believe, denied. The sufferings of some of the sledge parties were extremely severe, and it is doubtful, on the whole, if any recent Arctic expeditions have added sufficiently to our geographical or scientific knowledge to compensate for their expense, and for the suffering and loss of life they inevitably entail.

That people may be converted from one religion to another by force is a fact which history conclusively proves; but that conversion should be brought about not only without consent but also without the knowledge of those converted would, *a priori*, be pronounced impossible. Yet this has been done in the case of the Kurghiz, of Turkestan, according to the account of Mr. Eugene Schuyler. When they were conquered by the Russians, the latter supposed them to be Mohammedans, and, in order to make them favorable to Russian rule, proceeded to build mosques and to support Mohammedan priests for their benefit. The Kurghiz accepted both mosque and priest without question, and, literally, without their own knowledge, were thus converted from Shamanism to Mohammedans. The mistake of Russia was all the more absurd inasmuch as she is a great enemy to Mohammedanism and a staunch upholder of Christianity, and the Kurghiz might just as easily have been converted to Christianity as to Mohammedanism. A similar mistake was made in the case of the Buriats who, in analogous manner, were converted from Shamanism to Buddhism.

Some time ago the *Nation* published an article upon "The Taxation of Church Property," which it favored because, among other reasons, most Protestant churches to-day are in reality only Sunday clubs, being attended by their members because of the social pleasures, and social and business advantages to be thus gained. We had hardly supposed that the validity of this argument would be admitted by church dignitaries, and are glad, therefore, to come upon an unexpected admission of the premises, at least, if not of the conclusion. In a recent sermon delivered at the dedication of a "free chapel" in New York, Bishop Potter, of the Episcopal Church, spoke against our present pew-system as responsible, to a certain extent, for keeping the poor from our churches. Pews, he declared, have often a positive money-value because of their power to confer a certain amount of

social distinction upon their occupants. The bearing of this fact upon the question of the taxation of church property is obvious, and we should like to commend it to the candid consideration of the President of Harvard College.

An interesting article upon "The Liturgy of the Jews," written by a Jew, is copied from an English magazine by Little's *Living Age*. The writer asserts, and fully supports his assertion by illustrative extracts, that the liturgy employed by the Jews of England in their regular Sunday services, contains, amid many beauties, a great deal of absurd and puerile matter, especially in its prayers. These prayers are required to be read every Sunday, and we need not wonder, therefore, at his statement that the rabbis or ministers who are conscious of their absurdity gabble through some portions of them and manage to skip the rest. Reform, which has been attempted, is prevented by the conservatism of a prominent Jewish ecclesiastic, Dr. Adler, and the obstinacy of the leading and wealthiest members of the congregations, although nine-tenths of the rabbis would welcome a change. His criticisms apply only to the liturgy of the German and Polish Jews, that of the Spanish Jews being free from most of these absurdities, and that of the Reformed Jews not containing them at all. He asserts that very many Jews are giving up the faith of their fathers; but adds, significantly, "They may cease to be Jews, indeed, but they do not, for all that, become Christians."

We desire to inform these among our readers who indulge in prayer according to rule, that two weeks of steady prayer have been resolved upon by the proper authorities of the two bodies which are supposed to know most about the matter referred to by the irreverent Tyndall when he desired to know the proper allowance to be made in his experiments, for the dynamic influence of a prayer. The Executive Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association has appointed November 12th to 18th inclusive as a period of prayer. We commend this appointment especially to all politicians. The results of the election will be certainly known by the 12th of November, and one-half the politicians of the country will know that the other half need to be prayed for. The Evangelical Alliance has appointed January 7th to 14th as a week of prayer. Programmes, to insure harmony of appeal, are already issued, and we trust that one may be sent to the unbelieving Tyndall, and that his experimental apparatus may be put in perfect order. Otherwise we may have him by-and-by declaring that January 15th exhibited no effect of the tremendous dynamic influence brought to a focus by the Alliance on the day before.

ENGLISH SKETCHES.

BY MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

LONDON, Oct. 14, 1876.

I do not know whether you, in America, have ever heard of our Dialectical Society in London. It has been in existence now for many years, and has numbered many great names among its members. As vice-presidents we have had Professor Huxley, Dr. Chapman, G. H. Lewes, Viscount Amberley, M. D. Conway, and other well-known folk, and the weekly gathering attracts men and women well known in the literary world. Some little time ago an article appeared in the *Christian World* dealing with the proceedings of the society. The writer appears to have visited the society for the first time, and to be somewhat puzzled at the phenomenon before him, of staid, earnest, middle-class folk discussing the very unorthodox subject of marriage and divorce. Our visitor says:—

"Proceeding on the indubitable fact that all philosophers of all creeds have agreed that truth is of all things the most to be desired, and that it is best elicited by the conflict of opposing opinions, several gentlemen of various tastes—literary, and scientific, and philosophic—resolved to found a society for the purpose of the interchange of opinion on all subjects of interest. 'Ah!' you say, 'a debating society.' Oh, no, nothing of the kind. In a debating society, as an ordinary rule, only surface questions are discussed. The Dialecticians have a higher aim. Accordingly, they have formed a philosophical association, where sectarianism of every kind is rigidly excluded; where all distinctions founded on social condition, occupation, and the like, are disregarded; where the only qualifications for membership are an unstained character—whatever that may mean,—and a genuine desire for the promotion of the objects of the society. Another fundamental rule of the society is the most absolute freedom of debate. No subject whatever is excluded on any ground save that of triviality. 'Let us emulate,' say they, 'the example of the great Athenian philosopher of antiquity, the aim of whose existence was the demonstration of reasoned truth, and the exposure of the errors and fallacies of his age; who, absolutely regardless of all consequences, passed his life in the bold enunciation of the truth, and voluntarily and cheerfully forfeited it in its defence; whose virtue, courage, and wisdom have earned for him the veneration of posterity.'"

The peculiarity of the Dialectical Society is that every speaker may be questioned. A paper is read by the opener of the debate, and the reading lasts some twenty minutes or half an hour; when he concludes, any member may get up and ask questions, to which he must reply; then the discussion is open, each speaker being limited to ten minutes; as each sits down, he or she may be questioned. If an empty, wordy speech is made, a few pointed questions make it collapse with a suddenness amusing to all except the unlucky speaker. Errors in logic, in imagery, in illustration, are thus remorselessly exposed, and no better training for debate can be imagined. At the

close of two hours the debate is either adjourned, or else the opener has the right of twenty minutes to reply. No subject is tabooed among us, and perhaps the chief value of the society consists in the fact that every subject may be freely and openly discussed, personally and conscientiously of expression alone meeting with rebuke. The views of the majority are of the most liberal kind, as is natural when the friction they are exposed to is considered.

Some months ago I opened a debate there on the marriage question. Although I dealt with it from the John Stuart Mill point, regarding it as a contract which should be dissolved if it became a source of misery to the contracting parties, and contended that divorce should carry with it full liberty of remarriage, yet only one speaker took a view thoroughly opposed to that which I propounded. It so chanced that a similar subject was on the tapis when the reporter of the *Christian World* found himself transported into a world by no means Christian. He writes: "To me the novelty of the meeting consisted in the fact that here, in a superior and comfortably-fitted-up hall, by the very middle class who are supposed to be the very incarnation of respectability and the dogged opponents of un-English ideas, a style of talk was indulged in which I should not have been surprised at at the Hall of Science, but of which I fear the clergy of all denominations, who go on in their daily task of chopping up old straw, have not the remotest idea. With scarcely one exception, every speaker, male or female, denounced our English law of matrimony, and pleaded for what seemed very much like unlimited divorce,—such divorce as exists, for instance, in the State of Indiana, which, according to the statements of Mr. Conway, who had recently visited the land, blossomed and rejoiced with all the moral virtues, and was as near being an earthly Paradise as was possible to man."

The feeling among thinking people in England is growing very strong against our present marriage laws. While they by no means desire that marriage should be destroyed, or that unions unrecognized by the State should take its place, they do desire that some way should be found out of the misery which results from the binding together of unsuitable human beings with a band that cannot be broken except through infidelity. Our English law is peculiarly unjust, and tends directly to promote immorality. It sanctions the fatal partial divorce, divorce "from bed and board," while refusing to the parties so divorced liberty of remarriage, and thus it throws on society young men and women, without home ties, who are practically widows and widowers, but who may be prosecuted for bigamy if they marry. If there were a devil, and he invented a scheme for promoting immorality, he could devise none more ingenious than this. Men and women will love when thrown together, without any pre-existing tie; and to refuse them the liberty to do so openly and frankly is to put a premium on immorality. The English law is also extremely partial as between men and women. It very properly allows the husband to gain a divorce against his wife if his wife be unfaithful to him; but it does not give to the wife the right of divorcing an unfaithful husband, unless to the adultery be added either desertion or cruelty. A man may be as immoral as he chooses, provided that he supports his wife and does not ill-use her; and if she leaves him he may compel her to return and live with him. All she can gain by going into court against an immoral husband is the partial divorce alluded to above, which forbids her to remarry during her unfaithful husband's lifetime. Most thoughtful people now agree with Mr. Volkman, the reader of the paper at the Dialectical on the occasion reported in the *Christian World*:—

"(1) That while divorce has become a recognized part of our legal system, yet the present law of divorce does not in any sufficient or decent manner provide the community with the means of annulling unsuitable marriages, but really operates in restraint of legitimate redress; (2) That for the well-being of society the present anomalous divorce system should be abolished in favor of legislation providing timely, suitable, and amicable means of marriage annulment in cases of infelicitous unions."

Our present system is a compromise between the Christian and the utilitarian notions of marriage: the Christian regards it as a sacrament, and, therefore, considers the marriage bond indissoluble; the utilitarian regards it as a contract, and, therefore, considers that it should be dissoluble when it becomes injurious to the contracting parties. The divorce law of the French Legislative Assembly of 1792 is, perhaps, as good and just a law as could be framed. The discussion of the subject in Dialectical fashion seems to have disturbed the serenity of the reporter of the *Christian World*, who apparently regards such discussion as a portentous sign:—

"The Dialecticians in their search after truth perhaps ran, it may be, to the other extreme. At any rate their success in the heart of London is an interesting fact. It is said one-half the world does not know how the other half lives. That may be true, but that it is true as regards intellectual and moral life I have not the remotest doubt. Any Sunday you may see such people as the Dialecticians walking demurely to church, prayer-book in hand. Oh, that the parson would think of that when he is proclaiming the drying up of the Euphrates, or waxing eloquent on the little horn of Ezekiel!"

Truly, if the parsons knew what many of the quiet-looking members of their congregations say and do during the week, the smooth commonplaceness of the Sunday sermon would be much ruffled. What a crash that will be, which is surely coming, when the fabric of national religion, honey-combed through and through with infidelity, will fall as by an earthquake shock, and the stunned believers in worn-out superstitions shall rouse themselves to see that

Christianity is numbered among the religions of the past, the worn-out and cast-off creed-clothes of a larger grown humanity!

Communications.

A VOICE FROM THE SOUTH.

ATLANTA, Ga., Oct. 24, 1876.

EDITOR INDEX:

Sir,—Your issue of Oct. 19 contains an editorial on "The Situation," in which you deplore the existence of a "white man's party" at the South, while I regard it as an absolute necessity, a matter indeed of self-preservation. And why? Because as a class the whites are the tax-payers, and the negroes as a class pay little or no taxes. It is a fact needing very little demonstration to prove that a lot of non-tax-payers (and withal exceedingly ignorant) are a very unsafe body to be clothed with the power of levying the taxes. And mark you; ninety-nine per cent. of the money thus assessed necessarily comes out of the pockets of the "white man's party," whose organization in this section you look upon with so much distrust. Had it not been for this same movement, so much deprecated by you, this State (Georgia) would now have been in the deplorable condition of South Carolina and Louisiana, whose sufferings have become historic. It would be a waste of time to enlarge on facts so well known. Suffice it is to say that the citizens of these States in many instances have been absolutely beggared by the taxes (almost amounting to confiscation) imposed by insouciant negro legislatures, the taxes often being more than the income derived from the property. Escape from such a state of things seemed desirable to the "Southern white savages," and hence the necessity, as a choice of evils, of a "white man's party." I say a choice of evils, because I am free to confess that it is an evil for any set of men to obtain the exclusive control of any government (be it State or National) for an indefinite period.

In this case, however, I honestly believe it to be the lesser of two evils. As an evidence of this, I will call your attention to the fact that Georgia bonds are now quoted at par and above, while the States which suffer under the rule of a negro majority are of little or no value. I believe it is admitted by most fair-minded men that the negroes are better off in Georgia than in any other Southern State.

Mr. Herbert Spencer (*vide Sociology*) seems to lean to the opinion that the Established Church of England was beneficial "during a certain phase of progress, being at the time the best thing practicable, and really did good work for mankind in general." Can it not possibly be true that this "white man's party" in like manner may now be the best thing practicable in Southern politics until the colored "man and brother" is better fitted by education to wear gracefully these "honors thrust upon him"? I believe a candid comparison of the condition of these Southern States where the whites are in the majority, with those in which the negroes are in the ascendancy, will compel a belief that it is better for both races for the whites to control the government for the present at least.

In conclusion, allow me to notice a remark in an article by "W. J. P." ("Justice, not Partisanship"). He says, speaking of the Southern people: "There is a large section of the white race more ignorant and degraded than the negro." This is a statement in my judgment impossible to verify. While I admit that very intelligent negroes, and especially mulattoes, are to be found in most of the Southern cities, and in many instances they are really the superiors of some white men living in the backwoods, I assert, without the fear of successful contradiction, that "W. J. P." is incorrect, when he says that there is a large section of the white race more ignorant and degraded than the negro (as a race).

Respectfully, O. H. GREEN.

AN INDIGNANT PROTEST.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

How much easier it is to see the mote in other people's eyes than to pick the beams out of our own! In your last issue (Oct. 19) I read with indignation the concluding paragraph of the "Glimpse"—which I presume I am right in crediting to your editorial pen,—*apropos* to the present anarchical condition of affairs in South Carolina: "Such a state of things justifies the employment of the whole military power of the nation to protect the freedom of the ballot-box and the rights of the manacled negroes. This is the paramount issue in South Carolina, and we hope to hear yet that Wade Hampton and his horde of murderers are beaten off the field." Now if you had ever met this man Wade Hampton, you could not have made such a palpable misrepresentation of his character as to associate his candidacy with the idea of an individual who would accept, under any circumstances, the support of a "horde of murderers." My dear sir, if you were to charge Charles Francis Adams and Frank Bird with having deliberately plotted to assassinate Governor Rice, you would not more gravely have falsified the actual facts of the situation. But I was not a little mollified—not to say amused,—on turning over the pages of my INDEX, to come upon the following statement (in the identical No. 356 containing the quotation already given) in the admirable and fairly impartial record of "Current Events":—

"The South Carolina Democrats are determined to elect Wade Hampton at all hazards, and they have our best wishes for their success, although some of their methods of gaining votes are unquestionably dishonorable, and are paralleled only by the actions of

the national administration toward its employees. They are giving the negro to understand that future employment and consequent bread and butter will depend upon the transfer of the negro's allegiance to the Democratic party. Democratic butchers, and bakers, and candlestick-makers are advertising their wares in the South Carolina newspapers, and it is evident that all white Republicans are to be put, if they are not already, under a social ban. We have no desire to attempt to justify these proceedings, but pious Republicans who are grieved at their appearance must have forgotten that human nature is not angelic nature, and that ten years of subjection to ignorant negroes would not be likely to develop the purest methods of political action."

Now we are upon the eve of an exciting election, which will result, I have no doubt, in relegating the Southern States to the care of their natural guardians, and thus do away forever with the sickening display of presumptuous arrogance and inexcusable ignorance which has mainly characterized the cold-blooded assumptions of Northern editors in reference to the characters, motives, and intentions of Southern whites. I can understand the despairing wails of Federal officials, who foresee hard work in the future, in the place of well-paid sinecures; but I confess my inability to explain the necessity for our "liberal" INDEX displaying the tattered remnant of the ensanguined undergarment. I know—because I have seen with my own eyes,—that, so far as "Southern outrages" are concerned, as between the blacks and whites, "it is six of one and half a dozen of the other." However, I long since learned that it is more difficult for the average Republican to forgive the defeated Southerners, who have suffered so much through the effects of their secession folly, than for those same Southerners to forget the pharisaical criticisms of their Northern antagonists, upon a subject the latter have blundered about as much as the present English Ministry have in making the mistake of supporting Turkey against the outraged Servians. In both cases the cause and effect have been identical. A selfish interest has sufficed to close the eyes of either to the real facts, and, in order to retain a predominance in political power which did not normally attach to them, English and Americans committed themselves to the support of a pernicious policy, and Servians and Southerners have suffered until forbearance has ceased to be a virtue.

But, not to weary your patience, permit me to call your careful attention, in conclusion, to the following extract from Redpath's letter, summing up the Southern situation, as published recently in the *Independent*:

"I never experienced so keen a sorrow, connected with public affairs, as during my visit to Mississippi. I never had so profound a contempt for what is called the conservative Republican policy. We ought never to have given the negro a vote, or we ought to have forced him to learn to read, and built a school for him in every township. He has shown that he is not fit to rule in Mississippi. He is the dupe in peace of black and white demagogues; and, alas, in war—for the last campaign was a military revolution—he is the only victim who suffers from our sins of omission. The negro county governments in Mississippi bore the same relation to orderly Republican administrations that negro minstrelsy burlesques bear to the divine symphonies of Beethoven. What right had we to expect a better result? Fellow-Republicans, it is idle to denounce the South. We are to blame. We knew the negro to be timid, unarmed, illiterate; and yet we left him in the midst of the fiercest fighters on this planet, and expected him to rule them."

"In Mississippi, his power went down in violence and blood. So it will disappear, unless we act promptly, in South Carolina and Louisiana. It is the greatest problem of our time, and a most complex problem. Let the state it broadly."

"If we give complete military protection to the negro in all elections in South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana, where there is a large black majority, we shall establish a system of government which no white race on the face of this earth either ought to endure or will endure."

Mr. Redpath goes on to state that the alternative surrenders the States of South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana "to the same brutal banditti who drove those communities into civil war." But in requesting your attention to this honest opinion of a well-known radical who has witnessed the facts of which he speaks, I have performed the duty I set myself, and have only to await the popular verdict of next month; hoping meantime THE INDEX will rely henceforth upon the judicial good sense of its own "R. C."

Yours for the rights of all,

ALBERT WARREN KELSEY.

BENTON PLACE, St. Louis, Oct. 23, 1876.

THE ERRONEOUS READING OF "CURRENT EVENTS."

EDITOR INDEX:

As a close reader of your valuable journal, I have admired the free parliament afforded in your columns to diverse views upon all live topics. Nothing in the usually pungent criticisms on "Current Events," by "R. C.," has escaped me. The following, in the issue for October 12, appeals so strongly to my sense of justice, that I raise my voice, in testimony against the erroneous reading of current events it appears to convey in every sentence:—

"Judging from the tenor of many speeches and lectures delivered just subsequent to the civil war, it is evident that not a few excellent people then believed that the gift of the ballot would suddenly convert the Southern freedman into something resembling an angel of light. It is an extremely difficult matter, apparently, for people who became possessed of the above notion to understand that the facts of the past ten years prove conclusively that the freedman is very often a lying and thievish knave, and in

many respects is more closely allied to a semi-barbarian than to any civilized being. That the Southern negroes are utterly incapable of self-government, we hold to be proved conclusively by the miserable condition of those States in which they have had longest and most exclusive control. So wretched, in fact, have been their attempts at government that throughout these States to-day the whites take no interest whatever in the questions which disturb our national politics. They care nothing about tariff, or resumption, or silver standard, or civil-service reform, and divide into no parties upon these questions. Parties are divided by the color line, and the whites are occupied solely with the desire of escaping from the rule of the negro and his coadjutor and fellow-scalawag, the carpet-bag white man. All sentiments of poetic justice must long ago have been satisfied by the twelve years' rule of the former slave over his master, and, for the best interests of both races, it is about time now for this unnatural order of things to be done away with."

I protest that few well-informed men could have expected the sudden "gift of the ballot" to convert the Southern freedmen into "angels of light," "opposition to slavery-extension being founded upon the fact that it condemned to ignorance and morally debased millions of blacks and whites in the Southern States. The ballot was given to the black in self-defence, and as a check to the defeated elements of treason. It was hoped the reverses of Southern leaders and the changed condition of the blacks would lead to alliances for their mutual benefit. The work of redeeming the South completely from the prejudices of race and disloyalty was confided to present and future generations. An heroic cure was provided for grievous wounds."

I protest against any attempt to cite the facts of the past ten years to prove conclusively that the negro is any better or worse than the average human being, or governed by any different motives of self-interest in any condition of life. I plead an experience of thirteen years as a teacher, editor, party-organizer, and an official representative of blacks, against the inhumanity of that kind of political thought which would attempt, if empowered, to reduce the blacks to political peonage, or slavery to the white race. I think of nothing, in all the long years of war and the mockery of peace which has continued to follow it, which should cause any friend of abolition or of the ballot to question the wisdom of the national record.

I cannot recall a moment when the agents of the Federal government were not considered as "tyrants over a conquered people," and the blacks an "inferior and debased people," and when the Confederate element did not desire the ascendancy, utterly careless of the proprieties observed in civilized States on a poll of their voters. I know the struggle is not between the elements of honesty and dishonesty in local government. South Carolina tells the story through her reform Governor, Daniel Chamberlain, whose Republican sympathies cannot be forgiven him. Do not be misled; be wary with that pen, "R. C." The same humane arguments we use in pleading the cause of freedom in religious are quite as needful in political affairs.

It is not time to experiment in "poetic feelings of justice," but rather to hold up the hands of the administrators of the law, and to hold fast to the decrees of the war, not allowing the diplomacy and the superior experience of the Southern whites to befog the national conscience on the negro question. Remember that two hundred thousand negroes carried muskets in the Union army, and they are ready to repeat the service, and may be needed in the near future. School-houses, wherever opened, are crowded with eager throngs of black children, and should be more plentiful. The remedy for Southern misgovernment is not of this day or generation. The harvest of two centuries of inhumanity is ungarnished. Meanwhile, let us have obedience to law, enforced probably by the bayonet; next, it may be acknowledged that a national system of compulsory education will suffice to meet all the demands of humanity in the premises.

Very respectfully,

EMERSON BENTLEY.

MORGAN CITY, La., Oct. 23, 1876.

[We accept Mr. Bentley's letter, which is as temperate in tone as it is wise in substance, as a very satisfactory statement of our own views on this subject. Especially do we approve the recommendation of "compulsory education," rather than any "white man's party," as the likeliest remedy for the troubles of the South.—ED.]

AN "ABOLITIONISTS" VIEW.

ROCK FALLS, Ill., Oct. 24, 1876.

DEAR FRIEND ABBOT:—

I heartily thank our friend, W. J. Potter, for his mild but merited rebuke of "R. C." I have been astonished and wounded at the expressions of this writer. If I had seen some of his paragraphs in pro-slavery Democratic papers, I should not have been surprised. Having been from my youth a warm friend of the colored man, and an humble soldier in that long moral conflict that preceded the downfall of the worst form of oppression that ever disgraced man, I can have no sympathy and but little patience with one whose predilections are on the side of the oppressor. It seems to me that THE INDEX will suffer much from the publication of "R. C.'s" articles. Every man has a right to speak his sentiments; but every man is not under an obligation to listen to them, nor pay for them, and I think you will find others who agree with me. I wish to see the manly battle you have waged against the encroachments theological bigots are making against religious freedom fought out on that line. But if it is mixed up with the advocacy of wrongs more grievous to be borne than any we have yet experienced at the hands of religious bigots, we shall lose much of our love and admiration for that paper.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. LUKENS.

AN EXTREMIST'S DECISION.

UPPER GLOUCESTER, Me., Oct. 23, 1876.

MR. EDITOR:—

The editorial in THE INDEX of the 19th instant is a word in due season. It has the right ring about it. Although it is too late to remedy the oversight of the Congress of Liberals at Philadelphia, in neglecting to nominate a liberal ticket, it is not too late for each individual liberal to refrain from voting or to cast a vote of his own making-up.

The State of Maine is certain for Hayes by ten thousand majority at least, and therefore I for one shall continue to practice the policy of the Garrisonian abolitionists, and not vote at all.

In a State almost equally divided, a liberal ticket might have the effect to warn the other parties that the "Demands of Liberalism" are not to be despised, and in such a case the two parties should be made to know upon what terms either could have our votes,—although many in the present case will conclude of two evils to choose the least. As it is, no folly can be greater than for the liberals of this State to give their votes for either party, the most important thing being to make their action or non-action seen and felt; for non-action will be action in such a case.

There are no liberals here who will take the view of your humble servant, and there are but one or two who care enough about the question at all to read THE INDEX, much less take and pay for it. If there are, they have got to be found.

I have been a radical in all questions of reform, and have been counted as an extremist for more than forty years, and I intend to die in harness. As I can effect nothing more, I mean that all my neighbors shall know why I do not vote; and I only offer this encumbrance to the columns of THE INDEX in the hope that some of its readers may be influenced to pursue the same course.

I do not believe that the Christian Amendment, in any form, can pass at the next session of Congress. It could not again secure so large a vote in the Senate as it did last session. The question may be brought successfully before the people in its liberal aspect after the Presidential election. D. S. G.

RUFUS S. FROST.

TO LIBERALS WHO PROPOSE TO CAST A CONSISTENT VOTE:—

Many readers of THE INDEX in this vicinity will remember that, in 1874, they cast their votes against the Republican candidate in the Fourth Suffolk District, Rufus S. Frost, thinking and believing him to be in sympathy with the "Christian Amendment" party, whose aim it is to make the Constitution of our country Christian rather than secular, as it now is.

Knowing Mr. Frost to be an excellent and a true man, and one who would otherwise represent the district well, if elected, I, with others, felt called upon to ascertain his exact position, so that injustice should not be done him. Consequently, in a recent call upon him, I alluded to the efforts being made to introduce the name of God into the Constitution, and also to the so-called Blaine amendment, as passed by the House of Representatives and changed for the worse by the Senate, and asked for an expression of opinion on the same. To this, with evident emotion, he frankly replied that, while he honored and firmly believed in the God of his fathers, he was, and should be opposed to anything that looked like a union of Church and State. And he regarded the introduction of the word God into the Constitution as a step in that direction, and therefore to be opposed.

I am also happy to be able to report that, while speaking of the Bible in public schools, he took a very liberal and just view of the question, maintaining that our schools should be made and kept PERFECTLY SECULAR,—that being the only method of preserving them for all time intact.

This will be gratifying to his many liberal friends, who can and will now vote for him consistently.

Truly yours,

D. G. CRANDON.

CHELSEA, Mass., Oct. 28.

MR. H. L. GREEN.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

I have just learned, and with deep regret, that Mr. H. L. Green has removed from our city and taken up his residence in Salamanca, N. Y.

Mr. Green has during the entire time of my acquaintance with him—and this extends now over many years—been one of the most devoted, self-sacrificing, tireless workers for the cause of spiritual emancipation and all practical reform that I have ever had the happiness to know. His activity in the establishment and maintenance of the Radical Club in this city, an organization which owed its birth to him, and whose life and soul he continued to be to the end, always infusing into it such measure of earnestness and love of truth and right as lay in his power,—in the maintenance of a Free Reading Room constantly open, and filled with papers and magazines of the first value so far as they could be commanded,—and his effective work generally throughout this vicinity in reaching, addressing, and arousing the liberally inclined and the thoughtful who might anywhere be drawn together, upon the issues of this hour,—all these and more are well known to those who have been familiar at all with the life of this devoted doer.

I beg to commend Mr. Green cordially to the confidence and hearty welcome of the liberal and progressive people in and throughout the region of his present home, and I trust they will avail themselves freely of the privilege of inviting him to address them and to aid them forward in the work of enlightenment and emancipation that presses so imperatively to be done at the present time.

Yours,

CHAS. D. B. MILLS.

SYRACUSE, N. Y., Oct. 23, 1876.

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1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.
2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.
3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.
4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.
5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.
6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.
7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."
8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.
9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.
10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.
11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.
12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.
13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

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SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage, to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

A COLORED PREACHER said (or is reported to have said), at a recent political meeting in South Carolina, that Christ was a Republican, and was crucified by Democrats!

THE ELECTION is going on as we go to press, and its result will be known before this issue reaches the majority of our readers. Several communications on this subject are belated, and we are extremely sorry that it has been impossible to get them out in season; but the best of them we shall publish after the election. They are just as good to reflect upon.

THE STORY goes that some sailors, after discussing a new comet with considerable trepidation, came to the unanimous conclusion that it was "a star sprung a leak." This explanation applies to the Beechers, Murrys, Swings, and other half-liberal preachers whose doctrinal wanderings alarm the Orthodox. They are undoubtedly "stars," but, to judge by their cometary vagaries, merely stars which have "sprung a leak."

THIS WAS written on the back of the ballot we cast on the seventh of November: "I cannot vote the Democratic electoral ticket because I believe the Democratic party disloyal to the principle of national unity. I cannot vote the Republican electoral ticket because I believe the Republican party pledged to amend the Constitution in favor of Protestant Orthodoxy, and thus to unite Church and State. I am therefore obliged to cast this protest ballot for electors who are thoroughly loyal to the great principles of national unity and secular government at the same time. FRANCIS E. ABBOT." The only six names we substituted for the thirteen we erased were as follows: Samuel E. Sewall, Elizur Wright, W. J. Potter, M. J. Savage, William Lloyd Garrison, R. P. Halliwell.

IT IS STATED that "an estimable old lady, on her way to the Centennial by way of the Sound, produced her Bible immediately after going aboard the steamer at New London, and devoutly perused a chapter. Her appreciation of ensuing dangers and difficulties was made evident by the fact that she selected the first chapter of Genesis." There is something despicable in this attempt to make fun of the old lady. She was evidently a disciple of the Rev. Joseph Cook, and, having set out to improve her mind and being satisfied by her instructor that the first chapter of Genesis explained the beginning of all things, intended merely to consult the best author-

ity on the question whether steamboats were originally created in the Garden of Eden, or might be conceded without danger to Orthodoxy to be lineal descendants of Mr. Darwin's horrid monkeys.

THE *Catholic Review* concedes that "no distinctively Protestant publication can be otherwise than immoral, because just in so far as it is Protestant it is so only by a formal denial of revealed truth as taught by the Church to whom God has intrusted his message to mankind. And as its only reason for existence is to spread a falsehood, it inevitably inculcates the most radical immorality." Catholicism teaches that it is immoral not to believe all that the Church declares to be true. Protestantism makes the same absurd assumption with regard to the Bible, and hence treats "Sabbath-breaking" as an "immorality." Seeing what useless burdens of this sort superstition has created and laid on human shoulders, we remember the saying: "Cursed be the man who invents a sin!"

IT WILL give very great pleasure to our readers, as it does to us, that we are permitted to announce Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton as a new "Editorial Contributor" of THE INDEX. Mrs. Stanton was one of the very earliest champions of woman's equality with man in all political or civil rights, and is to-day President of the National Woman Suffrage Association. Her reputation for character and capacity is national in extent, and she wears a veteran's crown of honor and grateful recognition from the hands of those for whom she has labored so faithfully and so long. It would be impossible for us to give a more convincing proof of the value of this new acquisition to our columns than by quoting these striking passages from Mrs. Stanton's very kind acceptance of our invitation, which are too profoundly wise and instructive to be buried in a merely private letter:—

"Woman is held in bondage to-day by the complete perversion of the religious element of her being. I have long seen this, and tried to do the best I could by liberal interpretations of the Bible; but that, I find, amounts to very little so long as the priest, with holy unction, teaches the opposite. I have travelled very extensively through the Western States, through California, Texas, etc. Everywhere the devotion of women to their churches is really pitiful; and when oppression is accepted as the will of God, where can we open the argument? A devout, complacent slave is as pitiful, as exasperating, whether on a Southern plantation or in an Orthodox congregation. I had thought that with political freedom woman might get rid of her superstition, as man has. Higher education in science and philosophy is doing something for the rising generation of girls; but, as you say, these religious superstitions make their subjection after all certain. There is not, I believe, an Orthodox woman on our platform: there may be, but I do not recall one just now. Now what can we do to get the suffrage movement 'out of the rats, and base it on universal truths'? The very idea you express of woman's ownership of herself we declared in the closing sentence of our Fourth of July Declaration. One thing we should do, and that is to identify ourselves with the struggle you and a few others are now making for free religion, to avert the danger to our schools, our Constitution, in fact to freedom in all directions. Though I am not well enough informed to write the articles referred to, yet I will write from time to time on anything suggested by the articles in your journal, which I read regularly with much pleasure. I am busy just now writing a history of the suffrage movement; when that is done, I intend to look into the religions and their effect on woman's condition. I have no objection to be enrolled among your correspondents."

Surely, a new day would dawn for women, if only a thousandth part of them were as wise for themselves as this true friend is wise for them!

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE,
 AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 8, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fairs shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

A Plea for Freedom of Thought.

SUGGESTED BY "AIDS TO FAITH."

BY J. D. VAN DUZEN.

In these times we can truly say that Dogmatism, the ancient tyrant of the nations, is dead. He has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. The sceptre has passed from his hands; his sovereignty has departed. He has been a royal master in his day, but we must leave him with the nations that are in eternal peace. Still, we shall claim the right to draw what succor for mankind we can from his history; his good results may be praised; the evil may be condemned that it may be avoided; and his high-handed misdemeanors may receive faithful exposition at the hands of the historian, that they may no longer awe by their authority, or attract by the splendor of their assumption, or by their plausibility.

We are asked if this king has left no successor. He has. Toleration has been duly announced from the balconies of the old palaces of power as the legitimate sovereign to rule in his stead. The people have acknowledged him, and his throne is set up in their midst. The pageant has passed, and the paths of commerce, industry, science, the arts, and literature are pursued with a lighter heart, a clearer brain, and a firmer tread for mankind.

Infinite assertion (pardon the phrase) was the only authority of the ancient Catholicism. The decrees of the Pope was the voice of heaven, and no power on earth could say nay and be heard. Such presumption, in thousands of recorded historical instances, was rewarded with the rack and the stake. No matter how natural it was for man to reason, to question the sacredness of that which did not seem sacred, he must not reason, he must not question. If he did, death was held up as the penalty. The word of the Church was not to be doubted or reasoned upon, because, if permitted to reason, the right of doubting was conceded, and with the right of doubting the right of believing the evidences that compelled to a conclusion antagonistic to that maintained by the Church. The reasoning must be left to the Bishop; the laity was only to exercise faith and worship God according to the decrees of a Council of Bishops.

This made Catholicism a military system, with all the rigors of military law in the discipline of the Church. It was the exact opposite of individualism; it denied to man the privilege of worshipping God according to the dictates of his own conscience. It stood between man and his God as a sacred and authoritative mediator, pretending to receive the will of God from heaven, and interpreting that will to man. It cut man off from God; it cut him off from communication with his own conscience and reason; it denied to him the use of these faculties in sacred matters; it reduced him to the position of the unreasoning animal; it deprived him of all high prerogatives of human intelligence in the most important and sacred interests of his existence.

Such a power was the natural enemy of intellectual advancement, of the natural exercise of the human reason in all its legitimate functions. Whenever thought commenced, there the power of the Pope and the authority of the Council of Bishops were shaken. If men would think, if reason would operate in human affairs in the world of faith as well as the world of physics, the authority of this tyrannical dogmatism must be disturbed. From this necessity for the preparation of the human reason to work, investigate, satisfy itself, Luther appeared, and the doors of Rome were sealed. The real work of Luther was not to introduce another infallible faith into the world than that promulgated at Rome, but to introduce greater freedom of religious thought, to break the old despotism which had long oppressed the nations.

Still, Luther did not complete the work he commenced. His work only substituted another despotism for one that had passed away, yet not so severe and completely intolerant. His despotism was tempered by greater liberalism, if the element of liberalism can be said to enter into a despotism. It could not be expected that Catholicism, which had contributed so much to the education of the age, could be wholly discarded. It had educated the world to certain modes of thought, to certain methods of worship, and it was impossible to dethrone them all absolutely and immediately. The foundations of Protestantism were laid more exclusively in Christ and in Scripture, and partook more of the pure morality and liberalism of their teachings. The men of that time did not understand civil liberty as they understand it now. Civil and religious liberty must go hand in hand; the one is not evolved from the other; the one is not the natural antecedent of the other. Both are the natural antagonism of political and religious despotism; both are founded upon the freedom of the individual will, of individual speculation, and individual opinions. Both are the natural result, as logical and legitimate as anything can be, of the natural individualism founded in the diverse characters of men. All men are born with diverse powers, diverse characters, diverse tendencies. Men are found everywhere differing in degrees of ability; indeed, no two men can be said to be born alike.

In the combination of individuals for a common purpose, the ancients, looking too much towards the accomplishment of the common purpose, lost sight of the individual, and suppressed him entirely in Church and State. This gave all authority into the hands of a few; the few dictated opinions and laws for the masses to follow, and all the individualism of the time was enveloped in the fortunate few who were possessed of power, and it was suppressed in the

masses. Hence spiritual and political dogmatism and despotism were the legitimate result.

Men will investigate, think, compare; it is the natural effort of reason in self-development. This effort imposed the age of criticism upon the age of Luther, Calvin, and his theories. It imposed the law upon England, and that law is now the law of the Church and the State. Dissent introduced new churches, and aided independent thinkers to form around common centres and institute new organizations. But, in forming these new organizations, each adopted the old law of strict conformity as applicable to itself. This required it to anathematize, to excommunicate, to recognize those friendly and turn aside from those hostile to their peculiar faith. In truth, Protestantism, from the time of Luther to the present hour, has been dogmatic, exclusive, harsh, tyrannical in its theology. We can see no difference between the decrees of the Pope and the decrees of the village church, the decrees of the annual conference, or the decrees of the synod of Congregational ministers; all alike lay down the theological code; all alike forbid opposition; all alike threaten the displeasure of the Church upon those who question the wisdom or the truthfulness of its doctrines; all alike punish the sin of heresy, all condemn the infidel or the unbeliever; all alike hold up to the condemnation of good men the German rationalism which introduced freedom of discussion and thought.

There is another despotism that reigns in all the Protestant churches, of whatever denomination. It is a social despotism of opinion. Let the Churchman know a neighbor, whatever may be the virtues of his private character, who inclines to freedom of thought upon religious matters, and he repudiates him. The heretic is deprived of that social countenance which will sustain his moral character and minister to his sympathetic needs; he is looked upon with the eye of suspicion as a dangerous man; children and young men are taught to avoid him for fear of contamination. To a man of sensitive nature, this is a great tyranny, a deep sorrow. It cuts him off from pleasant relations in life; it wounds him in his family relations. This is not the spirit of Christ; it is not the true Christianity; it is one of the ancient barbarisms that must die out gradually with the emancipation of the human mind from the ancient tyrannies.

There can be no excuse for this proscription, a proscription that differs only in degree, and not in kind, from the spirit of persecution in the old Catholic Church. The Church cannot be maintained upon a more safe and healthy basis in consequence of it; on the other hand, the tendency is to call out the indignation and contempt of the better class of practical men in the world. If the Church could be maintained more securely, if the general morals of society were better sustained in consequence of this proscription, the sin might find some extenuation. But the spirit of the age is such that proscription is proscribed and intolerance not tolerated.

It cannot be denied that positivism is the leaning of the age. Men are beginning to believe only that which they know, and to receive no mere assertions of others. This is the influence of the great Baconian theory of induction. A large number of similar phenomena are classed together, and any relation common to them all is generalized as a new law. This is the principle in the discoveries of science, in mechanics, in all the operations of trade and commerce. It is the basis of all advancement in human experience, and every new accession of human knowledge is gained by the same process. This principle enters into the politics of the State, and the statesman feels his way along into the darkness ahead with the same caution that the scientific man and the philosopher use.

It is natural that this universal and positive habit of mind should extend itself into the spiritual knowledge of the world. The horizon of the material world is bounded by the spiritual. We can know the physical world; of the spiritual we know nothing save by inference. We do not know of its existence save by inference. We have had no message from it, save that which comes from the desires and hopes of the human breast. Angels are only imaginary creations. Their celestial habiliments float only in the human fancy; their personalities are always represented in likeness of man as painted upon the canvas of the artist or chiselled on the cold marble. The spirit world is but the natural world in which we live, reproduced in some superior locality with all the sin and sorrow left out.

The history of religious advancement is only the history of the moral development of the human race. What Athanasius or Chrysostom or Calvin taught is of no binding force upon me. I have no interest in it except as I have an interest in all facts of history. Of what binding force can be the announcements of Aristotle in politics, any farther than he announced absolute truths which have been sustained by the experience of mankind? Of no more binding force on me are the announcements of Luther, of Calvin, or of any modern dogmatist in theology. The authority of antiquity has no more binding effect upon the human mind in theology than in politics. That theology and that politics are the best for the moral welfare of the people which best suit their character and needs. Catholicism, it must be conceded, has been a blessing to millions, because it held them to some moral law and religious observance. As fast as their social needs pass beyond the ability of that Church to supply them, Catholicism must give way to some other religion. It is so with Protestantism; it is so with limited monarchies, absolutisms, or democracies.

In the last great defence of Protestantism written by some of the ablest men in the Church of England, history, with all the authorities of antiquity in full

array, is marshalled to meet those who had ventured, though modestly, to speak kindly of some of the scepticisms of the day. It seems that they would rather compel assent by the number of great names than by the weight of their arguments. Professor Mansel, however, better than the others, apprehends the situation, and reasons more from obvious facts and acknowledged conclusions. Less than the others, he calls upon us to accept the teachings of the fathers of theology, and meets the practical mind of the day with arguments that will command respect and admiration, if they do not convince the judgment.

It is as certain to men now as it ever can be, that no dogmatic laws can be laid down in theology any more than in the State. The Church and its tenets are but the constitution of the moral State. That constitution, and the laws arising out of it, must change with the changing character of the people. The different churches are only minor States within the State; they minister to the moral, as the State ministers to the political, wants. They appeal to reverence, and the State to intellect. Both are human institutions; both are chargeable to meet the progressive developments of the human character, and the varying circumstances of a nation's history. Neither can claim absolute authority in this age any farther than the laws and principles and formularies that they have evolved have met the sanction of the universal sense of mankind. Sixteen hundred cannot precipitate itself upon nineteen hundred, and narrow and subdue it within the older limits. The year nineteen hundred has new facts to deal with, new people with different characters to govern, new wants to supply, new theories to elaborate in practical life, and a wider range of vision by the added experience of three centuries. Therefore sixteen hundred must fall back to its place, commended for the work which it has well done, but condemned for its usurpations of authority in a higher and broader present.

We are told that our argument is a fallacy, because the Church has a divine origin and speaks with the authority of inspiration. We reply, the State has as divine an origin, and speaks with an inspiration coming from as high a source as the Church. Law is law. It is the natural antagonist of confusion, dissolution, and death. It is the divine energy with which God holds this universe of multitudinous monads in harmony. By law he lifts the dead, dull weight of worlds into animation, and pours the beam of his intelligence through them, and lights them up with inexpressible grandeur and beauty. Law is his right arm; let it be withdrawn, and the inert mass falls dead. He has spoken the law for the Church; he alone has spoken the law for the State. Neither has come to us by a special revelation; both have come pencilled dimly in Nature, and in the heart of man. The great work of man is to bring them into light. One by one these laws have been clearly seen; one by one, through the long ages, they have been recorded in the human depositories of learning, and applied to all the arts of life; and one by one have they lifted the load from mortal shoulders, and elevated the brow and eye to the Supreme Law-giver and Power. Confucius, Zoroaster, Socrates and Seneca, Bacon and Luther,—each has had a common fountain from which to drink; each has raised his portion of the waters of immortality to the parched lips of mankind. The Church and the State, the expression of the moral and the intellectual faculties of man, have alike profited by their teachings.

We are told that this is assumption; that it is a relic of the old dogmatism whose death and burial we have just celebrated. No, this is not so. It is not assumption, it is not dogmatism. Let no advocate of the historic faith soothe himself with the reflection that he has discomfited us by his assertions. All the presumptions of Nature and of human experience are in our favor; the burden of proof is on him to show our error and his own truth. The most gigantic work that we can find to do is to emancipate the present from the imposed despotisms of the past. Precedent is good where the facts are the same, and where no new discoveries have been made. Precedent in English laws is followed only in cases exactly analogous; in such cases it is the mark of wisdom to follow it. But the religious wants of mankind grow out of the character of mankind, and that character is always changing with the advance of years.

The kind of religion is not so essential as that we have religion of some kind. Man must express himself in some religious form, as the seed planted must express itself in the flower; hence prayer, and the erection of temples of worship, and the formularies of the Church under the law of association for a common purpose. These have erected themselves into authority, and that authority will not admit of a change. The Church falls back upon infallible inspiration; but we place this out of the argument.

A new promulgation of this authority comes from the Lord Bishop of Oxford. The *Essays and Reviews* presume to doubt. The Lord Bishop of Oxford pronounces "the distinct, solemn, and, if need be, severe decision of authority that assertions such as these cannot be put forward as possibly true, or even advanced as admitting of question, by honest men who are bound by voluntary obligations to teach the Christian revelation as the truth of God." He claims that, if these matters "are admitted by us to be open questions among men under such obligations, we shall leave to the next generation the fatal legacy of a universal scepticism." He says further that "we need the calm, comprehensive, scholarly declaration of positive truth upon all the matters in dispute." He would not allow dispute; he would not permit questionings upon fundamental principles. Can he help it? He will not consent that these fundamental questions shall remain "open questions." We ask again, can he help it? No, not while a doubt re-

mains unsettled; not while the shadow of a doubt is left in the vast field of the historical origin of Christianity. Men will question all things that are not absolutely proven. It is his nature that he should question; his reason cannot operate, cannot discover, cannot advance unless he does question. A few facts are settled in the material world; those will not be questioned. That the sun shines, that water runs down hill, that two and two make four, are unquestionable propositions. We never see two sane philosophers discussing the point whether these propositions are true or not. The best form of government, the age of the world, the mosaic cosmogony, plenary inspiration of the Scriptures, and the most efficient cannon for naval warfare, are still open questions with the mass of mankind, and, being such, men will discuss them. We cannot see how my Lord Bishop of Oxford can justly or possibly prevent it.

But he comes forward and replies: "No, I do not wish or seek to prevent this universally. I say that those who voluntarily assume the position of Christian teachers must question no longer." This is not the point. We who are not of the Church of England do not wish to inquire into your Church regulations, requirements, and government; but the moment that you assume that all you teach is absolute and therefore unquestionable truth, that moment we say you overstep the bounds of moral or religious teachers, because you teach that which you do not know. If you will say that such and such is the faith of the Church of England, and then give satisfactory evidences of your faith, we will recognize you as within your legitimate province, and accept you as one of the lights of the world, worthy to be followed so far as you declare the truth.

The Lord Bishop of Oxford is behind the age when he will not permit men to doubt and question. No Church, no State, no creed, no institution, no mechanical science, and no industrial enterprise can advance, if doubting and questioning are stopped. This is clapping the padlock upon human reason; it is saying to the sun, Stand still; it is saying to universal vegetation, Cease development this instant, and stand forever ice-locked. The old theologies have done good work, but they must give way to new ones if they would meet the progressive wants of mankind. The stolid calm of the East cannot fall upon the West; agitation and movement have entered into the spirit of the West, and intellectual rest is impossible.

When German rationalism or English scepticism question, they do it, not to destroy religion from the face of the earth, but to reconcile it to the age.

Socrates was a better man, and Seneca was a wiser teacher of human morals, than Calvin. The Grecian and the Roman, though called heathens, never would have burned Servetus at the stake for heresy. All the scepticism and rationalism of the age that commands the respect of a reasoning man recognize the virtues of Christianity, but they cannot love her theology.

And what do we observe? It is this: that theology is sustained, not by reasoning men in their unassociated capacity, but by churches as a system. They have a system to maintain, hence call upon authority to assist them. The great names of antiquity, with all their regal splendor of great intellect, and the cities, churches, peoples of the past, are called upon to give a testimony and a law to the nineteenth century. Let us look at the hearts of those who summon this cloud of witnesses, and we shall find that they fight, not to sustain a faltering individual opinion, but to prop an attacked system and keep it from crumbling to ruin in their hands. Here the motive is ill; it is not genuinely honest, though it dwells in a heart that beats beneath the immaculate robes of a bishop.

The Lord Bishop of Oxford would settle the theological difficulties of any mind "rather by strengthening the deep foundations of faith than by the labored refutation of every separate captious and casuistic objection." This is all we desire to settle the faith. The Church holds so tenaciously to its old position that we cannot settle the faith. This is apt to be overlooked by the Church teachers. Faith is the result of character, and character is always determined by two motor-powers, the passionate and the rationalistic tendencies. The one feels and follows without thought, and the other never moves save under a sure mental conviction. The first will easily fall under the sceptre of the bishop and cast out the seven devils of German rationalism and English scepticism; it will never be troubled with casuistic objections, because it never will listen to them, and the deep foundations of its faith will be strengthened because its nature gravitates in that direction. It has faith because it cannot help it,—a faith profound because it never questions it, and stable because it will never permit it to be questioned. The ichthyosaurus has clothed himself in a Silurian mail, gone to sleep on his primitive soil, and will not be resurrected by the startling blast of the new trumpet of the age.

But those who are characterized by the rationalistic tendency could not, if they would, have the deep foundations of their faith strengthened before the reason is convinced. They could not arrive at a profound faith save through the operations of reason. Thought, with them, is the first necessity of existence; it is always antecedent to the will, and determines the will.

Such men have few prejudices, but they have firm convictions when they have any at all. Every "casuistic objection" defeats them, if they cannot defeat it in return. They cannot shut their eyes to it, if they would; they have no control of their own opinions,—their opinions are always in the hands of the evidences presented to them. If they ever adhere to a system, it is from a necessity, and not from an inclination. The evidences must be presented to such minds; then they will believe, and not before. To

such men the Lord Bishop of Oxford must present unquestioned facts; then they will become the adherents of his faith.

The noble bishop says this conflict between the new rationalism and the Church of England faith is "simple unbelief." It is pantheism on the one hand and athelam on the other. He says that the strong foundation of the English Church stands firmly against this wide-spread current of thought.

Undoubtedly it does. The Church plants itself upon ideas advanced many centuries since, and these questioning minds in all honesty fail to discover "primitive truth" in them. But if the bishop sees it, he is also determined that they too shall see it.

There is something antagonistic to all this in human nature. Our opinions seem to us as our private property, a something nearer and dearer than all personal property, and we cannot consent that any man, any body of men, any institution or system, shall control them. We hold them as one of the inestimable gifts of our natures, and we alone can possess exclusive power over them. We cannot yield them to our Church, our State, our country; we can yield them to nothing. But when we act upon them, then we are forever modifying them to effect a common purpose with others.

The Bishop of Oxford would not have the truth die out among men; neither would we. But he would use the force of authority to maintain men in the position of being its advocates. We would not do that. The truth is invincible; and will maintain itself. It is not necessary that the power of the sword, or of denunciation, or excommunication should be used to sustain it. If gentlemen cannot believe the Thirty-nine Articles, they should not teach them; but they should be dealt with, not as criminals, but as men and equals, having a difference of opinion only that ought to be respected.

Essays and Reviews has brought a new phase of unbelief before the world; not so new in its theories as new in its modes of presentation. It does not come to us with coarse personalities and flippant jeers. They come "in more decent garments and more comely features"; they do not come from unprincipled adventurers and wild speculators, but from chaplains-in-ordinary to the Queen, professors of Hebrew in national colleges, professors of mathematics in Oxford, and professors of Greek in the same university. If the Church of England is attacked here, it is attacked by enemies nourished in its own bosom; if Christianity is assailed, it is assailed by those who bring the authority of experience and of acknowledged erudition to assist them.

These gentlemen do not assail Christianity as a system of ethics; they do not lay the weight of a finger upon Christianity as a living faith for the regeneration of the race; but they give respectful consideration to the doubts which come as a necessity from the high state of the rationalism of the age. It is not becoming in the Lord Bishop of Oxford to say that "shallowness," "passion," and "ignorance" characterize the efforts of men occupying these positions.

As he says, this form of attack, if attack he will persist in calling it, is more dangerous than the open atheism of the last age; we are pleased to have our doubts of an accepted system sustained by those high in authority and ripe in learning. Our enemies cannot point to their lives as a refutation of their teachings, or to their example as a blot upon the morality and the virtues of human nature.

This is not the least part of their power as against the ancient theology. They bring to bear a deep research and a sharp critical acumen that are not to be dealt with save with respect by those in the opposition. If these men range themselves by the side of the German rationalists, these rationalists will be raised into a dignity and consideration that they never enjoyed before in Great Britain. Doubt is the chronic state of the practical English mind to-day,—of that mind that is foremost in the enterprises of plith and moment among the people. Had it not been for the tenacity, and the centralization, and the weight of authority with which the Church of England has held its position and maintained its influence over the minds of the people, the rationalism of the age would have long since been openly acknowledged and generally accepted.

What is the current of the thought of the age, its direction, depth, strength? Or have we no general tendency of thought, and are all things moving by chance rather than by law? If a higher law exists, if that current of thought exists, and if in its natural course it bears against Church systems, State systems, and time-honored institutions which have been the bulwark and the solace of the past, these must give way gradually to insurmountable pressure. That current will not cease for a name, for a love, for a prejudice, for an edict or a law. One nation cannot make it pause; the decrees of kings cannot turn its course; the will of nations cannot suppress its influences. There is such a law, and its power is mighty. It is the law of material utility. It works by the unerring process of induction. The Saxon race is its highest exponent, and through that race it will regenerate the material, political, and moral character of the world. The logical characteristic of this material utility is positivism. It proves all things, and accepts nothing which is not proven. This is the intellectual result, and it passes beyond the intellectual into the moral sphere, and applies the same positivism to the problems of religion.

A habit of mind in the investigation of truth is the result of education. This habit is inexorable in its hold upon the man; it cannot be changed by the will. Bacon could not have investigated after the metaphysical method, nor the deductive; he could not have dogmatized. No man can force himself to believe that which is not proven to him. His educated and habitual mode of coming to conclusions

must be pursued at all times when a subject is presented to him for investigation. His will cannot emancipate him from the dominion of his intellect; as far as his conclusions are concerned, he is the slave of his intellect.

The swift energy of the age, the uncompromising determination in all men to grow rich, to acquire wealth and power, have made them trust nothing which they could not prove to be permanent. This habit of mind will intrude itself upon the subject of religion, and nothing in the divine sphere will be accepted as true, without the presentation of positive evidence. This accounts for the scepticism of the age to a great extent. Men apply severe tests to all propositions touching the other life. They will believe in nothing that is not proven. Doubt comes to be the natural state of mind. All things rise up in antagonism to it, and it will accept none as friends until they are stripped of caprice or ignorance.

No man will believe that the balloon and telegraph will work miracles in conveying intelligence, and no man will believe the Jewish cosmogony until the material evidences presented are beyond contradiction; men will believe the modern geologist, with his facts placed before them, sooner than the ancient historians.

Therefore freedom of religious opinion, as well as freedom of opinion in all the other matters of politics, science, and material life, must be conceded. Theology stands still while the race is advancing, only falls into neglect first, and contempt afterwards; it ceases to be a living stream and a regenerator of social life, or a pillar to the State.

The ancient fetters forged by men less intelligent than ourselves are fast being broken; science has dissipated the prestige of superstition; natural philosophy has eliminated truth from a multitude of false beliefs; and political liberty has unsettled the old despotism that was founded on the accidents of birth. Everywhere the people are advancing to new light and to higher thought. In theology alone do we find a despotism that is unyielding, a power inexorable, a persecution malignant for the sin of unbelief.

There is no remedy; the Church system, if it does not yield to the pressure, will crack and crumble into fragments. A new Phoenix will rise from the ashes of the old. The world cannot live without the ethics of Christianity; it will not live with the old theologies of Christianity; so let them draw their garments about them, like Cæsar, and die decently.

THE FUNERAL OF RALPH H. RANNEY.

SPECIALLY REPORTED FOR "THE INDEX."

The funeral services over the remains of Mr. Ralph H. Ranney took place at Parker Memorial Hall, Boston, on Thursday, November 2. The family of Mr. Ranney and a large number of his friends and acquaintances (not less than one hundred and fifty in all) were in attendance. The remains, enclosed in a rosewood casket, were deposited in the lower hall at nine o'clock, A.M., and the services began a few minutes later. On the desk was a beautiful bouquet of rosebuds, the farewell offering of Mr. Photius Flek.

Mr. F. E. Abbot read the following hymn, which was beautifully sung by the Parker Fraternity Quartette:—

HYMN.

Hast thou, 'midst life's empty noises,
Heard the solemn steps of Time,
And the low mysterious voices
Of another clime?
Early hath life's mighty question
Thrilled within thy heart of youth,
With a deep and strong beseeching—
What, and where, is Truth?
Nor to ease and aimless quiet
Doth the inward answer tend;
But to works of love and duty,
As our being's end—
Earnest toil and strong endeavor
Of a spirit which, within,
Wrestles with familiar evil
And besetting sin;
And, without, with tireless vigor,
Steady heart, and purpose strong,
In the power of Truth assailed
Every form of wrong.

Mr. Abbot then read the following selections from the *Thoughts of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*:—

SELECTIONS.

"Of human life the time is a point, and the substance is in a flux, and the perception dull, and the composition of the whole body subject to putrefaction, and the soul a whirl, and fortune hard to divine, and fame a thing devoid of judgment. And, to say all in a word, everything which belongs to the body is a stream, and what belongs to the soul is a dream and vapor, and life is a warfare and a stranger's sojourn, and after-fame is oblivion. What, then, is that which is able to conduct a man? One thing, and only one,—philosophy. But this consists in keeping the daemon within a man free from violence and unharmed, superior to pains and pleasures, doing nothing without a purpose, nor yet falsely and with hypocrisy, not feeling the need of another man's doing or not doing anything; and, besides, accepting all that happens, and all that is allotted, as coming from thence, wherever it is, from whence he himself came; and, finally, waiting for death with a cheerful mind, as being nothing else than a dissolution of the elements of which every living being is compounded. But if there is no harm to the elements themselves in each continually changing into another, why should a man have any apprehension about the

change and dissolution of all the elements? For it is according to Nature, and nothing is evil which is according to Nature.

"Body, soul, intelligence: to the body belong sensations, to the soul appetites, to the intelligence principles. To receive the impressions of forms by means of appearances belongs even to animals; to be pulled by the strings of desire belongs both to animals and to men who have made themselves into women, and to a Phalaris and a Nero; and to have the intelligence that guides to the things which appear suitable belongs also to those who . . . betray their country and do their impure deeds when they have shut the doors. If, then, everything else is common to all that I have mentioned, there remains that which is peculiar to the good man, to be pleased and content with what happens, and with the thread which is spun for him; and not to defile the divinity which is planted in his breast, nor disturb it by a crowd of images, but to preserve it tranquil, following it obediently as a god, neither saying anything contrary to the truth, nor doing anything contrary to justice. And if all men refuse to believe that he lives a simple, modest, and contented life, he is neither angry with any of them, nor does he deviate from the way which leads to the end of life, to which a man ought to come pure, tranquil, ready to depart, and without any compulsion perfectly reconciled to his lot."

Upon concluding the above selections, Mr. Abbot read as follows another hymn, which was sweetly sung by the quartette:—

HYMN.

Out of the dark the circling sphere
Is rounding onward to the light;
We see not yet the full day here,
But we do see the paling night;
And Hope, that lights her fadeless fires,
And Faith, that shines, a heavenly will,
And Love, that courage re-inspires,—
These stars have been above us still.
O sentinels, whose tread we heard
Through long hours when we could not see!
Pause now—exchange with cheer the word,
The unchanging watchword, LIBERTY!

Mr. Abbot then addressed the assemblage as follows:—

ADDRESS OF FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

NEIGHBORS AND FRIENDS:—It seems like some distressing dream that we should be here to-day. I can scarcely persuade myself that it will not pass away, and that we shall meet our friend again, and press his hand, and look into his kindly eyes, and sun ourselves in his cheerful smile, and hear his friendly words. But the facts of life must be met, and this one we must meet. I confess to you frankly, I shrank from the duty which was imposed upon me to speak to you to-day. [At this point Mr. Abbot paused in his remarks, being quite overcome by his feelings.] But I must discharge this debt owed to our friend. He has laid many of us under obligation, and it is the part of manhood to discharge that duty. This man laid not merely private friends under obligation, but he has laid the whole world under obligation in a way the world will probably never know. He has given himself, in the most quiet, modest, and retiring way, to public work whose consequences neither you nor I can foresee to-day. He has given labor, he has given time, he has devoted energy, he has spent more money than he should have spent, he has given all that lay in his power to the cause of human liberty, the cause of freethought, the cause of liberal ideas, the cause of genuine religion in this world. And I say here beside his silent form what I should never have said while he lived to hear, that he is one of the heroes of the new religion of this age, without pretension, or assumption, or ostentation; a man standing quietly at his post, but doing his duty in man-fashion, liberal, broad, generous, gentle, just.

Of his intellectual power I have a right to speak; for I have conversed many and many a time with him, and been astonished at the profound intellectual penetration he showed, the broad grasp of mind, the complete comprehension of great public questions, the deep insight into tendencies at work to-day which so few understand. I can say in all sincerity and truth that I have never met a mind that impressed me more with respect for its native power,—somewhat undisciplined and untrained, perhaps, not developed as a complete collegiate education would have developed it, but a mind whose native power of thought was certainly equal to that of any man I have ever met. And not only that, but he conjoined with this intellectual ability a practical sagacity and executive activity which made him one of the most useful men that could possibly be found in the cause to which he and I had mutually given ourselves—I mean the cause of the Liberal League movement. This our friend understood and comprehended in all its breadth, and he felt powerfully the mighty importance of it. Where so many are blind, he saw with an eagle eye; where so many are inert and apathetic, he gave the whole energy of his nature; where so many hold back and care little because their personal interests are not at stake, he gave the full measure of unselfish and generous devotion to the public cause. Therefore I say that he has earned a gratitude which he can never receive, because the world will never know the debt it owes to this modest and self-sacrificing man.

But not only was he great, in the true sense of that word, in his intellectual and his active nature, but he was just as great in his moral nature. I never knew a man more just, more discriminating, more upright than he. No partiality for—no prejudice against—any man, no matter who, could swerve his clear moral sense into an erroneous judgment. If I ever

was wrong, I could get no sanction from him; if I was right, there was no danger that he would not be at my side. His moral insight, his justice, his sagacity in all that concerned moral distinctions, was supreme; it was almost infallible, and I had as great reverence for his verdict on character and on conduct as I have for that of any man living.

And, withal, he was so amiable, so kindly, so gentle, so good, so free from passion, so candid, so quick to do justice to those who thought differently,—he was so full of the milk of human kindness, so sweet and lovely in his life and temper, that I am sure no one who knew him could possibly withhold the tribute of a profound affection. I have known him now for only some four or five years, but in these few years this man stole so quietly into my heart that I hardly knew how much I loved him until I saw him here.

There was something about our friend that was so self-poised and self-contained that I am sure he would have maintained his equanimity under any and all circumstances. He had not what the world calls a religious faith; he was what the world calls an atheist. He never dogmatized; he never affirmed positively that there is no God; he knew that such an affirmation was beyond the reach of human wisdom. But he never believed in a God,—he never believed in the immortality of the soul,—after he came to years of thought. Many and many a long hour have I spent with him after his daily work was done, in the twilight, conversing on this subject. He and I did not think alike; I believe in God,—all the more because this man has lived, all the more because I have seen his fidelity, his truthfulness, his goodness, his power to obey his own ideal even in the absence of all these beliefs which the world calls essential. Many and many a time have we talked on these great themes, he arguing against, and I arguing for, belief in universal and all-pervading Intelligence; but we never quarrelled, we never lost respect for each other, there never was an unkind tone on either side. I am sure that he met me and I met him on the common plane of the love of truth; and he talked so fairly and so candidly, without the least wish to evade or to dodge in any way, or to cover up a point that seemed to tell against him, that I was smitten with admiration for the moral and mental character of the man. If ever a man loved the truth with a whole, undivided love, that man was Ralph H. Ranney. And because he and I differed, I think it right to say here that he died without the shadow of a hope of a future life, or belief in any supreme Intelligence governing this universe. Let him bear his testimony to his own thought; it was not mine, but he may be right and I may be wrong, or he may be wrong and I may be right—who of us is so wise as to tell? I say it is due to truth and justice that the testimony of that upright life, that noble and spotless character, should be given to the truth as he held it, not as I hold it. Therefore I tell what I have told of his opinions that there may be no misrepresentation or mistake hereafter,—that his opinions may have exactly as much weight as is their just due from the testimony of the character he bore and the love that he has left and the intellect that he was.

Friends, he did not look for another life. I always told him I did not know, but I hoped; and I tell you to-day that that hope is undimmed. It glows all the stronger because of this man's life. If the universe can produce such a pure and glorious life as that, such a bright torch of truth-loving in a world which cares so little for great principles, so little for goodness,—if the torch of this sweet and earnest soul can burn so brightly, I, for one, believe that that light came from some source higher than the mere unthinking matter that we see about us, and I hope that its glow will continue even after it has passed from our sight. I cannot help it,—that is what I believe, and all the more because such men as this can live such lives.

A faithful son, a faithful husband, a faithful father, a faithful friend, a faithful man of business, a faithful man in every relation as far as I can tell,—that was Ralph H. Ranney. I suppose every man has his faults; we must take that for granted; but I tell you frankly, friends, that, if this man had faults, I know not what they were. I never saw them. He was to me as nearly a faultless man as I ever have met in my life; and with full heart I bear this testimony of one who has seen him in his outgoings and incomings for the last four years, that his life was beautiful—full of gentleness, full of bravery, full of goodness. He has written his name on every heart that knew him in letters deep and ineffaceable!

It would have been our friend's wish, I am sure, to hear from Mr. Horace Seaver. If he is in the room, will Mr. Seaver say something of our friend?

Mr. Seaver arose, and, ascending the platform, responded with the following tribute:—

ADDRESS OF HORACE SEAVER.

MY FRIENDS:—I can add nothing to the very beautiful, just, and candid address that we have heard; but, as I have been very kindly requested to make some remarks upon this occasion, I am glad, though it is a sad duty, to pay a parting tribute of respect and friendship to our departed brother, and to mingle my sympathies with those of his afflicted family, his relatives and friends, in their sudden and painful bereavement. I am sure that we all sincerely sympathize with them, for we are all mourners here to-day. Although I would not intrude upon the sanctity of their private affairs, I hope it may be some mitigation of the anguish of his afflicted family to know that he was respected and admired by all who knew him, and that the regrets which his premature death have occasioned are those of the warmest sincerity. I have had the pleasure of being acquainted with Mr. Ranney for a number of years; and while I am aware that he cannot heed my praise now, and that

I ought not to pour any unmeaning eulogy into the dull, cold ear of death, yet I cannot refrain from saying what I who knew him know, that he was a young man of superior intelligence, great promise, and remarkably correct habits; whose object and aim in life was to lead a useful, practical, honest, moral, and honorable career, and in this high cause he succeeded, as all his associates will bear witness. There are those, my friends, who, when they pass away, their lives having been such that we can say little or nothing of them,—all that we can do is to throw the mantle of charity over their memory, and let them pass on to silence and oblivion. But in the case of our friend, as has been well remarked, there was a great deal to admire, and nothing I know of to censure. I will speak of him as I knew him, for at a time like this, though nothing should be done for the purpose of vainglory, we should always give credit where credit is due. I remember reading once an anecdote of Cromwell to this effect, that, when sitting for his portrait, the painter asked if he should flatter him. "No, no," said the sturdy Republican; "paint me as I am." Remembering the admonition, I would speak of our friend as he always appeared to me, because a good life always deserves to be honored and respected. As you have heard remarked to-day, he was not a believer in creeds or dogmas, and made no professions; but he had what was much better, the good life:—

"For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight;
He can not be wrong whose life is in the right."

The life of our friend was right, as his character and conduct, which are everything, proved to all who knew him. Had he been, like many other young men, ambitious of wealth or political distinction, he could have obtained both, for he possessed rare ability, and he also had courage, determination, perseverance, industry, activity, zeal, earnestness, energy, and enthusiasm,—all those qualities which conduct to the front in the race for preferment. But his mission and thoughts and efforts lay in another direction, and so he joined himself to the unpopular party of progress or reform, and labored for the benefit of humanity and the promotion of liberty, of freethought, free speech, liberality, equal and just rights for all. In this good cause he worked faithfully, long, and well.

We shall all miss him, his attractive and intelligent presence, his friendly greeting, his open hand, his most unassuming and pleasing manner, and lament that it has come to this. He should, I think, have died hereafter. There would have been a time for that, but not now, when in the flower of his existence, and when he had so much to live for, and life was unfolding to him its brightest pages, and his services were so much needed.

I presume, my friends, that his peculiar ideas of religion were like my own, from conversations which I have had with him; and if in his loss I could see anything like "design," it would seem to me to be unjust. The suffering, the pain, the anguish, and orphanage occasioned by his death can hardly be right. Then I believe, as I presume you do, that those who administer joy, happiness, contentment, and comfort in this world are our best benefactors; but, be that as it may, it is a subject I am entirely unable to comprehend, and do not attempt it, and therefore I can only say, as I used to hear him say, that it seemed to be enveloped in doubt and darkness. But as for him, whose life was so good and useful, his memory will not moulder with his ashes; and when time shall have assuaged the anguish caused by this blow, he will be appreciated at his true value. Then it will be found, as our friend Abbot has wisely said, that he was one of the best and most promising young men of his time. We bid him farewell with feelings of sorrow, but at the same time with feelings of pride and satisfaction. We are glad that he lived so well. Though he has departed young, he has illustrated that excellent principle, that "the life is long which answers right's best end." He did his duty, improved his ability and opportunities to the best of his power, was always faithful to his own convictions of right and duty; and he leaves after him the immortality of a good name and the influence of a pure and upright example.

Mr. Abbot then said: "If Mr. Gannett is in the room, will he not please say a few words?"

Mr. Gannett then came forward, and, standing by the casket, spoke as follows:—

ADDRESS OF WILLIAM C. GANNETT.

I cannot speak, friends, as one who knew this man. I never knew him save as we know a hundred men. I knew him through others; I knew him by his cheerful, pleasant greeting once or twice. At the death of many, those who speak in praise of the departed are wont to speak of the things that they believed. Here to-day I noticed that those who spoke in praise have spoken of the things he did not believe, not slightly, but dwelling on them. I cannot help thinking that in this respect the Orthodox are right. It is not what a man does not believe, but what he does believe, that makes him great, that gives him force; and it is not because this man did not believe in God, did not believe in immortality, but because he did believe in truth, because he did believe in right, because he did believe in goodness, without those arguments which most men think are the basis of faith, that we now honor him. He had a mighty faith, but of that kind which made him go and do the goodness which he did not believe in. It is because of this that this man was great, and that you business men have stopped your business to come here at this hour of the day. Let every man be true to himself,—so he would have said; and, therefore, as I cannot speak as one who knows him, to me it seems most natural, standing here by his side, to simply close my eyes and open my thoughts, and,

forgetting ourselves, to remember that great Life in which we live and die, and which we may call the Father, or call the Unknown, and it makes no matter what.

God of the many names or of the no name! We face thee; we stand here, and the touch, and the sight, and the stillness of this friend make us feel that we are children on the beach of a mighty ocean; and we gaze out, and see not where it goes. And then we remember that behind us is the other ocean, and we came over it and we know not whither it stretches, and we round our ignorance and our knowledge by saying, *life*. But while we claim it and move our hands, and move our lips, and think our thoughts, O God, we know not what it is, what we are, what Thou art; we don't know what we shall be, and yet we trust. We have that trust, even when we cannot put our trust in words or thoughts. We have this thing in us which makes us do the right against the men who do the wrong, against the ways that would serve us best,—this thing in us that makes us do what is right, live out unselfish lives, be pure, be helpful, be strong and cheerful under burdens. We think, indeed, we are trusting to goodness when we are so loyal to it,—that our loyalty bespeaks a deeper faith than our words can frame, a deeper faith than our lips can state in argument. Father, we thank Thee with all our souls that there are men who, as they live, and as the days and years go by, deepen our faith in right, deepen our trust in goodness; and this very day is brighter and softer because our friend has been in the days before. To-morrow, with all its darkness to some, will be the brighter because of what is left behind to-day, and because this has been a day of sunlight to cheer and help in its going by. And so we thank Thee, O our Life, that this little life has bequeathed us trust and an example that shames us out of impureness—shames us into unselfishness and greater pureness, and makes us try to be like Thee. Father, in our doubt, we thy children cry to the deepest and highest thing in ourselves, and some of us call that deepest and highest thing goodness, and, standing here, by one who has lived it, we feel like bending ourselves before that altar of Life and trying in our simple way, and as private men or private women, to live, broadening our little path as he did, not for the simple self, but for the greater self of our town, our people, and our age. Help us (shall we say?) as he has helped us; and we earnestly wish that we may go out, and, finding the day glad to us, use it truly, loyally, and unselfishly. And in this faith which is greater than our thought, in this trust which our minds do not pretend to face, in this trust, and in this loyalty, we would go out and be again what he has ceased to be, a life to help, the pleasant greeting, the one who stands on the helpful side, and we would work heartily to fill the gap that he has made. Help us, if Thou helpest men and women, and let his force go into us, if that may ever be. We know not what we say, and yet, O God, we know that life and all the sources of life are infinite. We don't know anything we can say of this. So, Father, we leave him as we leave ourselves to Thee. We know what he thought; we know not what he thinks. We know what he was; we know not what he is. O God, the deeper thought is, we know not what he was; we know not what we are. But through Thee, who art the life of this blue day, who art the very stillness of his face, who art the very thought within our thought, we leave it all, giving Thee no name, giving our own faith no name, but saying that we are children before Thee, and trust Thee utterly.

The services were then concluded with singing this parting hymn:—

BENEDICTION.

Part in peace—with deep thanksgiving,
Rendering, as we homeward tread,
Glad service to the living,
Tranquil memory to the dead!

The friends present were given an opportunity to take a last look upon the remains of Mr. Ranney; after which the casket was closed, and the body, accompanied by friends, conveyed to the Fitchburg Railroad station, to be taken to Ashfield, Massachusetts, where it was interred.

THE POPE'S SUCCESSOR.

For nearly a thousand years the Roman Pontiff was chosen by the suffrages of the civic magistrates, the people, and the clergy of Rome, in whom alone the elective franchise had become vested. It is true that their choice was not always a free one, the turbulent barons of the Eternal City of the neighboring towns often dictating to the voters or corrupting them, and from the beginning of the eleventh century, the emperors of Germany seeking to control the election. It was, doubtless, with the view of destroying the influence of the imperial party in future Papal elections that Hildebrand prevailed upon Nicholas II. to issue, in 1059, his memorable bull conferring the franchise upon the Cardinals exclusively, by whom it has ever since been exercised. As more than three-fourths of the Sacred College are Italians, their choice is apt to fall on one of their countrymen; and, in point of fact, it is now more than three centuries since any other than an Italian has filled the Papal throne. The limitation of the suffrage to the wearers of the red hat has, however, been regarded by some Catholics with disfavor, and not long since a society was formed in Italy with the avowed purpose of "vindictating the rights of Christians generally, and the Romans particularly, in electing the next Pope." Only a few weeks since it was announced that Pius IX. regarded the members of this society as having incurred the greater excommunication, a peculiarly severe form of ecclesiastical censure reserved by the Pontiff for extreme emergen-

cies. But the efforts of the innovators would seem, from a telegram received yesterday from Rome, not to have been without influence on the Sacred College itself, for a convocation of Cardinals is now holding in Rome with the view of ascertaining the feasibility of introducing certain modifications in the system of election, so that the electors may exercise full liberty when a successor to Pius IX. is to be chosen. Of course the Cardinals will always retain the franchise, and it will never be restricted again to the Roman community; but the agitation may bring about the choice of a Spaniard, an Austrian, or a Frenchman at the next Papal election.—*N. Y. Sun.*

Poetry.

RALPH H. RANNEY:

OCTOBER 29, 1876.

And whither now, O true friend,—who left,
Ere we surmised thou hadst the thought, to sail
Alone thy bark for realms unseen—heretofore
Us ere sad hearts surprised could lips farewell,
Or whisper cheer,—ah, whither now prevail
Thy feet? Thou wilt not turn and glibly tell
The mystery to ears of mortal clay?
We ask it not. But we will follow thee
With pure affection's light, for well we may
Indulge prophetic love, thus much to see:
Roam where thou wilt through the far universe,
Thou canst not fall meet souls who will rehearse,
Each unto each, the story of thy worth.
Press on—we give thee joy of thy new birth.

SIDNEY H. MORSE.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 4.

W. L. Taylor, \$10; A. Folsom, \$50; W. Berrian, \$10; T. H. Knowles, \$10; John Wilson, \$20; James Eddy, \$20; Mrs. S. Robeson, \$10; W. C. Gannett, \$50; Mrs. C. B. G. Wells, \$10; A. Wilson, \$1.60; J. H. Mason, \$3.20; John Adams, \$3.20; L. H. Hopkins, \$3.20; James L. Angle, \$3; M. J. Savage, \$3.20; W. Arens, \$2; Cash, \$1; J. W. Knagge, \$2; Miss E. Fisher, \$3.20; Maggie Dickey, \$3.20; A. N. Alcott, \$3.10; J. P. Hutchins, 10 cents; C. H. Horsch, \$20; Seth Hunt, \$10; Mrs. Benjamin Ireson, \$10; J. L. Whiting, \$10; Mrs. M. E. Bird, \$10; W. W. Grant, \$10; W. H. Downs, \$10; W. P. Chambers, \$10; J. M. Aldrich, \$10; A. Werner, \$13.20; M. Einstein, \$10; F. C. Leland, \$2; C. Haskell, \$3.20; E. Naumberg, \$3.20; F. H. Badger, \$3.20; Mrs. H. C. Ambler, \$3.20; Miss H. E. Stephenson, \$3.20; Eliza Wright, \$10; H. K. Oliver, Jr., \$40; Charles Post, \$30; James A. Dupee, \$10; L. O. Bass, \$10; D. G. F. Matthes, \$10; C. Graeter, \$13.20; Mrs. C. A. Tucker, \$10; Clemens Vonnegut, \$10; H. Heberling, \$4; W. H. Dixon, \$5.40; O. A. Rogers, \$3.20; G. Wolcott, \$3; R. M. Watson, 15 cents; F. Loser, \$3.20; A. Hanauer, \$3.20.

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are not on hand will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

RECEIVED.

Books.

RELIGION AND THE STATE: or, The Bible and the Public Schools. By Samuel T. Spear, D.D. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. 1876.
HEROINES OF FREE THOUGHT. By Sara A. Underwood. New York: Chas. F. Somerby, 135 Eighth St. 1876.
THE PLATONIC GARDEN. By Prof. Tyndall, Francis Galton, and others, against Dr. Littlefield, President McCosh, the Duke of Argyll, Canon Liddon, and the "Spectator." Boston: Congregational Publishing Society. 1876.
ESSAYS on Mind, Matter, Force, Theology, etc. By Charles E. Townsend. New York: Chas. F. Somerby. 1876.
HISTORY OF THE GREAT FRENCH REVOLUTION. A Course of Six Lectures delivered at South Place Institute, Finsbury. By Annie Besant. London: O. Watts, 17 Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, E. C. 1876.
THE CASE AGAINST THE CHURCH. A Summary of the Arguments against Christianity. New York: Chas. F. Somerby. 1876.
THE ULTIMATE GENERALIZATION: an Effort in the Philosophy of Science. New York: Chas. F. Somerby. 1876.
HYGIEA: A CITY OF HEALTH. By Benj. W. Richardson. London: Macmillan & Co. 1876.
FLEET FORTUNE. Novel. By James Payn. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1876.

Pamphlets and Periodicals.

A Sketch of the Life and Opinions of Mr. Peter Cooper. By Prof. J. C. Zachos. New York: Murray Publishing Co. 1876.
PROFESSOR HUXLEY IN AMERICA. Extra, No. 36. New York: Daily Tribune Office.
AN ADDRESS on the Bible in the Public Schools. By W. W. Patton, D.D. Chicago: Lakeside Publishing Co. 1876.
HOW SHALL THE UNEMPLOYED GET BREAD? Damon Y. Kilgore's Speech before the Philadelphia Liberal League, Sept. 3, 1876.
A THOROUGH DIGEST of the Indian Question.
THE TRUE CAUSES of the Financial and Commercial Derangements.
THE ESSENTIAL PIETY of MODERN SCIENCE. A Sermon. By John W. Chadwick, of Brooklyn. New York: C. P. Somerby. 1876.
THE RESURRECTION of JESUS. By William S. Bell. New York: D. M. Bennett. 1876.
CULTURE and FACTS. By L. F. Soldam.
PUBLICATIONS of Thomas Scott, Esq., 11, The Terrace, Park Road, Upper Norwood, London, S.E.—Scripture and Science. By T. L. Strange.—The Serpent in Mythology.—Christ and Oedipus. By J. S. Stuart-Glanville.—Five Letters on a Conversion to Roman Catholicism. By R. R. Sniffeld.—The Vatican Decrees and the "Exposition." By R. R. Sniffeld.—Signs of the Times.
SERMONS by the Rev. Charles Voysey, London.—Our Faith and its Foundations.—Divine Providence.—Human Cruelty, I. and II.
RIGHTHOUSNESS. A Sermon by Mr. H. Monier-Williams, London.
GIANT ORTHODOXY. By William Bennett, of Glasgow.
SERMONS by Rev. W. H. Spencer, Haverhill, Mass.—Haverhill's Need of Rational Religion.—How to Reach the Unchurched.
THE RELATIONS of Physical Health to Morality and Religion. A Sermon. By Rev. G. W. Cooke.
POPULAR SCIENCE MONTHLY. November, 1876. New York: D. Appleton & Co.
THE SUNDAY REVIEW. October, 1876. London: Trübner & Co.
FOSTER'S AMERICAN MONTHLY. November, 1876. Philadelphia: J. F. Potter & Co.
THE UNITARIAN REVIEW. October, 1876. Boston: Unitarian Review Office.
SCRIBNER'S MONTHLY. November, 1876. New York: Scribner & Co.
SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE for Girls and Boys. November, 1876. New York: Scribner & Co.
THE COAST REVIEW. October, 1876. San Francisco: J. G. Edwards.
THE HERALD OF HEALTH. October, 1876. New York: Wood & Holbrook.
THE SANITARIAN. October and November, 1876. New York: P. O. Box 1956.

The Index.

BOSTON, NOVEMBER 9, 1876.

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N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CREESEY, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH CARY STANTON, Editorial Contributors.

NOTICE.

On receipt of \$3.20, THE INDEX will be sent to any name not already on its mail-list, from the present time until January 1, 1878. This is an excellent opportunity for friends of the paper to increase its circulation among their acquaintances; and it is hoped that they will not neglect to render in this way some greatly-needed assistance to the important cause it represents.

HOW SHALL WE KEEP SUNDAY?

A Convention on the Sunday-Observance Question is to be held under the auspices of the Free Religious Association in Boston, at Beethoven Hall, on Wednesday, Nov. 15, through the day and evening. The various aspects of the question—Scriptural, historical, legal, educational, and sanitary—will be discussed in essays and addresses by able speakers. The newly awakened interest in the subject, it is expected, will call out a large meeting. For further particulars see the Boston daily papers.

WM. J. POTTER, Secretary.

THE FUNERAL of Mr. Ranney has been very faithfully reported for our readers, that here, in THE INDEX he loved so well and served so unselfishly, there may be a modest monument to his memory. But, alas, set beside the simple recollection of the man, how trivial all the tributes seem! After the brief rehearsal of what words can utter, comes that which is unutterable—the long separation, the long remembrance, the long, long pain. But it is Nature's kind provision that

"Hope springs eternal in the human breast."

A PUBLIC MEETING was held at the Faine Memorial building last Sunday forenoon, as a farewell testimony to the character and services of Ralph H. Ranney. There was a full audience, which manifested the deepest sympathy with the occasion. Mr. Seaver presided, and addresses were made by Messrs. Varity, King, Davies, Stevens, Bradford, Abbot, Burke, Seaver, and Mendum. The following resolutions were read and silently adopted by the meeting:—

WHEREAS, We have met in Investigator Hall to pay our parting tribute of respect and friendship for the life and memory of a most worthy and lamented friend and associate, and to sympathize with his afflicted family and relatives in their sudden and painful bereavement: therefore

Resolved, That, while we deplore the loss of one whose social qualities, whose kindness of heart, whose high sense of honor, and whose love of truth made him a dear and valued personal friend, we also recognize the fact that his love of justice, his hatred of wrong and oppression, rendering him ever active and self-sacrificing in what he believed to be right, entitle him to be regarded as a devoted friend of humanity.

Resolved, That we sincerely and affectionately sympathize with the bereaved relatives of the deceased, and cherish the hope that the tender regard in which his many virtues and his memory are held by his friends may tend to soften the effect of the blow by which they have been so painfully afflicted.

Resolved, That in the death of R. H. Ranney, we mourn the loss of one whose rare intellectual endowments and great moral worth entitle him to the full measure of esteem in which he was held by all who knew him.

Resolved, That his able, faithful, and persevering efforts as a defender of religious liberty, universal mental freedom, and equal rights for all, were worthy of the highest commendation, and proved the inherent nobility of a mind controlled and governed by genuine liberal principles.

Resolved, That a copy of these Resolutions be transmitted to the family of our deceased friend and associate, and published in the Investigator, THE INDEX, and the New Age.

RALPH H. RANNEY.

A week ago, the mortal remains of one of the best men of this generation were laid tenderly and with tears in their last resting-place. The respect and regret of all who knew him in any degree, and the reverence, love, and profound grief of all who knew him well, are his living monument to-day, and testify how deep an impress his gentle, unassuming, and exquisitely beautiful character has left behind it. His bereaved family and relatives have at least the consolation of a universal and spontaneous tribute to his worth such as is seldom accorded to one so young.

If Mr. Ranney had been merely a private citizen, there would be an impropriety in public manifestations on this sad occasion. But he was more than that. Never did any one devote himself more unselfishly to a public cause, or labor for it more efficiently and usefully, or give more brilliant promise of signal service to it in the future. The advancement of all that was true and liberal in thought, all that was beneficent in action, all that was just and equal and pure in public affairs, was to him a supreme object, enlisting a stronger interest and effort on his part than anything that concerned himself alone. Especially did he take up the cause of State Secularization with rare unselfishness and devotion, not because he enjoyed it (for he far more enjoyed the world of speculative thought and inquiry), but because he comprehended and felt the profound importance of this cause, recognized the high duty it imposes, and resolved in his unpretending and conscientious way to discharge this duty to the uttermost. Unavoidably conspicuous as he was becoming in this field of action, probably no one but myself knew how completely and entirely he was impelled to such exertions by a naked sense of duty. His tastes were all in another direction; but the remarkable clearness of his intellect and the grand strength of his moral nature made him faithful to obligations unfelt or unregarded by so many others. There is at least one left behind him who knew what a hero he was in secret, and who to the last hour of life will pay him such reverence as the hero alone commands.

Ralph H. Ranney was born in Ashfield, a little country town in Western Massachusetts, on the sixteenth of March, 1845. From 1848 to 1849, he lived with his parents in Boston. His mother died while he was still a child; his father, Mr. Henry S. Ranney, now left childless, is one of the most respected citizens of Ashfield. Ralph enjoyed such educational advantages as were afforded by the public school and academy of his native town, together with several months of instruction at Eastman's Business College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y., where he probably acquired his unusually delicate and beautiful handwriting. He enlisted as a private in Company F of the 34th Regiment, Massachusetts Infantry, on July 11, 1862, at the age of seventeen. His father endeavored to dissuade him from this step on account of his rather frail health and immaturity; but, though possessing little of the spirit of mere adventure, he persisted, "arguing that it was a service to be done by some one, and his life being worth no more than others, he could not conscientiously leave it for others to do the duty that belonged to him." In those words of quiet heroism, how the spirit of the boy foreshadowed the spirit of the man I knew! He served with honor till the end of the war, being engaged in the following actions: Ripon, Va., October 18, 1863; New Market, May 15, 1864; Piedmont, June 5, 1864; Lynchburg, June 18, 1864; Opequan, September 19, 1864; Fisher's Hill, September 22, 1864; Stickney's Farm, October 13, 1864; Hatcher's Run, March 31 and April 1, 1865; Fort Gregg, April 2, 1865. He was twice wounded, being shot through the arm and again through the hand, on June 18 and October 13, 1864; and at the time of his death he was on the Pension Rolls for disability incurred in the service. He was present at Appomattox Court House when General Lee surrendered to General Grant, and picked up and brought home a bit of the apple-tree under which that famous surrender was made. But so modest was he that only now and then, in later years, did he make a casual allusion to his long and honorable service in the army; these facts, indeed, I have learned chiefly from his sorrowing but justly proud father since his death. From "Near Woodstock, Va., May 27, 1864," he wrote to a beloved sister, whose early death ten years later he deeply mourned: "Life is sweet to all, but not too good to yield in such a cause." Sweet as life was to his sunny and serene nature, it was all spent in the cause of humanity, from the day when he took up arms in de-

fence of political liberty to the day when, in defence of the still more sacred liberty of the soul,—

"He, the young and strong, who cherished
Noble longings for the strife,
By the wayside fell and perished,
Weary with the march of life."

On the conclusion of the war Mr. Ranney went into business. For several years past he has been in the service of a respectable business firm in Boston, by whom he was held in the highest esteem for fidelity and integrity. In 1867, he was most happily married to a lady in every way worthy of him; and he was devotedly fond of his home, with his two little children, a girl and boy. Although a most faithful and efficient business man, his whole heart was in something larger and higher than money-making; and he was singularly independent and fearless as to incurring odium by his pronounced, uncompromising radicalism. No trimmer, no time-server, no skulker behind bushes, was Ralph H. Ranney. He never shrank from any necessary publicity, though there never was a man who coveted or sought it less; he was ready to run all risks on behalf of truth and freedom. But there was not a tinge of egotism or conceit in his character—not a particle of that pretentious self-consciousness which mars the work of so many real reformers. Everywhere and always, he was the same cheerful, modest, intelligent, intrepid, keen, and transparently sincere thinker; he won the hearts even of his opponents in debate; and the utter kindness of his spirit made even the boldest of his statements inoffensive to those who might otherwise have been "shocked." Some of the sincerest mourners for him now are persons of unquestioned Orthodoxy. His genial presence and winning personality disarmed all prejudice, and made him what it would be fatal praise to affirm of almost any other—a man without an enemy.

About the middle of last month he was attacked with pleurisy, suffering great pain. In order to secure for him the best possible treatment, he was removed to the Boston City Hospital on October 29. The removal was effected safely, and Mr. Ranney cheerfully expressed satisfaction with his surroundings and attendance there; but about eleven o'clock the same evening he suddenly threw up his hands, and expired. It is doubtful whether he knew his own danger; but it is certain that he was tranquil in mind to the last.

Five or six years ago, Mr. Ranney took a very active part in establishing a new freethought society in Ashfield, which flourished so long as he remained a resident of that place. Very early he became interested in THE INDEX, and also in the Free Religious Association. In June, 1873, he was elected a Director of the Index Association, and in November of the same year its Treasurer; and he discharged all his duties with more than fidelity, giving unsparingly his time, energy, and labor to make it successful in its great work. From the beginning he took the deepest interest in the Liberal League movement, was one of the most active in starting the Boston Liberal League, and, as member of its Executive Committee, did the work of twenty, in the winter of 1873—1874, in bringing before the Massachusetts Legislature the subject of church taxation. It is safe to say that the powerful agitation of that winter, of which the final results have not yet been reached, but which has accomplished far more already than is apparent on the surface of things, would have been impossible without Mr. Ranney's indefatigable exertions. There seemed to be no limit to his self-sacrificing devotion to the cause of public justice in matters of religion. The Centennial Congress of Liberals, and the National Liberal League which it organized, commanded his profoundest interest at the time; and, having reluctantly consented to accept the prominent position of Secretary to the new League, he carried into its work all the energy and efficiency of his character. No one else, perhaps, can fully appreciate the loss which the National Liberal League suffers by his untimely death, for no one else was fully aware of the extent, power, and value of his services. There was in him a marvellous sagacity, fertility of resources, vigor of will, energy in execution, and withal scrupulousness and honorableness in the use of means, which rendered him one of the most admirable of executive officers, and could not have failed to render him a man of marked and extraordinary usefulness in the great work of the future. Alas, who can tell the story of his worth, or unfold the greatness of the loss which his death inflicts on the cause he loved with such surpassing faithfulness? That task requires an abler pen than mine. I can but put on record here, as a tribute due

to one of the sweetest spirits and noblest characters and ablest tollers I have ever known in this great cause, my sense of incalculable indebtedness to Ralph H. Ranney for all that he was and did.

F. E. A.

RELIGIOUS POLITICS.

It is objected by interested readers of THE INDEX and by friends of its editor that it is too much devoted to politics, and is losing sight of the grand aims of free religion in the consideration of secondary objects. If the charge were wholly true; if THE INDEX lent itself to the discussion of local or incidental issues in politics to the neglect of fundamental principles; or if, in discussing fundamental principles, it gave prominence to the political rather than to the human aspect of questions, the objection would be grave. We have never held it proper or justifiable for religious teachers, whether through the press or from the pulpit, to become partisans or to advocate party measures before the mixed companies of readers or hearers who have a right to expect other things, and who desire to forget rather than to remember the difference of opinion that divides them. Religious teachers are concerned with religious ideas, and with those only. When such ideas are clearly involved in political issues, as was the case to a large extent with anti-slavery politics in the last generation, it is no more their right than their duty to indicate the bearing of the principle, always keeping its demands uppermost. Such cases arise but seldom, and when they do arise require delicate treatment. The absolute separation of Church and State is a principle that cannot be too rigidly insisted on in view of the enormous mischiefs entailed on mankind by their union in past times. But the separation of Church and State as two distinct organized dominions is a very different thing from the divorce of religion from politics. Against such a divorce we earnestly protest as deeply injurious to both politics and religion. Politics and religion need one another. Politics need religion to save them from becoming petty, mean, partisan, inhuman. Religion needs politics to save it from becoming visionary, speculative, and useless. With us the religious issue in politics is more sharply drawn than anywhere else.

We live in a republic, the successful working whereof depends on the absolute non-interference of instituted religion with the movements of the popular mind and will. That sectarianism, dogmatism, ecclesiasticism, denominationalism should be kept out of politics is of prime importance. Neither Romanism nor Protestantism, neither Christianity nor Buddhism, neither theism, atheism, nor pantheism, as such, has any claim to influence over political affairs. For, there being no established Church, no publicly or formally ratified faith, it is sheer impertinence for any faith to impose its restrictions on the minds of the people. Any assumption of that kind must be resisted vehemently, and to the last gasp.

It is not discerned, we submit, with perfect clearness, save by the few, that such an assumption follows necessarily from the claim of any religion to be divinely revealed. A divinely revealed religion must, in the nature of the case, be supreme over merely human laws and regulations. The hierarchy which God has himself ordained claims temporal powers as a matter of course. The nurture of children, the education of youth, the marriage of adults, the enactments for the order and peace of society, the restraint of violence, the punishment of crime, come strictly within its province. Being providentially appointed for the administration of human affairs, it cannot decline to undertake it, cannot be patient under attempts to take such administration out of its control. The Book that is "the Word of God," if there be such a book, ought to be read in families, in schools, in hotels, in saloons, and cabins of steam-boats; in short, wherever reading is done; all other literature ought to be judged by it, and remanded to an inferior place. The champions of the Bible in the schools are consistent with their fundamental principle, and more than consistent with it; their extreme demand is justified by their first assumption. It may be very true that a large majority of the professed believers in the divine revelation do not feel the force of the assumption, yield their ground under the pressure of superficial arguments, consult policy, good feeling, convenience, easy-going compliance, and slide into positions quite irreconcilable with their avowed faith. This only proves their infidelity. The leaders, more wary, less under the influence of social feeling, clearer of perception, and more resolute of will, cling to their purpose and see in the facile compliance of their constituencies with

popular secularism a preparation for the exercise of their own diplomatic arts when the time to employ them shall have arrived. Their best material will be furnished by these soft-headed, soft-hearted multitudes, who never go to the bottom of their own minds, never understand the requirements of their own systems, but are pliable to the strongest touch of any party. It certainly does look on the surface as if our national politics had little to fear from ecclesiastical or sectarian intervention. Yet they may have everything to fear; this apparent harmlessness may be one symptom of a subtle danger lying deeper than the eye perceives. So long as the claim of Christianity to be the one divinely revealed and providentially instituted religion is maintained; so long as it is maintained in good faith by any considerable number of influential people (as certainly we are compelled to believe or else to set down as insincere and hypocritical the professions of a large number of most estimable and honorable men), so long the danger of political intrigue and interference will exist. Hence the attitude so much criticised of THE INDEX. Hence the position taken by free religion, which asserts the equal rights of all religions and demands the unconditional surrender of Christianity as well as of Judaism or Mohammedanism to the genius of humanity. Until that surrender is made it will be the duty of free religion and of THE INDEX, as one of its organs, to meet the adversary on his own ground; if that ground is political, to follow him there, and make use of all its advantage by appealing to patriotism, public spirit, the popular sensitiveness against tyranny, the popular passion for liberty. If more perceived the essential incongruity between a revealed religion and republican institutions, the conflict would be more quietly fought and sooner ended.

O. B. F.

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY R. C.

Inasmuch as the result of the Presidential contest will be known to our readers before this paragraph can be read by them, it is hardly worth while to indulge in speculations with regard to it. As we write, both parties appear to be equally confident of success, and as both give equally good reasons for their confidence, it is probable that the electoral vote will be pretty evenly divided between them. We see no reason, therefore, for modifying the calculation of probabilities given a few weeks ago. Whatever be the ultimate result of the election, however, we may safely predict that it will be neither quite so good nor altogether so bad as some persons may hope upon the one hand or dread upon the other. We fully believe that the next administration—whether that of Mr. Hayes or Mr. Tilden—will be an improvement upon the present. We do not believe it will succeed in establishing absolute peace at the South, nor that it will create a new rebellion there. We do not believe it will permanently establish a system of civil-service reform, but shall be satisfied if it avoid the grave mistakes of Grant's administration, and initiate measures of reform to be perfected by its successors. We do not believe that without the cordial support of the thoughtful and honest men of both parties—including their decided critics, when necessary—it will be able to preserve the honor of the country during its progress toward the resumption of specie payments. The next President is likely to have opportunities for achieving an unusually brilliant reputation, or for doing a great deal of mischief. Party difficulties, however, whoever may be elected, will probably prevent the former, and we are willing to trust either Tilden or Hayes to confront the latter.

We dislike exceedingly to find fault with or to differ from a man so universally respected as the poet Whittier; but when he chooses to write a political letter he must expect to be judged as a politician and not as a poet. He sent, last week, a letter to the Boston Journal, advocating the election of ex-Governor Claflin as Congressman from Massachusetts. The letter is very eulogistic, and affirms that Claflin possesses all the qualifications necessary to-day in a member of Congress. Now, as matter of fact, Mr. Claflin, about six months ago, gave an elaborate statement of his views upon financial questions. Some of these were such as would do discredit to the merest tyro in finance, and showed unmistakably that Mr. Claflin had no adequate knowledge of his subject. When nominated for Congress recently, however, he hastened to write a letter expressing agreement with the Cincinnati Platform on this subject, and favoring resumption at or before the date already fixed by Congress. Without doubt the financial question is the most important question, as regards national honor and commercial prosperity, with which the next Congress will deal, and men who can flap about on this question with the ease of Governor Claflin are the most unsafe men possible to be sent to Congress at the present time. Nearly all that Whittier says in his praise may be correct, but may nevertheless have very little to do with his possible excellence as a Congressman. We have gone far beyond the days when philanthropic zeal and honesty of purpose made a good politician. Intellectual clearness is now a primary requisite, and that, with reference to one most important subject, at least, Mr. Claflin has not got.

The several communications upon the negro question, in the last number of THE INDEX, are interesting from more than one point of view; but we hardly feel called upon to offer any extended comment upon them. The article of "W. J. P." does not, in our opinion, render necessary any modification of statements upon the subject in preceding numbers. The principal portion of the article is written upon the theory that we "do not believe in negro suffrage, or at least think it has proved a failure in the South." As this supposition is entirely incorrect, "W. J. P." so far as we are concerned, has been arguing against a man of straw. The ballot was given to the negro as a weapon of defence, and as such was successfully employed. The negro now needs instruction in its use as an instrument of civilization, and this instruction (bad enough, at times, as it is likely to be) we believe can be given better by the men with whom he is to be associated for generations to come than by Northern adventurers who make use of him for their own gain. The wisdom of the original measures of reconstruction and the question of unqualified suffrage are not now under discussion. We are content to argue from existing facts alone. We observe that "W. J. P." in his last paragraph, supposes the existence of persons whose humane feeling for the negro "first and chiefly expresses itself" by calling him a lot of hard names, "and then handing him over as an incorrigible barbarian to the keeping of his old master." We have never met with any one coming under this description, but trust that if "W. J. P." finds one he will go after him at once with a sharp stick, for we are sure he must be an unmitigated rogue deserving of all the chastisement that "W. J. P." may choose to give him.

In connection with this South Carolina question, we feel compelled to refer to a passage in a communication from W. E. Lukens, in the last INDEX, in which we are referred to as "one whose predilections are on the side of the oppressor." We can assure the writer that he is thoroughly in error in his supposition. We are not acquainted with him, but we are perfectly willing to match our record against his as "an humble soldier in that long moral conflict," etc. Mr. Lukens should learn that the "moral conflict" referred to came to an end some time ago, and that the negro question to-day is one of expediency strictly; one, moreover, with reference to which men of equally excellent philanthropic impulses may honestly and diametrically differ. As matter of fact, the Southern negro is to-day enjoying the greatest proportion of the advantages resulting from "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" in those States in which he is either ruled by or is sharing the government with the white man, and not in those States in which he is now or has been recently in full control. Nearly all reports of outrage and murder come from States in which the negro is ruler. The welfare of the negro, as well as of the white, is at the bottom of our desire for the election of Wade Hampton. We believe that this would soonest teach the negro the lesson which he must learn at last,—that coöperation with the white man is better for both races than a continuance of the present disastrous warfare between them.

Baptist ministers are a funny people. At their regular meeting in Boston, last week, they discussed the question, "Do the Scriptures teach that there will be two resurrections, distinct in time; the first of the righteous, and the second of the wicked?" Upon this important question it appears that a decided division of opinion exists; a majority of the Baptist ministers of this country believing in one resurrection, while a majority of those of England, including Mr. Spurgeon, believe in two resurrections. Now, according to Baptist logic, the Scriptures are intended for the guidance of unlearned men, and this resurrection question, therefore, must be plainly decided by Scripture passages. Difference of opinion can hardly be explained except by reference to the perversity and consequent sinfulness of men. One-half of the whole number of Baptist ministers are therefore unconverted sinners, who certainly should not be allowed to preach. Will some Baptist paper please tell us whether this reasoning be correct or not?

The Committee of the Congregational Association of New York and Brooklyn, appointed last April to coöperate in bringing evidence before the Commission provided for by the Advisory Council called by Plymouth Church, reported, last week, that "after more than six months' opportunity to speak, and after the most urgent and public entreaty that every one would speak who had anything to say against Mr. Beecher, no one had seen fit to respond"—all of which, we may add, is precisely the result anticipated and predicted when the Commission was appointed. But every one we are sure did not anticipate the action of the Congregational Association upon receiving the above report, which was to adopt unanimously a resolution declaring that "WHEREAS, The preceding report indicates that there is no substantial ground for believing in the guilt of Mr. Beecher, therefore be it Resolved, That we do as an association regard our brother as worthy of our confidence and love, and express to him our sympathy in the severe trial through which he has passed." The suit of Moulton against Beecher has just been postponed for twenty days to allow Mr. Beecher to file an answer to Moulton's amended complaint.

The Spiritualists are having a hard time. In London Dr. Slade has been sentenced to the work-house as a vagrant, after a trial of unusual interest, during which his most important tricks were performed in open court by Mr. Maskelyne, a noted juggler. In Boston, the Herald has actually driven from the city a Mrs. Bennett, who was becoming known as a most

wonderful "materializer," and whose deceptions were fully exposed by that paper. It has followed up its defeat of Mrs. Bennett by a very damaging attack upon a Mrs. Hardy, another worker in "materializations," who has been visited and approved by many well-known men,—Gerald Massey and others. And last Saturday evening a Mr. Bishop gave a lecture in Music Hall, during which he performed successfully (although watched by Oliver Wendell Holmes, the Rev. Rufus Ellis, and Professor Horsford) all the cabinet, rope-tying, and other feats of professed mediums, and subsequently repeated and explained the most important of them in full view of the audience.

Eastern difficulties are no nearer a solution apparently than when we last referred to them. Pending the troublesome negotiations for an armistice, Turkey renewed her attacks upon the Servian army and fortifications, with such good success that at the end of a few days' fighting it was evident that no Servian army or fortification could possibly prevent the entire subjugation of the country. At this stage, however, Russia suddenly renewed her demand that Turkey consent to a six weeks' armistice, adding the threat that unless consent be given in forty-eight hours diplomatic relations between Turkey and Russia should cease. As this meant immediate war, Turkey decided to accept; and the various powers, with the exception of Germany, have appointed commissions to decide upon the positions to be occupied by the contending forces during the armistice. As we write, however, a report is published stating that the Russian commission requires all the Turkish forces in Servia to retire to the frontier during the armistice. If this be true, it is not at all probable that Turkey can assent to the requirement, and a declaration of war between Turkey and Russia will follow. Indeed, some reports are to the effect that Russia has at last determined upon war at all hazards.

Communications.

"THE FAMILY BANK:

"ITS RELATIONS TO THE LABOR QUESTION."

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

In your issue of Sept. 7th was an article, under the above title, which involves so deeply and disastrously the welfare of working people that I am moved to ask of you brief space to reply. The writer said:—

"The wages people are now asking for legislation in a communistic direction; in effect, that the general court should take capital to some extent out of the control of individuals and corporations for their special benefit. . . . The laborers are too much taxed as it is. They are mostly men and women with hopes, and cannot afford to have any infringement of individual liberty or of the rights of property. It is for their interest to cultivate and encourage rather than pillage the rich."

This writer (whom I take to be Hon. Elizur Wright) is mistaken in supposing that, in a compulsory legislative sense, the tendency of labor reformers is "communistic"; that we are disposed to "pillage the rich," or in any other way to invade "the rights of property." While I grant that there is some ground for his assertion, if he had in view eight and ten-hour law schemes, graduated taxation, government-workshopism, and the greenback delusion, still, those merely transient phases of the agitation should not blind a clear-seeing writer to the main demand of labor reform,—*opportunity and reciprocity*. Mr. Wright has but to turn the pages of P. J. Proudhon, John Ruskin, Josiah Warren, William B. Greene, J. K. Ingalls, or other intelligent exponents of labor-reform thought, to find the interference policy, "communism" as he understands it, utterly rejected; and that all we ask of government is not to obstruct the path of productive enterprise; that, in Daniel Webster's phrase, it will "protect persons and property from invasion."

But, in order to effectually "protect persons and property from invasion," government must apply the free-trade idea to banks and landlords as well as to custom houses; it must not only cease to sanction tariff frauds, but also usury, rent, property in land, compulsive taxation, majority rule, and every other means of speculative increase or intrusive dictation. Since no political economist pretends to deny that labor is the source of wealth and the only true basis of exchange; and since, as John Stuart Mill says, "The essential principle on which private property is based is to assure to all persons what they have produced by their labor," those only who oppose speculative increase in all forms truly defend "the rights of property." I am surprised that Elizur Wright, a bright-minded Abolitionist, can suppose that the old communistic dogma, "what the law makes property is property," is any more defensible when applied to speculative profits than when it was used by Henry Clay to defend negro slavery. Closer study of the labor question will disclose to him the fact that, in the field of essential equity, labor reformers are almost alone in asserting "the rights of property"; that is, the right of labor to its earnings.

Mr. Wright has written much to show that the old life insurance system has outlived its usefulness; but he fails to see that, while his "family bank" discards some abuses, it is an effort to popularize and perpetuate the worst feature of the old system, the greatest extant fraud on labor usury. He says in his "Circular," a portion of which you reprinted, it is to be "the bank of the laborers," "a savings bank with a life insurance function." How presuming it is to call this "the laborer's bank" may be seen in the fact that Proudhon's "Bank of Exchange," Greene's

"Mutual Bank," Warren's "Time Bank," all the banks ever proposed by clear-headed labor reformers, discard usury, were suggested by the belief that interest on money is robbery, and that any "laborer" who takes usury thereby helps his worst enemy to invade and destroy his own class. Mr. Wright cannot be aware of how grave an imposition his "bank," as a bank, is on working people. He proposes to give capital systematic and perpetual power to plunder its own well-beloved parent, labor.

But, not to mention the incidental "aid and comfort" which his bank gives to the "specie-basis" fraud and the compulsory-marriage feud, its "life insurance function" is the chief cat hidden in this financial, "family" meal. The old life insurance system largely rests on a bet, a wager-laying, gambling process in which those who "put up" the most money win the fewest and smallest prizes. To make money out of life insurance you must die early and die often. But of those not lucky enough to die, the number of working people and business men who, by stress of "hard times," have been compelled to surrender their policies, is fearful to contemplate! Companies have become enormously rich out of this one extortionate source of income. Notwithstanding the many merits of the system, and the opinions of many worthy people who still believe in it, its tendency to draw capital from productive enterprise and concentrate it in cities for speculative purposes, to create many offices and officials to be supported by "the insured," and its disastrous relations to holders of "foreclosed" policies, indicate that it has had its day, and must soon disappear. While I have no desire to underrate the merits of Mr. Wright's scheme (and his many years' experience in life insurance renders him peculiarly capable of suggesting improvements), it seems to me that what he himself, in his admirable book, *Politics and Mysteries of Life Insurance*, terms "perfection in theory," where "the risk of each year, no more and no less, is paid for at the beginning, in the course of, or at the end of the year," "a thousand persons agreeing to pay one dollar each to the family of each deceased member," is destined to prove itself, if not "perfection" in practice, vastly superior to the betting, usury method of the old system, or of the "family bank." Accumulating facts tend to show that this cooperative method immensely reduces the cost of insurance, leaves capital where it ought to be left, in productive business, and is abundantly self-supporting and self-perpetuating.

E. H. HEYWOOD,

Sec'y N. E. Labor Reform League.

PRINCETON, Mass., Oct. 23, 1876.

WHY I CAST A PROTEST-BALLOT.

PASSAIC, N. J., Oct. 27, 1876,

EDITOR INDEX:—

Dear Sir,—A correspondent of your paper from Utica has explained why he is a Democrat; another from Dover explains why he will vote the Republican ticket; may I state briefly why I shall cast a protest-ballot this autumn?

It is a fact that at least a majority of the intelligent men are Republican voters, and the intelligent women would be if they could vote. It is equally true that from among the Republican ranks have come most of those who are earnest for liberty, without regard to race or color. But the party as a party has by reason of success and power become corrupt; and seeks retention in power, not to reform, but for the love of power.

A change is needed, as is evident now, and was when Greeley was nominated; for the party will not reform itself, and leaves but one course open to those who feel the necessity for a change. My fellow INDEX subscriber from Utica sees the possibility of the desired change in Democratic success, and argues well; but he forgets that the large mass of the Democrats are wedded to party, and were he to urge any liberal views, he would be read out of the party very quickly. And our friend from Dover surely has much faith in his party, to feel so confident that, as a party, it will aid him in liberal movements.

The need of the hour is secularization; and while the Democrats may seem to be on our side, they cannot be depended on as party men. Neither can we depend on the Republicans. I have before me a pamphlet—"Politics and the School Question"—issued by the Republicans from their New York city headquarters, which should be a positive cure for any INDEX liberal who was afflicted with a desire to vote that ticket this autumn. It presents the views of public men regarding the value and necessity of our public schools, and quotes words which read and sound well. Grant, Blaine, Noyes, R. B. Hayes, and several State Conventions are quoted from, as advocating "non-sectarian" schools. And the proposed amendment to the Constitution of the State of New York is quoted as opposed to giving aid to any school where "instruction is given peculiar to any church, creed, sect, denomination, or religious society"; and the platform of New Jersey Republican Convention is quoted, as opposed to any attempts to impair our schools, and demanding an amendment to keep the schools free "from all ecclesiastical or sectarian interference."

All this reads finely, and I might imagine our good friend "C. H. H." quite pleased with the pamphlet; but let us read other parts of it.

The Republican National Convention is quoted as favoring an amendment "forbidding the application of any public fund or property for the benefit of any school or institution under sectarian control. Hayes and Wheeler are quoted as favoring a similar amendment, each using the expression "against all danger of sectarian control" in urging an amendment to that end.

And now we are told of Mr. Blaine's amendment, amended by the Senate Committee (assisted by the

Christian Amendment people); in which Senate amendment is to be found this little sentence: "This article shall not be construed to prohibit the reading of the Bible in any school or institution, and it shall not have the effect to impair the rights of property already vested." So at last the secret is out; "non-sectarian schools" means schools where evangelical teachers can read Protestant Bibles, selecting any part they prefer; and to this is added in many places the singing of evangelical hymns.

Quite harmless, many would say; and yet I am mistaken if "C. H. H." will feel so on second thought. This question of an entire separation of Church and State must be met, and met squarely; I for one prefer to meet it now. While ready to show respect for any earnest person, whether evangelical or not, I must insist on all schools and public places being free from anything "sectarian" or "peculiar to any church, creed, or denomination." If the Bible and religious hymns of the evangelical type are not sectarian or peculiar to a church and a creed, as these terms are generally used, then I am sadly at fault. From out of this slough of double-meaning terms, and words and resolutions intended to be liberal to liberals and evangelical to evangelicals, there is but one safe way: secularization of the State, and that immediately.

Therefore, though not forgetting the need of reform, which the Democrats promise, and the danger of injustice to the colored people which the Republicans say that they alone can avert, I must confess that I feel the need of secularization more than either; for only the lack of power prevents our evangelical friends and our Catholic friends from putting an end to all hope of a free secular country.

Therefore I will not vote either for Tilden or for Hayes, but cast this my protest-ballot (a printed copy of which I send to you) as follows:—

"Under existing laws a citizen must either vote for electors named by some large political party, or virtually lose his right to assist in selecting a President. Such being the case, and as the only way possible, I cast this as a protest-ballot to express my distrust of the Republican and Democratic parties on the question of the secularization of the State. And I would also express the hope that all citizens may be treated as equal before the law, without questioning their religious beliefs, and this nation become wholly secular, and thereby saved from the curse of a State religion, whether Christianity or any other."

To those who would say, "Why throw away your vote?" "Why not choose the lesser of two evils?" "Why fly in the face of the majority?" I borrow a sentence from our religious friends, and say: "One with God is a majority."

Yours truly,

F. A. ANGELL.

THE GREATER DANGER.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Dear Sir,—I find in Mr. Frederic's letter in THE INDEX of Oct. 12 an opinion which I have myself expressed in private conversation,—that our religious liberties are not in so great, at least so immediate, danger from Catholics as from Protestants; and that the Democratic party is more to be trusted on this question than the Republican. It has always been the policy of the Roman Church to demand all it thinks there is any chance of getting, but to acquiesce quietly when its demands are refused. I think it will be so with regard to the public schools. Archbishop Purcell's letter is already an indication of this. But the Religious Amendment is an immediate danger; one which Catholics must oppose in self-defence, and which Democrats must oppose as being at variance with the very fundamental principles of their party. I have not myself so much fear of the Catholics as many; partly, I suppose, because I am daily associated with Catholics in work of a partly public nature, and have daily opportunities of witnessing wholly public functions performed faithfully and ably by Catholics. Our late Chief-Justice Taney, a man of unimpeachable integrity and public spirit, was a Catholic; so were many of our generals in the late war. By all means keep power from the priestly class,—of all denominations; but Catholic laymen I would as soon trust as any others.

There is one indictment of the Republican party of which enough has not been made in this canvass,—that is, its utter faithlessness to the fundamental principles of constitutional liberty. I do not mean merely the dangerous habit of settling everything by authority, which grew out of the exigencies of the war, nor the centralizing spirit which has threatened wholly to subvert the rights of our States. The student of English constitutional history is startled to observe how coolly the Republican majority has been engaged in Congress, in Louisiana, in South Carolina, in trampling down those safeguards of liberty which our ancestors for generations were vindicating against the royal power. Just now the Republican party is the party of prerogative; the Democratic party represents constitutional liberty.

Again, there is a marked contrast in regard to the influence exercised by the two candidates upon the canvass. Mr. Tilden's hand has been constantly seen as a power, and a healthy one, in the action of his party. On the other hand, Mr. Hayes has been absolutely silent, while men like Chandler, Blaine, and Butler have turned the canvass into one of false issues and personalities; nay, he invites Mr. Blaine to conduct the canvass in the West. If he has the power to fight corruption and partisanship in the White House, why does he not exert it now, and give us an honorable campaign on the part of his party? The Republican party had two opportunities: first, to nominate Bristow; second, to take Hayes' letter as the key-note of the campaign. Both opportunities they have thrown away.

MADISON, Wis.

INTUITION AGAIN.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

I have just read with great interest Mr. Wickersham's "Thoughts on Intuition," in THE INDEX of Oct. 12. I am especially pleased with his ideas, because in the main they so well accord with thoughts that came to me spontaneously several years since, as to the true interpretation of what is usually understood by the term intuition.

Much is involved in the decision of the question whether ideas come into the mind by a divine influx, amounting to what is understood as infallible inspiration, which the soul can rely upon as sure and unquestionable, concerning its most vital interests—ideas of God and immortality,—or whether the conclusions arrived at are merely the result of rapid, unremembered processes of thought, founded upon the data of preconceived ideas early implanted and accepted without evidence. In the one case, one's hopes and principles are founded upon an Eternal Rock; in the other they are utterly baseless.

On the supposition that what intuitionists regard as ideas and truths coming into the mind without effort, and as being "above and beyond reason, and standing on an authority of their own, above the province of reason to criticize," there should be an entire agreement in these ideas and truths thus received by different minds, the source being the same. And yet how diverse and contradictory the results! And who has the right to assume that his own "intuitions" are the infallible ones, and that to them must be accorded the supremacy over all others? It would seem that intuitionists, in putting forth their claims, have overlooked the difficulty of solving this problem, and are chargeable with a little obtuseness and a little arrogance in the matter.

The practical bearing of the decision of this question is great. A multitude of superstitions and fancies in religion and in morals would be swept away, if the only conclusions arrived at were drawn from sound, logical processes of reasoning, deduced from well-established premises.

Mr. Wickersham's supposition as to the origin of conscience seems perfectly reasonable, and pleasingly in harmony with the grand doctrine of evolution. The supposed process by which the idea first dawned upon the mind seems entirely natural. It shows the elements of what is called conscience, as well as of all that is comprehended under the term morals, to inhere in the nature of things, and that its laws do not receive their force from any arbitrary command, but are a part of Nature itself, and are as inexorable as any of its laws in the material world. Great strength and happiness come from this view of the subject, and also an increased sense of obligation to search earnestly in the direction of a scientific basis of morals, which, in its comprehensive sense, must include also the whole of religion. A. H.

ANOTHER KIND OF "INTUITION."

TIPPECANOE CITY, Ohio, Oct. 21, 1876.

I should like to say to Mr. Wickersham that I was highly entertained and instructed by his article in THE INDEX on "Intuition." But I have come across in my experience through life another class of facts which should, perhaps, be classed as intuitions, and which, as I think, cannot be explained as Mr. Wickersham explained his "mathematical intuitions." They occur in every-day life. I will give one case as a sample of what I refer to, and ask an explanation.

My father was serving in the war of 1812. We had not the least expectation of his return, when one night about eight o'clock a brother (older than I) sat looking into the fire. Suddenly he said: "Father is coming home." A short time later he said: "Father is at such a place" (naming the place). Later still he said: "Father is at another place" (again naming the place). Again a short time elapsed, and he said: "Father is at the door." And that very instant father opened the door and came in!

A single case of this kind might perhaps be explained by the law of incidents; but such facts have, I think, in my experience, occurred too often to be so explained. We all know that the lives of many are full of them. In my own mind I have no doubt but in all such cases there is a natural something connecting the mind and thought; but what is that something? Please explain it who can! It may here be proper to say father did come home through the places named by my brother; they were in a by-path, after father had left the main road.

E. L. CRANE.

THE CALL FOR ACTION.

MR. F. E. ABBOT:

Dear Sir,—Inasmuch as THE INDEX is the sentinel on the watch-tower of liberty, it must carefully overlook the whole field, and see that the guards faithfully perform their duties. No one must be allowed to pass without giving the watch-word. Foes are lurking in ambush, and it behooves the friends of freedom to see that no Judas Iscariot is placed upon duty.

In your issue of the 12th, you challenged the Republican Presidential candidate for the countersign. It was a timely step, well taken, and in the sacred name of liberty it should be given before he is allowed to enter the fort. Grave charges of being implicated with the American Alliance movement have been made against him, which, if true, is a matter of great moment, and should receive the serious consideration of every liberty-loving man in the Union. If he indited the following, he is unworthy of our confidence and support:—

"COLUMBUS, Ohio, June 29, 1876.

"L. S. TYLER, Esq., Chief Secretary American Alliance, Box 2071, New York.

"Dear Sir,—Your favor of the 19th inst. received, with certificate of membership, constitution, etc., of the Amer-

ican Alliance. Be pleased to accept my thanks for your high appreciation of myself.

"Trusting that I may prove worthy of the confidence reposed in me, I remain your fellow-citizen.

"R. B. HAYES."

If he wrote, or authorized the writing of the letter attributed to him, he is a dangerous man, and no liberalist should aid in placing him in power. If the charge is unjust, he has only to deny it, and it will be cast aside as partisan persecution.

These are perilous times, and we must look well to the interest of our free institutions. The heaven-born principles of Garrisonian Republicanism are fast passing from power. Justice weeps in our Capitol, while corruption rules the land. The sceptre of liberty "will pass from India," if we put not forth a hand to save.

Our trusty sentinel, the liberty-loving INDEX, has long sounded the alarm-bell. We have heard the tocsin ringing, ringing in our ears; but, like one half asleep, we have scarcely opened our eyes to the sound, whilst all this time the enemy have been throwing up breast-works, strengthening and fortifying for an attack. And what are the liberalists doing in way of defence? Are we preparing to meet the attempt that will be made to overthrow our religious liberties? The struggle will as surely come as cometh the hoar-frost to nip the verdure of spring. We should arouse from our slumbers, gird on our armor, and with united force meet the hosts of bigotry and superstition in battle array.

The liberalists must go to work earnestly, and systematically, if they wish to maintain their rights. In every city, hamlet, and town, they must unfurl their banners. They must hold meetings, form clubs, circulate documents, employ speakers; in short, they must organize at once, and, full of life and vigor, meet the enemy half way.

Yours for liberty and justice,

S. M. CARROLL.

RADICAL DEMOCRACY!

[We publish the following "Address to the Citizens of the United States, with special reference to the citizens of Wisconsin," in cheerful compliance with the wish of the Committee.—ED.]

The experience of a century has sufficiently made known to every intelligent United States citizen who is able to judge impartially and honestly, that the principal evil, the root of all our political and social ills, is based upon the way in which the executive power of the Republic is regulated by the Constitution. The party system, with its struggle for life and death in behalf of a few persons, and to the damage of the people; corruption and covetousness which extend through all classes of office-holders and representatives of the people, yes, even through all society; the lobby and shoddy life which, originated at Washington, infects the whole country with its poisonous breath, and stifles all really republican sentiments,—all these sad facts which fill the heart of every true friend of liberty with grief and anxiety, are mostly the consequence of that institution which places the welfare and the ill-luck of the greatest Republic and also one of the most powerful and important countries of the world into the hands of one man, who, even under the most favorable circumstances, is apt to err.

Section 2 of Article II. of the United States Constitution invests the President of the United States, among others, with the following powers: He is commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States. He may grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States; he may, with the consent of two-thirds of the Senate, make treaties, and shall nominate and with the consent of the Senate shall appoint ambassadors, consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States whose appointments are not otherwise provided for. If thus we closely examine the several powers with which the President of the United States is intrusted, we shall find that they are greater than those of a constitutional prince, as for instance the monarch of England or Belgium. The Constitution, of course, according to the model of Montesquieu and the British Constitution, speaks of three powers, the legislative, executive, and judicial, to mutually balance each other; but as circumstances have meanwhile formed themselves, especially since the administration of Jackson, from which time dates the phrase, "To the victors belong the spoils," we cannot speak of an equilibrium any more, but the centre of gravity in our whole political machine rests in the person of the President, who, if he has the will to do it (and Jackson as well as Andrew Johnson have had this will and have done it), can literally realize the suitable expression, "King or autocrat in a dress-coat."

A really incredible weakening of the independent judicial power is visible in the fact that the President nominates and appoints that person who in some cases might become a party interested with the President; also the independence of the legislative power is made more than a mockery by his veto-right, and by the means which he has at hand to corrupt unscrupulous Senators and Representatives. Although it is a fact that the citizens of the republic, and especially the native-born Americans, are not conscious of the great danger threatened by this un-republican institution, or at least do not perceive the evil in its total extension, still the political currents of the last years prove that this great contradiction within a republican government is coming more and more to the surface, and that on many sides the intention is expressed, if not entirely to efface it, at least to moderate it and make it less dangerous. What else could the struggles mean against the pro-

longation of one term, and the movements for a limitation of the presidential power, as for instance the civil service reform proposition?

It is felt that something is wrong in the mechanism of our government, and the wish arises to mend and to change in some way or other. To the conclusion that part of our system rests on false grounds, the public could not yet come, confused and deluded by the waves of the party currents; but the power of events will force it to acknowledge this truth. The present campaign is just well adapted to show to many who were hitherto irresolute where the fault is; namely, that the welfare of the republic cannot depend on the election of one man and the attending reign of a corrupt party, but on the reconstruction of our Constitution, on its democratizing in the meaning of the unlimited self-government of the people. Whoever has heard the last campaign speech of the German ex-Senator, Mr. Schurz, must say to himself: "It must not get worse than it is; palliative remedies can be of no use; it is time that the old way of routine and thoughtlessness be abandoned."

Many citizens agree in the opinion that there is much to be changed and corrected in the Constitution of the United States; that for instance the responsibility of the office-holders and representatives and the right of their electors to remove the same from their places of trust must be established, and perhaps the two-chamber system abolished; but they are also conscious that the agitation for the reform movement, represented by them, can only then prove effectual, if they direct their attention and their strength to but one point, the most important at the time. This is in the present moment the above explained presidential question. In the excitement of an electoral season let every one pay more attention to this question, and even if some, deceived by their special selfish intentions and desires, should be more insensible to the counsels of reason than at other times, in the majority this cannot be the case, and it is probable that the season is the most favorable to plant the seeds of that reform movement.

A political committee was organized on Saturday, Sept. 16, which resolved to set on foot the agitation for the abolition of the presidency, which has to yield to an executive committee of limited power, who are chosen from and dependent on the legislative body, and with the chairman to be elected annually from their own number. The movement of this year is to be made more effectual by an elector for every electoral district, besides two electors for the State at large, the names being printed on the tickets which shall hereby be made legal, at least to that degree, that they will be counted, and the voters will have an estimate of the number of their votes counted and the returns made according to law.

Those that vote the "No president at all ticket" intend by this act only to unite themselves in a powerful demonstration, that they may at the next election join in a strong people's party, formed by all elements that strive for true reform, and compel our opponents to pay attention to our movements and our views. Therefore, unite, partisans of all States, and organize yourselves into corporations for agitation, as we in Wisconsin have begun. Do not alone vote the tickets of the subjoined model, but form headquarters during the electoral campaign for the propaganda of our cause, hold mass-meetings for the representatives of the several tongues, and work for it with word and deed, that this reform idea be energetically spread among the people.

Our Wisconsin citizens from all electoral districts we herewith specially invite immediately to give the undersigned secretary notice which persons they think the most fit to act as electors, and those who are ready to act as such are also urgently asked to send their consent. The time is short, and immediate, resolute proceedings are a necessity. As soon as possible, the undersigned Committee shall publish the names of electors and distribute a sufficient number of election tickets.

HENRICH ENDE.

THEODOR FRITZ,

Sec'y of the Committee.

All communications to be addressed to Mr. Theodor Fritz, Secretary of the Committee, headquarters 56 Onelda Street, Milwaukee, Wis.

A CERTAIN JUDGE whose pompous and officious ways tempted some of the lawyers to acts which his honor construed to mean contempt fined them \$10 each. When they had paid their fines, a certain dry and steady-going old attorney walked up to the bench and very gravely laid down a \$10 bill. "What is that for?" said the judge. "For contempt, your honor," was the reply. "Why, I have not fined you for contempt," answered the judge. "I know that," said the lawyer; "but I want you to understand that I cherish a secret contempt for this court all the time, and I am willing to pay for it."

THIS, OF COURSE, occurred out West: astride of a log sat Sam and another sinner, engaged in a little game of seven-up, when a minister came up, who, after a moment's solemn contemplation of the game, laid his hand upon Samuel's shoulder and said: "My friend, is that the way to save your soul?" "Perhaps not," answered Sam, who, having played a card, was attentively considering his hand, "Perhaps not; but it seems about the best thing I can do to save my Jack!"—N. Y. Post.

SCIENCE, as an objective result of sensuous experience, and of the striving of human reason after knowledge, has nothing whatever to do with the subjective ideas of faith, which are preached by a single man as the direct inspirations or revelations of the Creator, and then believed in by the dependent multitude.—Haeckel.

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FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT.

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1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.
2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.
3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.
4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.
5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.
6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.
7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."
8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.
9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.
10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.
11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.
12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.
13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

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SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

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THE SIMULTANEOUS attempts to enforce Sabbath laws in various places all over the country ought to attract more notice than they do, and lead to prompt, organized action. They mean more than the public is aware of.

REFERRING to Professors Tholuck and Julius Müller, in an unaccountable burst of modesty the Rev. Joseph Cook said in his Monday lecture of November 6, at Park Street Church: "If these eagles of mighty wings are thus careful of their strength and opportunities, what caution ought not to be exercised on these points by a very small wood-bird like myself?" Thereupon he hopped upon a twig, and twittered, chirped, and pecked with such fury at Professor E. S. Morse, the evolutionist, that he ruffled his own feathers into a state of frightful disorder, and showed that, however careful eagles may be, very small wood-birds are devoid of all "caution" in attempting tasks far beyond their own "strength and opportunities." Really, it is unsafe for little birds to be so belligerent! So much noise may notify Pussy-cat of their whereabouts!

THE NEW YORK Nation, in a review of "Clergymen as Scientific Men" which is so deliciously ironical that we copy it on another page, takes the tread out of the elephant in this remorseless manner: "Reading over the other day the Rev. Joseph Cook's lectures in Boston, in which he demolished the Evolutionists by means of detached sentences from the works now of one and now of another, put together with considerable rhetorical skill and seasoned with flippancy, and presented in such a way as to make it appear that the geologists and biologists and physicists and naturalists—the Lyells, Huxleys, Haeckels, Darwins, Helmholtzs, and others, who have countenanced and supported the hypothesis of evolution, and given

to it years or lives of laborious and conscientious investigation—were a set of charlatans or dreamers, whose chief use was to make clerical 'Monday lectures' funny, we confess we doubted whether we had of late heard of any more melancholy spectacle, or one likely to prove more mischievous. What was most melancholy about it was, however, not the assault on laborious investigators by a gentleman whose acquaintance with the subject in hand is at best very small, but the apparent unconsciousness of both the orator and his audience that there was anything absurd or humiliating in his position."

IN THE BOSTON Sunday Herald of November 12, we find a most candid, truthful, and just editorial notice of Mr. Ranney's death, which does great honor to the mind and heart of whoever penned it: "A pure and beautiful young life went out from Boston a few days ago. While here, he did not believe in God or immortality, but the lack of that sweet and inspiring faith did not unnerve him for the work of life or slacken his efforts for the amelioration of the condition of humanity. Though, like Harriet Martineau, he saw nothing in himself worthy of perpetuation beyond the grave, those who knew and loved him saw that in his character which they would not have died and which was to them a guarantee of immortal life. One of his coadjutors in the work of liberal reform, standing by the bier, gave eloquent utterance to this thought, showing that a life of purity and devotion to humanity, though itself unsweetened by the hope of future blessedness, may light in kindred minds the flame which failed to illumine itself. Such a life has, perhaps, achieved a higher mission than could have been wrought by the most reverent faith unsanctified by unique personal worth." If the secular press could always be as upright and unprejudiced in its references to the world's "unbelievers" as the Boston Herald, it would not be long before public justice is done to them in laws and institutions. Even though dead, our friend is still doing noble service to the cause he loved.

THE COUNCILS of the city of Philadelphia laid on the table the letter of Mr. Kilgore presenting the bust of Thomas Paine to the city—a procedure disreputable in the Councils and disrespectful to the donors. The Philadelphia Daily Evening Telegraph of October 26 contained the following:—

Bust of Thomas Paine.

THE DONORS OF THE GIFT TO THE CITY.

Yesterday Damon Y. Kilgore, Esq., presented the following communication to the Councils:—
To the President and Members of the Select Council of the City of Philadelphia:

GENTLEMEN,—On the 13th day of the present month, on behalf of the donors, I sent to the Mayor a letter of presentation to the city of Philadelphia of a marble bust of Thomas Paine.

It is proper to inform you that this slight tribute to the patriotic services of Mr. Paine for the establishment of this Republic has been made by the voluntary contributions of such men as Hon. George W. Julian, of Indiana; Col. T. W. Higginson, of Rhode Island; Hon. Elizur Wright, Francis E. Abbot, John C. Haynes, and Rev. William J. Potter, of Massachusetts; Rev. O. B. Frothingham, of New York; Rev. Robert Collyer, of Illinois; Rev. C. D. Campbell, Rev. J. C. Learned, Hon. A. W. Kelsey, and Hon. J. B. Henderson, of Missouri, together with many other distinguished citizens in all parts of our land.

The matter of presentation was intrusted to a committee resident in Philadelphia, by whom I was delegated to formally present it to the city.

In my former letter, which was laid upon your table, it was not designed to intimate that the donors claimed the right to designate its appropriate place, but I only expressed a preference for Independence Hall.

As I am simply the mouthpiece of the donors, acting for the committee, will you be so kind as to take such action in the premises as will in your wisdom dispose of the matter?

Very respectfully, in behalf of the committee,
DAMON Y. KILGORE.
PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 25, 1876.

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE,
 AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fairs shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, undistinctly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

The Essential Piety of Modern Science.

AN ADDRESS READ BEFORE THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF UNITARIAN AND OTHER CHRISTIAN CHURCHES, HELD AT SARATOGA, SEPT. 12-15, 1876.

BY REV. JOHN W. CHADWICK.

The word piety is not a favorite word with rational religionists. I must confess that it is not a favorite word with me. I do not use it any oftener than I can help. When I want to speak of the thing it stands for, and that is very often, I am apt to make a circumlocution. We associate a nasal pronunciation with the word, and we think of the thing as something which is not quite manly or robust. And still the word has been a favorite one with men as manly and robust as any we have ever known or heard of. Was ever a more manly man, a spirit more robust, than Theodore Parker? and how he loved to speak of piety—solid piety, he liked to call it,—how his imagination always kindled at the thought of it, and what tender words came trooping to his call! and how his life exemplified the thing, and by it was exalted, cheered, and glorified! No, my friends, we must not let the devil have all the good words, any more than we must let him have all the good tunes. And piety is a good word; it stands for a good thing,—a thing which there is no other word to stand for; a thing as real as the most real thing you can think of; a thing which in one form or another has always filled a large and honored place in human life, which will fill a larger and more honored place in the future than it ever has filled in the past. If it does not—though to conceive of this is quite impossible,—all the more blessed are the eyes which see the things that ye see, for that will be a sad day for humanity. It will be good to die before it dawns.

I doubt not there are some who would be willing to allow the essential morality, or the essential religiousness, of scientific thought, who might still demur at its essential piety. But seeing that there is "a power not ourselves that makes for righteousness," an eternal power, even the moralist is convicted of at least unconscious piety, when he ceases to resist this power, and puts himself in glad subjection to its sway. Of course it is possible to interpret morality so narrowly, so prudentially, so selfishly, that it shall carry along with it no element of piety; but in its higher forms and its more penetrating analysis there is always this element implied; the moral sense can always remember back to when it

"Knew not yet the gauge of time,
 Nor wore the manacles of space."

"'Twas when the heavenly house it trod,
 And lay upon the breast of God."

But while piety may be only implied in morality, it is not merely implied but also included in religiousness. I do not wish to be dogmatic, but I hold that we gain nothing by stretching words beyond their legitimate meanings, by calling things by larger names than properly belong to them. We have had too much of this in the endeavor to make morals perfectly synonymous with religion. That morals are implicitly religious, I have hastened to affirm; that morals are the best part of religion, I have not a particle of doubt. If we can not have both piety and morality, let us by all means have morality. But morality is coextensive with neither piety nor religion, and it is no service, but a positive disservice, that any writer does who lends his genius or his skill to confound things which ought not to be confounded. And, therefore, while it would be impossible for me to overstate my hearty recognition of the service done by Matthew Arnold, in his later writings, to the ideals of critical truth and personal righteousness, I can but deprecate the energy with which he has lent himself to the unwarrantable conclusion that righteousness and religion are convertible terms, and that any religion not included in righteousness is a mere name for which there is, or ought to be, no corresponding thing. It was a splendid thing to show, as he has shown, that righteousness is the one great word of either Testament; but when he would define righteousness, and, at the same time, religion, as "morality touched by emotion," and show by passages from Epictetus and the Bible that the latter is more religious than the former, just because it is more figurative and poetical, he is no longer a safe or satisfactory guide. We may allow that righteousness is morality touched by emotion, but religion is "morality touched with emotion," and a good deal more. Religion is morality and piety, and the piety part is no mere poetical or emotional appendage to the morality part, but in and of itself a great and wonderful reality,—a reality upon which morality itself depends for its most tender grace and its most glorious inspiration.

For what is piety? It is man's sense of his relation to the informing life of everything that is,—the All, the Infinite, for which we have, and need to have, no better name than God. In one form or another, this sense has never been a stranger to the mind and heart of man. And, for one thing, it has always been a sense of mystery. With the fetiche-worshiper, this sense of mystery attached itself only to the more irregular and apparently abnormal manifestations of power in Nature, and to such objects as by some grotesqueness, or other marked peculiarity, arrested his attention. What but a sort of Christian feticheism is the prevailing disposition to believe that God reveals himself more clearly in a few miracles of doubtful authenticity than in the constant and beneficent order of the universe? Whether the piety of the fetiche-worshiper was a sense of the informing life of everything concentrated around a few more

striking objects, or only a sense of the mystery inherent in those objects, we must not be too sure. To me the former statement seems the likelier to be true. A vague and nebulous monotheism would seem to be the atmosphere in which all more or less primitive religious ideas sustain themselves. Surely, it is no belief in one God, nor in a God, but a belief in God, in the divine, in the mystery of universal nature. The Vedic Hindus seem to have had this background of divinity upon which to paint their concrete Indras, and Agnis, and Varunas. Sometimes one or the other of these names is made to gather up the nebulous idea. At other times the worshipper is doubtful by what name to call the all-pervading mystery,—"he who gives life, he who gives strength, whose blessings all the bright gods desire, whose shadow is immortality, whose shadow is death, he who is God above all gods. Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?" So the Greek polytheism had its idea of a fate superior to Zeus and all the crowded pantheon; and the Romans had a Deus quite apart from Jupiter and all their other deified abstractions. It may well be, therefore, that piety has always been man's sense of his relation to the Universal Life; but what we have to notice is that this sense, from being originally concentrated around a small number of objects or phenomena of a more striking and apparently abnormal character, has become more and more inclusive as the development of religion and the parallel development of science have proceeded. For science, it must be remembered, is no modern invention, as many seem to think. Religion itself is not more venerable. It is a high-priest after the order of Melchizedek, without beginning of days. At least, we can not travel back so far across the fields of human history that we arrive at times in which there was no science. For science is no more nor less than the perception that some things regularly follow certain other things; in scientific phrase, the perception of uniformities of coexistence and sequence. Some of these uniformities must have been perceived at a very early stage of the experience of humanity, those first which most directly affected the welfare of the individual.

The idea of antagonism between science and religion could never have arisen if piety could only have been true to its own genius, to its sense of universal life, and our relation thereto. But having chosen—or having been, shall we say compelled?—to concentrate this sense around the exceptional and apparently abnormal objects and phenomena that solicited the thought and wonder of mankind, these objects and phenomena came ultimately to be regarded as the sole depositories of the infinite power and life, which hereby obtained a finite character. As the development of science proceeded, the exceptional and apparently abnormal facts were constantly being diminished in number, because their relations of coexistence and sequence were being perceived; and to a superficial observer, the domain of piety seemed to be getting more and more abridged. And if, the more law, the more regular recurrence, the more uniformity, had really meant, the less mystery, the less God, then, indeed, it would have been so, and the ultimate extinction of piety would have been only a question of time. But what was in truth taking place was the transference of piety from the formal worship, the cults of humanity, to the domain of science and philosophy. Manifestly, the science, and philosophy, and poetry of Greece had more real piety inherent in them than the popular worship. Manifestly, the so-called atheism of Lucretius was essentially more pious than the popular cult, or even than Cicero's "decent respect" for the established faith. What in truth was taking place was the transference of the sense of mystery from the apparently exceptional and abnormal to the uniformities of Nature and of life. Whence came these uniformities? Did they not presuppose a power not themselves, adequate to their production? The scientist, everywhere, has taken up the word of the apostle: "Behold, I show you [that is, explain to you] a mystery." But every mystery shown, explained, suggests a deeper mystery. "The more thou searchest the more thou shalt wonder." The meanest flower that blows suggests insoluble problems. We speak of taking it up by the roots. Practically that may be easy enough; but ideally, who has accomplished it?

"Flower in the crannied wall,
 I pluck you out of the crannies,
 Hold you here, root and all, in my hand,
 Little flower; but if I could understand
 What you are, root and all, and all in all,
 I should know what God and man is."

What we affirm, then, is the essential piety of all science. The piety may not be self-conscious, but it is always there. Science may not be conscious of it, but while it is musing the fire burns. But modern science has been, and is, by many thought to be inimical to piety, to be essentially atheistic, unreligious. And certainly there are many forms of piety to which it is inimical. It is not essentially supernatural, or biblical, or Roman Catholic, or Trinitarian; and if piety were coextensive with supernaturalism, or the cosmogony in Genesis, or the biblical astronomy, or history, or morality, or with Roman Catholicism, or Trinitarianism, then to speak of the essential piety of modern science would be absurd, for it is essentially opposed to all these forms of speculation and belief, or, at least, to some of their particular phases. But when we hear that science is inimical to piety, but little more is commonly meant than that it is inimical to these forms of speculation and belief. Now the fact is that there are thousands of religious men inside of Christianity, and millions outside, who care little or nothing for any of these things. That science is inimical to them they do not regret, but rejoice rather, because these things seem to them to be themselves inimical to religion, parasites that hinder its growth and diminish its vitality, barnacles that

impede its motion. Were they compelled to think that science is really inimical to religion, either as piety or as morality, how inexpressible would be their sorrow! But no such compulsion is the necessary outcome of the present aspect of events. The essential piety of modern science is every day becoming more conspicuous.

But in making this assertion, it will be necessary to distinguish between what is really modern science and certain scientific tendencies and philosophical speculations which are frequently spoken of as modern science, but which in reality are not fully entitled to this designation. Modern science is one thing and modern scientific tendencies are quite another. When these tendencies have culminated in well-established laws, when induction, and deduction, and verification have proved them to the uttermost, then they are modern science properly so-called,—then, and not before. Thus Darwin's theories of the origin of species and the descent of man are, so far, only tendencies. Whether essential piety can be predicated of these theories is a very interesting question, because they are tendencies of the most striking character, and fall but little short of complete verification. But it is not quite the same as if they were already verified. So with the origin of organic forms from inorganic substances. Thus far, philosophy is much better assured of this than science, and if science tends this way, the tendency is not yet strongly determined, though Mr. Huxley writes: "If it were given me to look beyond the abysses of geologically recorded time to the still more remote period when the earth was passing through physical and chemical conditions which it can no more see again than a man can recall his infancy, I should expect to be a witness of the evolution of living protoplasm from not living matter." It may be well to ask how this discovery of spontaneous generation, if made, would affect the essential piety of modern science; but it has not yet been made, and it is not yet science. It will certainly be best for us to consider the essential piety of well-established science before endeavoring to estimate the amount of piety likely to be involved in tendencies which are as yet no more than tendencies, however plausible.

Consult the fears of timid theologians, or the doubts of a few isolated philosophers and men of science, or the crude opinions of a class that has reacted violently from the ancient creeds, and you will doubtless be convinced that the essential piety of modern scientific thought is a phrase that does not correspond to anything substantial and indubitable. But if, on the one hand, you will think of what science has achieved, and, on the other hand, of the sentiments which are preëminently religious, which make up the sum of piety, and then of the relation of scientific achievement to these sentiments, you will be convinced that this Saul of science also is among the prophets, that there is that in modern scientific thought which directly fosters all those sentiments which are the life-blood of religion.

The most obvious thing that modern science has achieved for us is a wonderful extension of the universe in terms alike of space and time. We often have occasion to reflect what a small portion of the earth's surface was that world which was subjected to the Roman power, beyond whose bounds the Roman thought there was not far to go. We examine with interest the maps which scholars in the department of ancient geography furnish us of the world according to Homer's conception of it, and the conceptions of Herodotus, and Eratosthenes, and Strabo, and Ptolemy. But, as far short as all these conceptions fell of the real magnitude of our mundane sphere, the conceptions of these same men of the vastness and grandeur of the universe were infinitely more at variance with the conceptions which have been born and nurtured in the house of science within the last three hundred years. The heavens that overarched Copernicus as he watched them from the hills of Frauenburg were not the same heavens, actually, that overarch you to-day, because those heavens are the theatre of constant change, every star there being borne along with marvellous rapidity, although relatively the changes are no greater than are all the time going on in a block of granite.* Actually the heavens have changed, but their appearance to the casual observer is exactly the same now as it was three centuries ago. To the eye of thought how different they are, especially if that eye be the trained eye of a Lockyer or a Herschel! How vast are all these conceptions which modern science makes the daily food of thoughtful men! Into what utter insignificance they dwarf the studded firmament that smiled upon the men of ancient days!

And in connection with this change in our conceptions of the world's immensity, there has been an equal change in our conceptions of the relations of its various parts. The discoveries of Copernicus, who found the earth the theoretic centre of the solar system, and changed that centre to the sun, mark but a single stage in a great process of development. Not longer ago than 1822 a monument was built to him at Cracow with the inscription, then thought to be exceedingly appropriate, "*Sto, sol; ne moveare;*" the command of Joshua to the sun,—"*Stand, sun; move not.*" But, as Galileo said about the earth, it still moves. Taking all his children and grandchildren along with him, all the planets and their satellites, he is forever hurrying onward with inconceivable rapidity. The fixed stars are no longer fixed. Every one of them, while you are sitting here, is making his twenty or thirty miles a second, and while I am reading this paper will travel through the heavens forty or fifty thousand miles. These relations of motion are not more wonderful than the relations of size which modern science has revealed. The psalmist compared the sun to a giant. But if the sun is a giant, what then is Sirius, a star a million times far-

*Proctor.

ther from us than the sun, having two thousand times its bulk, three hundred times its brightness?

But modern science has not enlarged our conceptions of the universe in terms of space and relative significance more than in terms of time. Sciences of every sort have united to enlarge our time-view of the earth, and of the inhabitants of it, and of the great world-system of which it is an infinitesimal part. The beginnings of history now extend far back of that fine morning, Oct. 23, 4004 B. C., when, according to the biblical chronology, as computed by Archbishop Usher, the world was created. The traces of prehistoric man go back thousands of years farther than the beginnings of anything that can properly be called history,—five hundred thousand years, at least, suggests a careful student, Mr. Wallace, though, of course, the same objection may be brought to his argument that was brought to the first discoveries of fossil bones. If to try our faith the Almighty has scattered fossil bones all through the strata, which bones were never at any time component parts of living animals, why should he not, to try our faith, have mixed up with these bones the implements of stone we find among them which seem to bear the marks of human handicraft? Why not believe that Jonah swallowed the whale? But those who do not fancy arguing from the unknown to the unknown will agree with Mr. Wallace, that we are in much greater danger of allowing too little time than too much for the development of man from his original condition. We have "all the time there is" to draw upon. The only objection to extending our time-view is the fear of pushing back the operation of the Deity into a remoter past. But let us once conceive of him as operating not only at the farther end of the whole series of phenomena, but as being the present, all-controlling, immanent Life thereof, and it makes no difference to our sense of nearness to Him, whether the beginning of the universal cosmos was day before yesterday or ten thousand million years ago.

[CONCLUDED NEXT WEEK.]

NOTE.—This and other sermons by Mr. Chadwick can be obtained of Mr. Charles P. Somerby, 139 Eighth Street, New York, in pamphlet form, at five cents each.

"BULGARIAN ATROCITIES" AND "RUSSIAN INTRIGUES."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—I do not, as others, find fault with Dr. Cyrus Hamlin for taking the side of the Turks and Circassians. Though I take the opposite side, I believe that Turks are men like ourselves and like their adversaries. All men have to struggle the best they can, through many obstacles, among which their own ignorance and the difficulty of understanding others, toward the solution of problems sometimes very perplexing. Homer's gods understood that such was the condition of mortals; and though some of them might have sided with the Greeks, they did not consider it utterly unaccountable, or even undesirable, that the Trojans also should have their divine advocates. Least of all am I disposed to join with others in throwing the stone at a missionary when I see him, for the sake of what he deems to be justice and truth, publicly take a position, the very first effect of which will be a falling off in the contributions whereby he lives. I would rather honor and encourage such an unmissionarylike conduct.

What Dr. Hamlin, according to Mr. Alfred R. Wallace (INDEX Oct. 28), relates of the Circassians who left their country rather than submit to the Russian yoke, is certainly made to excite our sympathy for those brave men, their wives, their aged parents, and their little ones. Whosoever, like me, has witnessed the exodus of the Christian refugees of Damascus and Lebanon, after the massacres of 1860, can picture to himself what the transmigration to Babylon must have been, what every migration, at one moment, of a whole population from its country to another must inevitably be.

When Dr. Hamlin (quoting him through Mr. Wallace) represents these people as "driven into exile by a merciless conqueror," we must ask ourselves how much of this rhetorical phraseology is meant to express actual fact. That such an enlightened and philanthropic sovereign as Alexander II., the emancipator of thirty millions of slaves, would allow such things to take place under his authority, is as incredible as that Emperor William gave French cities to plunder, or that our own general Don Pedro, before starting on his round trip, left orders to have all the negroes massacred, in order to find the negro question settled on his return. Russia has millions of Mohammedan subjects besides the Circassians, and likes them. They make very good soldiers. Not all the Circassians have left their native mountains for Turkey, and no general slaughter of those who have remained has been perpetrated. Those who left were "driven into exile" by their own national and religious pride (a feeling which we can honor either in civilized or in savage men); and they objected to the conqueror because he was Christian and alien, not because he was "merciless." The sentence, however, taken alone and interpreted by ordinary rhetorical usage, might mean nothing more nor less than that.

But when Mr. Hamlin (always through Mr. Wallace) proceeds to say, "The Russians had surrounded parties of them with troops, forced them into lakes and rivers, where the Greek priests seized upon them and immersed them in baptism," here, I say, we have a case of relapse into that kind of missionary talk, for rising above which I was, a moment ago, complimenting Mr. Hamlin. That the Greek or the Roman Church, or any other ecclesiastical Church, considers baptism as valid even when administered by force, is a part, indeed, of that Protestant mythology through which Sunday-schools are edified and missionary subscriptions raised. But though the subscriptions

are substantial, the facts are not. According to the doctrine of all ecclesiastical churches, from the beginning of Christianity up to the present day, the baptism of a convert must be voluntary on the part of the recipient; or else, beside constituting a most sacrilegious act and the gravest offence against the Church, the ordinance would be entirely null and void. The idea that Greek priests, after baptizing unwilling persons, could have "hung crosses on their necks as a token of conversion," is simply preposterous. Greek priests would rather have torn away from the necks of persons unwillingly baptized the cross that the same persons might have thereto fittingly worn as willing catechumens.

If I may, not from positive information, but from my general knowledge of countries, usages, and doctrines, venture a guess as to how the transaction related by Dr. Hamlin had, if at all, a foundation in fact, my guess would be this. The Circassians, though brave, are a very savage people; some of them, no doubt, Mohammedans, and zealously such; but many of them no more Mohammedans (if we inquired not of their leaders but of themselves) than Christians or anything else. Those indifferent Circassians, who had probably been half converted by the Russian priests, would have been glad enough to remain in their country under the yoke of Russia. But they were compelled by their fanatic and overbearing leaders to join the emigration. Under the circumstances, they watched an opportunity for putting themselves under the protection of the first Russian regiment that they met; and if the soldiers took any part in the ceremony of their baptism, it was not to drive the converts into the water, but to prevent the irritated Mohammedans from tearing the converts into pieces. Of this, the tale, as Mr. Hamlin got it, second or twentieth hand, from the Mohammedans who reached Bulgaria, seems to be an influenced various reading. Those who have been in Europe know, besides, that military displays take place at religious processions and ceremonies, not for the sake of enforcing a creed on unwilling populations, but to enliven the ritual with flags and uniforms.

In importing a foreign population into Bulgaria, a Slavic and Christian country, Turkey had evidently other motives beside charitable ones; and it is not surprising if the Bulgarians, seeing the ripening question of their national independence thus unfairly prejudicated, effectually did (as Mr. Hamlin alleges) welcome the immigrants otherwise than charitably. The "Bulgarian massacres" may have been a terrible retaliation provoked by the Bulgarians themselves. Other are the ways of a civilized, and other those of a semi-barbarous and ignorant people in defending their fatherland. But though the sight of bloodshed and burned villages should always make us shudder, from whatever side, and in whatever proportion or order of priority it comes, there are feelings which we can understand as accounting for the acts of our fellow-men.

As to the usual talk about "Russian intrigue," as if Russia were the real agitator of Christian populations so happy, unless tampered with, to live under the yoke of a Turkish minority, such talk may take in England. She owns India, and might be glad to turn Constantinople into another Gibraltar. But to Americans, who own nobody but themselves and no country but their own, nor wish to, such talk is not satisfactory. The Christian nationalities of Turkey are agitated, not by Russia, but by the nature of their intolerable position, a position which would, long ago, have been decently settled, had it not been for the meddling of England and France, prompted by selfish motives. Russian intrigue in Turkey amounts to this: that it is against the nature of things that a great nation, like Russia, could look unconcerned on the sufferings of a people kindred to her by race and religion. Neighborhood and common humanity would suffice. That Russia wants the Turks to leave Constantinople is likely enough, for it were unconceivable if she did not. That she wishes to take Constantinople, or any part of European Turkey, for herself, is, in my opinion, contrary to all indications. She could not do it without murdering two nationalities, the Greek and the Roman, both friendly to her, and which it has been all her aim to foster and encourage. To the Greeks belong Constantinople and all the provinces intermediate between it and the present Greek kingdom. The Slavic provinces separated from Russia by Roumania and Hungary, though kindred to Russia, as France is to Italy and Spain, have, by geographical circumstances, their destiny pointed to them as a separate Slavic empire, creating within the Slavic race and—with the addition of Roumania and of a Greek empire—within the Greek Church that balance of power which is a guarantee against the bugbear of an overwhelming Russian supremacy.

I am, dear sir, very truly yours,
JULIUS FERRETTE.

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., Nov. 2, 1876.

SCIENCE AND RELIGION.

A new movement at present exists in this city. Last May a number of gentlemen undertook to institute for the ensuing winter a course of Sunday morning lectures on the subjects usually classed under the head of the "Philosophy of Religion," with this proviso, that the questions involved shall be treated as open ones. The enterprise may perhaps be best described as an attempt to found the "higher life" on certain great ethical truths, and to find in them a satisfactory basis of union whereon thoughtful men may unite amid the increasing divergences in matters of creed that mark the present age. Professor Felix Adler, of Cornell University, has been engaged as lecturer. The lectures are to be preceded by appropriate musical selections. The introductory lecture will be delivered in Standard Hall, at Broadway and Forty-second Street, on Sunday, October 15, at 11 o'clock, A. M.—N. Y. Evening Post, Oct. 11.

MR. HEYWOOD ON THE "FAMILY BANK."

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I am glad to see that your well-read columns have attracted a criticism of the "Family Bank" from Mr. E. H. Heywood. If I understand him (but I am not sure that I do), he regards it as objectionable in every point of view. Its main purpose is to enable laboring people to escape perpetual rent by temporarily paying interest, which he dubs "usury." But he objects to interest as well as rent. And indeed they do seem to be about the same thing in principle, though they may differ in degree. But what it is impossible for me to understand is, how Mr. Heywood protects a man's right of property, when he will not allow him to receive either rent or interest, even when another man is willing to pay it. A, a laborer, builds a good house. B, another laborer, who has been losing half his time and strength through having to sleep on the ground under a shanty of slabs, catching cold and rheumatism, would like to hire the house of A, at a rent which he can earn in a third of his time. Does Mr. Heywood object? Do the labor-reformers demand that B shall have the "opportunity" to dwell in A's house without paying him anything for it or doing anything for him? This would not be the "reciprocity" which they also demand, would it?

Again, suppose A sells the house he has built to C, for no matter what sort of money, gold or paper; but for so much as will hire A or another builder who has tools and skill, which B has not, to build another house as good as that which he sold to C. Now he offers to lend this money to B for just the same, or perhaps less yearly interest than that which B was willing to pay in rent—the loan to be repaid by twelve yearly instalments, each instalment to stop its interest. Does Mr. Heywood "protect property" by forbidding any such bargain, and insisting that the money, if lent at all, shall be lent without interest?

This seems to me rather preventing property than protecting it.

Rent of property and interest of money are undeniably disagreeable things to people who must pay them, or not have the use of the property or money. I look upon them as existing facts, which cannot be abolished by statute law without such discouragement to the production and accumulation of property as to send us all back to holes in the ground.

What I hold to as the ground and sufficient motive for the Family Bank is, that there is a choice between these evils of perpetual rent and temporary interest. When we began to keep sheep, some sixty years ago, in the wilderness of Ohio, the wolves were stubborn facts. That dogs sometimes killed sheep was also a fact. Yet we patronized dogs because by their means we suffered less from the wolves. Without undervaluing Mr. Heywood's benevolence in trying to rescue laboring men from both rent and interest, I must confess an entire want of faith in his success, and contend that something will be gained, if we can place the laboring man, by means of his own savings, in a home which he has every motive to improve and beautify, instead of one which he is tempted to waste and abuse.

The trouble with the savings banks of Massachusetts is that through them the savings of the poor are lent at a moderate interest to the rich. This interest, as far as it goes, is a benefit to the poor. But they might have a still greater benefit, if they themselves had a fair chance to borrow at a moderate interest on giving proper security. It is only by getting the use of capital on fair and reasonable terms that a poor man can drive the wolf to a suitable and comfortable distance from his door; and no man has shown this more clearly than William B. Greene in his *Mutual Banking*, albeit he becomes queerly muddled when he discusses the relation of money to capital.

As to the other writers whom Mr. Heywood quotes against the Family Bank, I must confess I have not read them much; and as to his own writings, after several readings, I entirely fail to understand them, except as self-contradictory. He professes to have found in my writings something favorable to what is called "coöperative insurance" for laboring people. It might do very well for a small society of mutually trustworthy people, all knowing each other; but, when applied on a large scale to people who are strangers to each other, it becomes no insurance at all, for want of any principle of cohesion or corporate vitality. I could easily astonish Mr. Heywood with statistics of its victims.

I am quite aware that the legislature, in granting the charter of the Family Bank, has given the owners of the Capital Stock a privilege of considerable value. That is why I wish it should be owned by laboring men. Let them do what they can to aid Mr. Heywood in securing for them "opportunity and reciprocity," if they know what he means by those words. But, in the meantime, why should not ten thousand of them seize the opportunity of getting eight per cent. per annum for a little of their money—if they cannot do better?

ELIZUR WRIGHT.

TWO IRISHMEN were working in a quarry, when one of them fell into a deep quarry-hole. The other, alarmed, came to the margin of the hole and called out: "Arrah, Pat, are ye kilt entirely? If ye're dead, spake." Pat reassured him from the bottom by saying in answer: "No, Tim, I'm not dead; but I'm spacheless."

"KNOWLEDGE *a priori*," like all other knowledge, was originally acquired by our remote ancestors, "*a posteriori*," by sensuous experience, and arose only by long-enduring transmission, by inheritance of acquired adaptations of the brain, out of originally empiric or experiential knowledge "*a posteriori*."—Haeckel.

CLERGYMEN AS SCIENTIFIC MEN.

Not the least interesting feature in the discussion about the theory of evolution is the prominent part taken in it by clergymen of various denominations. There is hardly one of them who, since Huxley's lectures, has not preached a sermon bearing on the matter in some way, and several have made it the topic of special articles or lectures. One minister in Boston, Mr. Cook, has delivered two or three lectures on it, and Dr. Taylor, in New York, has assailed Huxley's position in a letter to the *Tribune*. Other ministers have attacked the hypothesis in the religious quarterlies. In fact, we do not think we exaggerate when we say that three-fourths of all that has been recently said or written about it in this country, has been said or written by ministers. There is no denying that the theory, if true, does, in appearance at least, militate against the account of the Creation given in the first chapter of Genesis, or, in other words, against the view of the origin of life on the globe which has been held by the Christian world for seventeen centuries. It would, therefore, be by no means surprising that ministers should meet it, either by showing that the Mosaic account of the Creation was really inspired—was, in short, the account given by the Creator himself,—or that the modern interpretations of it were incorrect, and that it was really, when perfectly understood, easily reconciled with the conclusions reached of late years by geologists and biologists. This is the way in which a great many ministers have hitherto met the Evolutionists, and for this sort of work they are undoubtedly fitted by education and experience. If it can be done by any one, they are the men to do it. If it be maintained that the Biblical account is literally true, they are more familiar than any other class of men with the evidence and arguments accumulated by the Church in favor of the inspiration of the Scriptures; or if, on the other hand, it be desired to reconcile the Bible with evolution, they are more familiar than any other class of men with the exegetical process by which this reconciliation can be effected. They are specially trained in ecclesiastical history and tradition, in Greek and Hebrew religious literature, and in the methods of interpretation which have been for ages in use among theologians.

Of late, however, they have shown a decided inclination to abandon the purely ecclesiastical approach to the controversy altogether, and this is especially remarkable in the discussion now pending over Huxley. They do not seek to defend the Biblical account of the Creation, or to reconcile it with the theory of the Evolutionists. Far from it; they have come down in most of the recent cases into the scientific arena, and are meeting the men of science with their own weapons. They tell Huxley and Darwin and Tyndall that their evidence is imperfect, and their reasoning from it faulty. Noticing their activity in this new field, and the marked contrast which this activity presents to the modesty or indifference of the other professions—the lawyers and doctors, for instance, who on general grounds have fully as much reason to be interested in evolution as the ministers, and have hitherto been at least as well fitted to discuss it,—we asked ourselves whether it was possible that, without our knowledge, any change had of late years been made in the curriculum of the divinity schools or theological seminaries, with the view of fitting ministers to take a prominent part in the solution of the increasingly important and startling problems raised by physical science. In order to satisfy ourselves, we lately turned over the catalogues of all the principal divinity schools in the country to see if any chairs of natural science had been established, or if candidates for the ministry had to undergo any compulsory instruction in geology or physics, or the higher mathematics, or biology, or paleontology, or astronomy, or had to become versed in the methods of scientific investigation in the laboratory or in the dissecting-room, or were subjected to any unusually severe discipline in the use of the inductive process. Not much to our surprise, we found nothing of the kind. We found that, to all appearance, not even the smallest smattering of natural science in any of its branches is considered necessary to a minister's education; no astronomy, no chemistry, no biology, no geology, no higher mathematics, no comparative anatomy, and nothing severe in logic. In fact, of special preparation for the discussion of such a theme as the origin of life on the earth, there does not appear to be in the ordinary course of our divinity schools the smallest trace.

We then said to ourselves, But ministers are modest, truthful men; they would not knowingly pass themselves off as competent on a subject with which they were entirely unfitted to deal. They are no less candid and self-distrustful, for instance, than lawyers and doctors; and a lawyer or doctor who ventured to tackle a professed scientist on a scientific subject to which he had given no systematic study, would be laughed at by his professional brethren, and would suffer from it even in his professional reputation, as it would be taken to indicate a raw and untutored state of mind, and a dangerous want of self-knowledge. Perhaps, then, the training given in the divinity schools, though it does not touch special fields of science, is such as to prepare the mind for the work of induction by some course of intellectual gymnastics. Perhaps, though it does not familiarize a man with the facts of geology, and biology, and astronomy, it so disciplines him in the work of collecting and arranging facts of any kind, and reasoning from them, that he will be a master in the art of proof, and that, in short, though he may not have a scientific man's knowledge, he will have his mental habits.

But we found this second supposition as far from the truth as the first one was. Moreover, the mental constitution of the young men who choose the min-

istry as a profession is not apt to be of a kind well fitted for scientific investigation. Reverence is one of their prominent characteristics, and reverence predisposes them to accept things on authority. They are inclined, too, to seek truth rather as a means of repose than for its own sake, and to fancy that it is associated closely with spiritual comfort, and that they have secured the truth when they feel the comfort. Though last not least, they enter the seminary with a strong bias in favor of one particular theory of the origin of life and of the history of the race, and their subsequent studies are marked out and pursued with the set purpose of strengthening this bias and of qualifying them to defend it and spread it, and of associating in their minds the doubt or rejection of it with moral evil. The consequence is that they go forth, trained not as investigators or inquirers, but as advocates, charged with the defence against all comers of a view of the universe which they have accepted ready-made from teachers. A worse preparation for scientific pursuits of any kind can hardly be imagined. The slightest trace of such a state of mind in a scientific man—that is, of a disposition to believe a thing on grounds of feeling or interest, or with reference to practical consequences, or to jump over gaps in proof in order to reach pleasant conclusions—discredits him with his fellows, and throws doubt on his statements. We are not condemning this state of mind for all purposes. Indeed, we think the wide-spread prevalence of the philosophic way of looking at things would be in many respects a great misfortune for the race, and we acknowledge that a rigidly-trained philosopher would be totally unfit for most of a minister's functions; but we have only to describe a minister's education in order to show his exceeding unfitness for contentions such as some of his brethren are carrying on with geologists, and physicists, and biologists. In fact, there is no educated calling whose members are not, on the whole, better equipped for fighting in scientific fields over the hypothesis of evolution. Our surprise at seeing lawyers and doctors engaged in it would be very much less justifiable, for a portion at least of the training received in these professions is of a scientific cast, and concerns the selection and classification of facts, while a clergyman's is almost wholly devoted to the study of the opinions and sayings of other men. In truth, theology, properly so called, is a collection of opinions. Nor do these objections to a clergyman's mingling in scientific disputes arise out of his belief about the origin and government of the world *per se*, because one does not think of making them to trained religious philosophers; for instance, to Principal Dawson or Mr. St. George Mivart. Some may think or say that the religious prepossessions of these gentlemen lessen the weight of their opinions on a certain class of scientific questions, but no one would question their right to share in scientific discussions.

We are moved to speak on this subject by the regret which we feel at seeing educated and influential men, from perhaps the most influential body of educated men in the country, helping by their example to spread the already too prevalent delusion that training is not needed to enable a man to talk or think with profit to himself or others on any subject; and it is a delusion which—let us say—helps to cut the ground from under the feet of religious as well as of other teachers. It furnishes the subtle poison which debauches politics, and makes so much labor in all fields slight and inefficient, and which renders education hasty and slipshod, and scholarship shallow and pretentious. Reading over the other day the Rev. Joseph Cook's lectures in Boston, in which he demolished the Evolutionists by means of detached sentences from the works now of one and now of another, put together with considerable rhetorical skill and seasoned with flippancy, and presented in such a way as to make it appear that the geologists and biologists and physicists and naturalists—the Lyells, Huxleys, Haeckels, Darwins, Helmholtzs, and others, who have countenanced and supported the hypothesis of evolution, and given to it years or lives of laborious and conscientious investigation—were a set of charlatans or dreamers, whose chief use was to make clerical "Monday lectures" funny, we confess we doubted whether we had of late heard of any more melancholy spectacle, or one likely to prove more mischievous. What was most melancholy about it was, however, not the assault on laborious investigators by a gentleman whose acquaintance with the subject in hand is at best very small, but the apparent unconsciousness of both the orator and his audience that there was anything absurd or humiliating in his position. Let us assure the ministers who enjoy and participate in this sort of sport that it is not the men of science they are injuring or degrading; it is their own order and vocation. If they will only look back, they will see that the history of the relation of religion to science has consisted in the main of the acceptance by theologians of scientific hypotheses over which they at first laughed or were angry, and that this acceptance has only damaged theology when the acceptance was grudging or ill-tempered. How many unpleasant and at first sight formidable truths have been swallowed since the day when the proposition over which the Rev. Joseph Cooks of the time doubtless made merry, that the earth was not the centre of the solar system but only a satellite of the sun, was first produced! Would it not be best for religion and morals to give up a struggle in which they may lose much and can win nothing? Can there be any gain wrought for either by pretending that there are some subjects on which one may be qualified to talk without having studied them? The world is not so simple as it used to be, or so ignorant. Plain people all over the country, in our day, know enough about the methods of scientific investigation to be familiar with Newton's Rule that a hypothesis which will explain a pheno-

menon, and against which no fatal objection is known, is a good and proper hypothesis to work on in investigation; and they see that the hypothesis of evolution does fulfil these conditions, and they expect those who assail it to produce one that will take its place. This ministers do not do. The Mosaic account of the Creation explains nothing which now puzzles us. For—to use the dilemma presented to Mr. Cook by a distinguished physician—if men are the offspring of a single pair, and environment has not, as the Evolutionists say it has, modified them in character and conformation, what has caused the difference between Australian aborigines and Anglo-Saxons in the short space of six thousand years? If, on the other hand, the difference be due to the descent from a number of separately created pairs, what becomes of the Mosaic account? People are pondering these questions seriously, and they cannot be dismissed with a laugh. Would it not be well, therefore, for ministers to abandon the attitude of angry fugitives towards science, and await its discoveries with calm, and watch the tentative efforts by which all its truths have been revealed with friendly or, at all events, courageous interest? For though a good ally, it may be a terrible because inevitable enemy.

"The Moving Finger writes, and, having writ,
Moves on; nor all your piety and wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a line,
Nor all your tears wash out a word of it."

—New York Nation, Oct. 26.

CATHOLICISM IN A VILLAGE SCHOOL.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TRIBUNE:

Sir,—Lima, in Livingston County, is the former seat of Genesee College and the present location of the Genesee Wesleyan Seminary. The following is substantially the condition of the public school: One small, shabby building, situated on Main Street, accommodates such of the pupils as do not attend the seminary or the Catholic school. Containing two rooms, it will accommodate about fifty pupils. It is poorly lighted, poorly ventilated, and meanly furnished. This is the only building the district owns, yet it boasts of a population of twelve hundred or fourteen hundred, and taxable property to the amount of \$700,000 or \$800,000. In this building there are two teachers, who do their very best; but they work to a great disadvantage. In another part of the town, and in the same yard with the Catholic Church, is another building in which a majority of the pupils of the village are taught by three Sisters of Charity. The building was formerly the Catholic Church, and was moved to its present site to make room for a new church. This building is well lighted and ventilated, and furnished with modern school furniture, including a good piano. There are three rooms, and ample accommodations for one hundred and fifty pupils. No religious exercises are held during school hours, but the garb of the teachers and the very atmosphere of the place, and the surroundings exert a silent influence as potent as the celebration of the mass itself.

Yet all this is paid for by the district, under the pretext that it is a part of the public schools. The building is owned by the Bishop of the Diocese of Western New York, and as these Sisters have taken vows of poverty and obedience, their wages of course go to the Church; so the people of Lima every year raise a certain sum by tax, and receive a certain amount from the State, and from these sums pay annually from \$500 to \$700 almost directly into the treasury of the Diocese of Western New York. The trustee is elected in the interest of the Catholic Church. This state of affairs has existed so long, that it has become a saying that Lima maintains a school almost entirely in the interest of Roman Catholicism. Doubtless the public school building is too small to accommodate the pupils of the district. Let the people erect a building adequate to their needs, one that would be an ornament to their beautiful village. Do the people realize the danger of the course they are pursuing? Are they aware that the Department of Public Instruction may at any time deprive them of their public money? Are they aware that they cannot force collection on a single dollar of their school-tax? These are questions that they should consider. Sooner or later the seminary, under the pressure of normal and union free schools, must go down, and like its sister institutions at Albion, Medina, and elsewhere, be supplanted by a union free school. When this is attempted, the people of Lima will feel the full strength of the fetters that are being placed upon them. CENSOR.

WEST BLOOMFIELD, N. Y., Sept. 18, 1876.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

HEREAFTER:

"Warte nur; baldes ruhest du auch."—GOETHE.

TIME, Midnight.—Scene, a sick chamber: Julius sits by the bedside of his dying father.

FATHER.

Julius, my sands of life are running low. My hours are numbered, and thou holdst a hand Which soon must rest as marble in thy grasp. To-morrow's sun will look on thee bereaved Of him who gave thee life and who has reared His only son with tender, loving care.

JULIUS.

Father, I cannot through my blinding tears See now thy features, which to me have seemed The index of a soul so pure and kind, That I have almost worshipped while I loved Him who to me was father, brother, friend. My life will seem all desolate when thou, My guardian and instructor, art no more.

I cannot think it true that I so soon Must hear for the last time thy gentle voice Inciting me to noble aims of life (Weeps.) Yet tell me, father, is there aught that thou Wouldst give me as a last, a dying charge? Doubt not, I'll do it, if 'tis in my power.

FATHER.

Nothing, my son; the wishes of my heart For thy great life-work are already known. Go steadfast on with nobleness of soul In the high path thou treadest with honor now; So shalt thou also, when life's evening comes, Lie down with equanimity to die.

JULIUS.

Father, of all the problems of the soul Which we have oft discussed, there is not one Which has so occupied our thoughts as this:— Is man immortal? Is he still to live In conscious being after this frail clay Is decomposed to native dust once more? When last we spoke of this, thou hadst no light, No fixed assurance of another life; The future looked impenetrably dark, And immortality was held by thee Not as a certainty, but as a hope. How does this awful question now appear, Now when the flame of life is burning low And Death's dread shadow holds thee in its gloom?

FATHER.

The same, my son, as when the ruddy blood Was coursing healthfully through all my veins, And when that seemed a subject quite abstract, Which never could have reference to me, A living, breathing man in the full flush Of health and vigor. It is as you say: I then could find no proof that we should live Beyond this brief existence, though I held Of such a future life a solemn hope. I see no clearer light than then I saw, Yet I am calm and die without a fear, Of this assured, that nothing I can do Will change a hair's breadth that which is to be. 'Tis well if I awake; 'tis also well (Perchance e'en better), if I sleep; for who Can tell what mode of being may await The soul which leaves its tenement of clay? Therefore I rest in perfect peace of mind: My only grief to say farewell to thee.

JULIUS.

My Father, I confess 'tis without hope That I approach thee with a strange request; But I would fain try every mode which may Throw light upon the gloom beyond the grave. 'Tis claimed by many that their absent dead Hold converse with them still from spirit realms. We oft have smiled at this thought in contempt, And ridiculed such fancies as absurd; Yet, father, if in truth thou still shouldst live After thy spirit quits this mortal frame, And canst by any means convey to me News merely of the fact of such a life, I do implore thee, by our mutual love, Reveal it to my lonely, broken heart! Come to me as I sit beside thy form, Before I lay it in the silent grave! A constant, loving watch I'll keep for thee, Longing and waiting for thy slightest sign.

FATHER.

My son, thou knowst I had a brother once, Who died a score of years since, in the flower Of beautiful young manhood?

JULIUS.

Father, yes.

FATHER.

When he lay dying, as I do to-night, His bright eyes clouding in the film of death, With bitter tears of grief and broken words I made of him the same request which thou Hast made of me.

JULIUS.

And what was the result?

FATHER.

Dead silence! Never from behind the veil, The dark, thick shroud which hid him from my sight, Came voice or sign. And so it is with all. I pity those deluded souls who sit Gaping and trembling round a creaking board, Invoking through shrewd tricksters their loved dead! Dismiss all possibility of such A revelation from another world, And learn to live on, patient and resigned, Until the mystery is solved by Death.

JULIUS.

So be it, then! But how profoundly sad That such must be the fate of every soul! To yearn unutterably for the light, To crave with bitter tears that blessed boon— The sweet assurance of a future life, And yet to be compelled to calmly wait, See one by one the dear ones all depart, Nor know what fate is theirs beyond the tomb! How horrible that not a ray of light Comes from that darkness, on whose border land We say the last farewell to those we love! Alas! what are we? Puppets that are made To dance their part out on a reeling stage? Or, weaklings though we be, have we a spark Of that divine essence which shall live, Nay, more, must live through everlasting years?

FATHER.

Draw back the curtain, Julius; let me look Once more upon the glorious expanse Of glittering worlds upon their rhythmic dance. (Julius draws back the curtain.) See yonder brilliant orb! Its waves of light,

Moving with swift pulsations through the depths Of azure space, fall now upon my eye Fatigued with years of travel since they left With lightning-like velocity their source. Around that distant sun move glowing worlds, Abounding doubtless like our own with life. Such suns and systems are dispersed through space As motes in sunbeams,—what then is our earth? A speck in vast immensity's domain! Moreover, from this speck, while yonder clock Ticks out its smallest increment of time, There pass away full thirty human lives! What then is mine? By what audacity Can I claim endless being as my right? If it shall be my lot to re-awake In conscious continuity of self, Why then I shall rejoice,— (gasps suddenly).

Ah! this keen pain

Comes once more—in my heart. Thy hand, my son! 'Tis dark!—I see no more thy face. Farewell! I'll press thy hand—till—I—

JULIUS (kneeling and clasping his father's hand: after a pause.)

And this is death!

His hand grows icy cold within my own; His breath grows fainter, and the flame of life But flickers in its socket ere it dies! My father! Canst thou hear me? It is I! Press but my hand once more if thou dost hear! Gone! Gone! and whither? Is this icy clay, Which here I kiss, the father whom I loved? These are his features,—these his loving hands Which but a moment since pressed mine again. So have I seen him often lie in sleep; But from this sleep, alas! no filial voice Can e'er awake him! Still the starry light Falls gently on his eyes, which take no note Of that which kindled thought a moment since! Was there a soul which ruled in this dear form, Which willed, and loved, and thought,—a conscious self?

Distinct and free from its environment? An entity which nothing can destroy Nor yet diffuse or merge into aught else? Or was it but a part of the great whole, A drop of water prisoned in a shell And floating on the bosom of the sea, Which at the breaking of the shell by Death Has mingled once more with its parent waves? Or yet again, was it a kind of force, Like that which animates the waving plant And draws the juices upward to its leaves, Which now has been released from this poor form To work in others that we know not of? If so,—'twere vain to ask its present place Or mode of action, as 'twould be to seek The whereabouts of an extinguished flame, Or of the breeze which lately fanned my cheek. Insoluble enigmas! who can know The end of this poor, transitory life? Well did my father say: "I calmly rest In peaceful equanimity of soul, With firmness waiting that which is to be." With such a calm philosophy of life He passed away, without a shade of fear. He could look back upon a life well spent, With powers used wisely for a noble end. 'Tis well. If still he lives, those powers will be More ripe for future usefulness. If not, Yet think upon the good they have achieved, Which still remains on earth in worthy lives Ennobled, aided, and reclaimed by him. Such immortality he has attained, And thus can well dispense with added life, If it should be denied. Here, father, here On thy dead form, which I bedew with tears, I vow to strive thus for a deathless life: A life which shall continue in men's souls Long after I am gone; a constant power Inspiring them to pure and noble deeds, And raising them from worthlessness and vice! Such power is now thy immortality! Thou liv'st again in me and hundreds more, To whom thou didst impart thy lofty thoughts, Thy generous impulses, thy tender love. So may I live, forevermore a source Of lasting good on this evolving globe In the sad drama of our human life!

J. L. STODDARD.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 11.

E. M. Wier, \$25; Mrs. M. M. Ballou, \$10; C. M. Wetmore, \$3.20; W. L. Willard, 10 cents; H. W. Philpen, \$3.75; A. Braasch, 72 cents; A. J. Griffin, \$5.20; D. S. Lowe, \$5; H. W. Brown, \$3; J. L. Hammett, \$3.50; J. A. Creighton, \$3.20; N. Cummings, \$30; E. C. Spencer, \$20; S. Warbasse, \$13.20; J. Warbasse, \$10; E. S. Wheeler, \$13.20; W. A. Thurston, \$10; C. T. Howe, \$30; W. H. Sayward, \$3.20; Caroline Wellington, \$3.20; Cash, 48 cents; T. Hughes, 25 cents; R. C. Spencer, \$5; Jos. Whitney, \$3.20; C. B. Lynn, 50 cents; George Thorn, \$1; A. Blair, \$3.20; H. V. Spooner, \$4; E. J. Morris, \$1; W. J. Phillips, 50 cents; A. W. Kelsey, 75 cents; E. B. Hunter, \$5; J. Annis, 80 cents; F. Frothingham, \$3.20; G. Chamberlain, \$3.20; Finch & Apper, \$1.50; Rev. C. F. Goss, \$3; Mrs. Geo. Letcher, \$3.20; M. H. Doolittle, \$18; E. P. Halliwell, \$100; Geo. A. Browne, \$10; Joe. Singer, \$3.20; W. P. Wilson, \$1.38; C. A. Miller, \$2; A. Taff, \$10.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are not on hand will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, NOVEMBER 16, 1876.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 231 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FAY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
GOTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH CARY STANTON, Editorial Contributors.

NOTICE.

On receipt of \$3.20, THE INDEX will be sent to any name not already on its mail-list, from the present time until January 1, 1878. This is an excellent opportunity for friends of the paper to increase its circulation among their acquaintances; and it is hoped that they will not neglect to render in this way some greatly-needed assistance to the important cause it represents.

MR. CEPHAS B. LYNN has our thanks for copies of his excellent lectures before the Free Lecture Association, published in the *New Haven Journal and Courier*. He is at present lecturing in Springfield, Massachusetts, and always speaks a fervent word for all that is good and true.

IN THE *New York Tribune* of October 30, this paragraph appeared: "Another 'miscent letter' has turned up, this time in Cleveland. It is said by the *Cleveland Herald* to have been received by a 'highly respectable business firm' in that city, and to have been sent there by mistake instead of to Wisconsin. The writer of it, James C. Devan, had been on a visit to the Democratic head-quarters in this city, and thus described his success: 'They promise us aid, but say it must be through the State Committee. Hewitt was so occupied that I had no opportunity to talk to him as I wished. A few minutes with the Governor, however, who happened in the city, did as well. He talks hopefully, but is solicitous about Wisconsin, and thinks there is a possibility of its vote determining the election. Among other things which I will tell you, he feels the necessity of a full Catholic vote, and wishes its importance cautiously urged upon the priests and officers of the Church. The fact should be remembered by them that the school question has been dragged in issue in some States, and that the Democratic party is their true friend. He wants them reminded that he and the party are constantly assailed for the Gray Nuns act and such favors, and for the Church to be laggard now would be little less than treachery. This matter he wishes to have looked after with the utmost caution and outside of committees, and by none not of our order.' This is exceedingly interesting, if true."

THIS TOUCHING little note, written without a thought of publication, we desired greatly to add to our editorial article of last week, to close with befitting tenderness a painfully inadequate tribute to a most lovely character. But we could not venture to do this without the writer's permission, which being obtained, we can no longer withhold so fair a flower from the fresh-made grave of one whose memory is itself a flower of imperishable beauty to all who knew him well:—

NEW BEDFORD, Nov. 3, 1876.

DEAR ABBOT:—I mourn to see the black-lined announcement of Ranney's death. I had learned greatly to esteem and admire him for his keen intelligence and thorough uprightness and sincerity. And I should have come, I know, greatly to love him, had I been thrown into close intimacy with him. I keep thinking how deeply you must feel the loss! He was a quick and wise counsellor, and there on the spot ready and faithful to aid your efforts. It will be difficult indeed, if not impossible, wholly to fill his place in the Index Association. And in other ways, too, he will be sadly missed in our liberal work. But his poor wife and children—how unutterable the sense of loss and desolation that has suddenly befallen them! Oh, the tragedies in our human lot! Faithfully yours,

WM. J. POTTER.

A THIRD GREAT PARTY.

At this writing the result of the Presidential election is still involved in uncertainty. It is only with regard to the question of State Secularization that we propose now to speak of it. This question is daily assuming greater importance in the eyes of every thoughtful and observant citizen; nor will it be very long before even the thoughtless will be compelled to give it the attention which the grave issues it involves ought years ago to have secured for it. THE INDEX, at least, has done its full duty during the past six or seven years in endeavoring to promote popular enlightenment on this subject, and also in endeavoring to stimulate the American people to such public action as the situation has demanded. Twenty-five years hence (and probably much sooner) thoughtful men will look back to this period of our national history with utter amazement that the truth could have been told so plainly, so persistently, so earnestly, and yet have been received, with comparatively few exceptions, with such general incredulity and apathy. "What were the statesmen of that day about," it will be asked, "and above all what were the chief representatives of advanced religious thought about, that the beginnings of the great struggle over the Christianization or secularization of the government could be at the time pointed out week after week for years, with explicitness and absolute clearness, and yet the warnings be almost universally disregarded, despised, denied, or even treated with senseless ridicule?"

No matter which of the great parties is to see its candidate elected and itself placed in national control, this question of State Christianization or State Secularization is all the same going to press forward for solution into the arena of party politics. American political institutions are to-day in a state of unstable equilibrium; they cannot withstand the pressure of the opposing religious forces; they must either become wholly Christian or wholly secular in the end, whether that end comes speedily or late. If they are to become wholly Christian, then the further question is—shall they become wholly Catholic or wholly Protestant? These are the three alternative certainties: Catholic Christian, Protestant Christian, or absolutely secular. Just as the Roman Empire had to decide between Pagan or Christian government, so the American Republic has to decide between Christian or secular government. And the nation is already beginning to enter the "valley of decision."

Suppose that the Democratic party prevails in the present contest, and holds a preponderance of power in the national government: what is then to be expected with reference to the question of State Secularization? In that case, it seems improbable that any school amendment to the Constitution will be actually passed in the next Congress. The Catholic Church is coming more and more to control the general policy of the Democratic party on all politico-religious questions, and knows its own present powerlessness to carry its secret purposes into execution by any means so overt as that. The danger to the public school system from Catholic schemes, against which the Blaine amendment was aimed, will simply grow unchecked; the gathering clouds will simply be allowed to become more and more highly charged with electricity, to launch a more terrific bolt at last. Instead of being concentrated in Congress, and decided by the people in the shape of a Constitutional amendment, the school controversy will be diffused over the whole country, to poison the peace of every neighborhood in which the Catholic Church is strong. This Church has political objects to gain, which it hopes and intends to gain by means of the Democratic party; and whenever this party comes into national power, the Catholic Church comes into power with it. As one straw betraying the course of the current, witness the following despatch from New York city in the *Boston Journal* of November 11, signed by "Burleigh," the *Journal's* well-known and trustworthy correspondent:—

"The Catholics took the field as Catholics in Brooklyn. I have before me a handbill, issued under Catholic authority, and sent to the Catholic voters of the city. The one I have was sent to a gentleman supposed to be a Catholic. His wife was of that faith, but he was not. The sheet is a white one, embossed with the Cardinal's coat of arms; crosses under this, and under that a running line, reading: 'Catholic first, citizen next. Bishop Gilman.' The circular is filled up with advice to Catholics to make their influence felt, and the name of every candidate for office who is a Catholic was printed plainly on the circular. Of course the Tilden electors are not omitted. Our people are quite sensitive on the subject of the tampering with our public schools, turning the Bible out of some, and Protestant teachers out of

others. When this matter comes into politics, as it certainly will come, this direct interference of the Catholic priests with the great national election will surely be remembered, and, like chickens, will come home to roost."

The perfectly unmistakable tendency of the Democratic party is to permit without obstruction the political interference of the Catholic Church. However vehemently individual Democrats or credulous "Liberal Republicans" may dispute the fact, no citizen who values secular government as the only possible protection of equal religious rights for all will allow himself to be deceived or befogged. Behind the Democratic party stands the Church of Rome, veiled from public view, but not from public suspicion; its power is so great over the Catholic vote that the Democratic leaders do not dare to resist its secret, unacknowledged, but potent influence. That is the danger on the one hand, and to despise it is dreary infatuation.

On the other hand, the same statement of "Burleigh" reveals with equal clearness the danger which threatens the country from the triumph of the Republican party. "Our people are quite sensitive," he says, "on the subject of the tampering with our public schools, turning the Bible out of some and Protestant teachers out of others." In these words the *Boston Journal*, a prominent Republican organ of the partisan type, simply indicates the predominant purpose of its party to keep the Bible in the schools, with Protestant teachers to read it. If this party wins the still doubtful election, it will be extremely likely to attempt to strengthen itself (all the more because of its evidently reduced majority) by appealing to the Bible-sentiment of the great bulk of its supporters, backed as it is by the widely ramified and rapidly consolidating Evangelical organizations of the country. The Senate amendment to the Constitution, adding to the Blaine amendment (which was merely a blow at the Catholic Church) a positive though indirect recognition of the Bible as a Divine revelation, meant a great deal more than the honest liberal public are as yet willing to believe. It foreshadowed a policy. A mere looker-on can see that the defeated Senate amendment is to-day the most available weapon in the hands of the Republican party for fighting its way back to its old unquestioned supremacy; will the party managers be less astute on a matter involving their own hold of power? That amendment was made a strict party measure in the United States Senate; every Republican voted for it, and every Democrat against it; and the vote stood twenty-eight in favor of it to sixteen against it. What more improbable than that the battle thus begun, in which the Democrats were forced (against their will, perhaps) to represent the Catholic Church, while the Republicans came forward as representatives of the great Evangelical majority, should be suddenly and absolutely stopped? Sheer party shrewdness will forbid such an end of it. If the Republican party has indeed carried the national election, it is by a very small majority; and there is nothing so certain to convert this small majority into a large one again as a bold identification of the party policy with the prevailing religious faith of the people. The Republicans have gone too far not to go farther. They already stand committed to an amendment to the Constitution on the school question; they already stand committed to make this a Bible-recognizing amendment; they cannot afford to cheat the monster which they have dared to awaken. Back of the Republican party stands the Protestant Church—not so compact in administration as the Church of Rome, but just as compact in its devotion to the Bible as the Church of Rome is in its devotion to the Pope. And the Republican party is just as powerless to resist Protestant Evangelical influence as the Democratic party is to resist Catholic influence. It will use heterodox orators of eloquence and genius like Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll to carry an election with, and applaud him to the echo till after it is over; but if he tries to mould the party policy on the school question, he will find himself whistling against the wind. No Church, Catholic or Protestant, ever yet kept faith with an "infidel."

To the stern facts that Catholicism and Protestant Evangelicalism, under cover of the Democratic and the Republican parties, are at this very moment waging a tremendous warfare for possession of the Republic,—that it is a battle for power, and nothing else,—and that, which side soever wins, truth and freedom and equal rights must be equally trodden into the mire,—every lover of religious liberty must sooner or later open his eyes, and the sooner the better. A third great party is a logical necessity; it will yet prove itself to be also an historical necessity.

We do not and will not believe that the American people have lost out of their hearts the ideal of a government just and impartial to all mankind, not only with regard to their civil and political, but also with regard to their religious rights. Very well: if they value this ideal still, they have got to fight for it—not, we trust, with powder and ball, but certainly with argument and organization and ballot. The principles and objects of the National Liberal League are just as certainly the principles and objects of a great national party, in the not distant future, as the sun is certain to rise to-morrow; and it seems to us impossible that either of the two existing parties should embrace them. This certainty and this impossibility have been controlling thoughts with us for years; and events are verifying them day by day with a rapidity far beyond our expectation. Read the "Thirteen Principles" and "Religious Freedom Amendment" on our first page; next, ask yourself candidly whether they are true, and whether you expect either the Democratic or the Republican party to adopt them and carry them out; and, lastly, ask yourself whether the American people are, as a whole, going to let those principles be extinguished either by a Popish or a Puritan theocracy. If not, we ask you in turn: how are those principles to be enshrined in the national heart, incorporated in the national law, and obeyed in the national practice, unless the National Liberal League is to grow into a third great national party consecrated to those very ends? Set us down as a visionary and a dreamer, if you please, but we look for nothing less. Perhaps by another name—perhaps by other men—perhaps in another century. But the seed has been sown, and there is not strength enough in all the Christian Church to dig it up. Grow it must and will—or America is already dead in the death of the great, glorious idea which gave her birth.

ENTHUSIASM FOR CONVICTIONS.

A strong tendency is manifest in our times to decri enthusiasm as an element of character. The fact that it may be associated with bad causes and lead to the commission of unworthy acts, added perhaps to a certain predisposition of temperament or mode of philosophy, seems to have induced a large class of persons to depreciate its merits as a factor in the historical development of mankind. They look upon it as a quality of mind rather to be repressed than cultivated; a youthful weakness and effeminacy to be outgrown. A writer representing this class of persons attempts to belittle the epoch of the anti-slavery struggle in this country by calling it "the sentimental period in our politics." Enthusiasm, to them, is only a sentiment, and sentiment they confound with sentimentalism. They look with suspicion at all activity based on moral enthusiasm, and would oppose to it a cold, calculating philosophy of prudential utility. "The philosophy of experience" sometimes they call it: as if there were any human experience worthy of the name which did not include, among its richest and profoundest elements, sentiments and impulses of the heart both moral and passion! These sentiments, impulses, and attractions whence spring the enthusiasms of mankind, may have led into many errors and been sometimes a source of fierce contention and tragedy, yet in them is the dominant vital energy of civilization and social progress. They furnish the motive-power by which all other human activities are to proceed and all other functions are to be vivified.

It is not true, however, to say that enthusiasm is only and always a mere sentiment. Enthusiasm may begin in a thought, a conviction; a thought or conviction reached through a process of reasoning and resting on the most scientific method of observation and induction. A conviction so reached may take possession of the mind with such power as to compel the homage and service of all the faculties. Rational belief may be so strong as to have all the force claimed for inspiration. Conclusions of logic may so thoroughly permeate the mental nature as to impel action with the instantaneousness of instinct. In other words, when ideas, thoughts, convictions, however reached, so forcefully possess the mind of a man by their truth that he is ready to do all and bear all in their service, then we have a genuine enthusiasm. And it is a quality of character that inheres in intellect as well as in heart; that is associated with ideas no less than with sentiments; that has been possessed by some of the most robust thinkers of the human race,—by men of science, discoverers, inventors, scholars, no less than by philanthropists and religionists.

That, indeed, is but a half-formed and ineffective

belief, and that is only a mechanical and inefficient philanthropy, which has to consult precedents or compare consequences before it can move for human benefit, and never loses itself in a sublime unconsciousness of its own effort and of the service it will render. Mr. Emerson speaks of an amiable and accomplished person who undertook a practical reform, but who had not the enterprise of love requisite for success. He had adopted it by the understanding only from the books he had read. So, adds the essayist, "We shall still postpone our existence, nor take the ground to which we are entitled, whilst it is only a thought and not a spirit that incites us": a sentence that has a lesson for a good many radical thinkers and believers, who may have the courage of their opinions, but have not enough of enthusiasm for them; whose convictions are still too much in the first stage of thought, and have not yet become spirit and life.

It is not, in fact, until convictions, whether of mental or moral truth, become as it were the mind's instantaneous natural insight, and thence go by instinctive volition into conduct, that we get their full effect in human benefit. They may previously have been the foresight of the understanding, peering into consequences, studying utility, learning by the stern disciplines of experience; but not until the lesson has been so thoroughly mastered that they have become intuitions and enthusiasms, are they capable of manifesting their genuine power. The man who has a perfect sense of honor does not have to stop at every personal emergency to debate with himself what, in the special case, honor may require; he acts, and the beholders from his behavior get a higher definition of the word. So of every mental or moral conviction; it is strong in proportion to the clearness and rapidity with which it passes into action,—that is, in proportion to the enthusiasm that vitalizes it.

What is wanted, then, is not extinction nor repression of enthusiasm, but balance and direction. Let us have knowledge, thoughtfulness, careful study of social problems, careful reading of past human experience,—these, by all means, to give guidance to impulse and steadiness to popular movements. But heaven forbid that any genuine enthusiasms belonging to the human race should be lost! Ardor for truth, ambition for discovery, love for the right and the good, devotion to the beautiful, passion for an ideal, zeal for liberty, courage, persistency, hope, self-forgetfulness, self-sacrifice—these are elemental constituents of enthusiasm; and to take these qualities out of human nature is to take out the core of all great character and conduct and to emasculate the race.

W. J. P.

A RUFFLED WOOD-BIRD.

His Lectureship the Reverend Joseph Cook is in a state of high dudgeon. At the Monday Lecture of November 6, grasping his perch with both claws, and wildly flapping his wings, this irate little "wood-bird" gave THE INDEX a vicious peck with his beak as follows:—

There is in Boston an obscure, but haughty little sceptical sheet, which claims that it ought to be allowed to set the time of the universe for cultivated men. One of the daily newspapers, friendly to this Lectureship, made in its haste the mistake of printing Hegel for Häckel, a dozen times or so in a column and a half. Since I read the *Pickwick Papers*, I have not laughed more heartily than I did over that mistake. I did not correct it, because I supposed all intelligent readers would see that I could not have been making reference to the great philosopher Hegel, but must mean the physicist, Professor Ernst Häckel of Jena. The *Advertiser's* report was correct, and had been publicly and repeatedly stated to be the only report in any degree revised by myself, and it could be seen by any one in Boston. I took up the other day this haughty little sceptical sheet, and read that a ponderous champion of Orthodoxy marched weekly in Boston with elephantine tread over the ruins of scepticism; but that, unless sadly misrepresented by a certain daily newspaper, this champion did not know the difference between Hegel the philosopher and Häckel the physicist; for a report of one of the lectures made a dozen times the mistake of confounding the two. Probably a difference so slight as that was too small to be noticed by the ponderous champion of elephantine tread. The paper, in its editorial "Glimpses," seriously gave its readers the impression that it believed this Lectureship ignorant on this point. This is a not unfair specimen of the discussion of Orthodoxy by that sheet week after week. Were this not a characteristic trait I would not refer to it; and, even if it were a characteristic trait, I would not mention it, except on account of weightier considerations. On behalf of the few operatives on the Merrimac who are thus deceived and misled, and whose interests I am going to stand by while I live, and on behalf of a few sophomorical young men in radical clubs who, especially at the West, misquote Boston as authority, and who, as they rarely read both sides, are sometimes a little influenced by the combination of audacity and

glitter in this sheet which has so little Boston influence, I must say that for this continuous controversial oleaginuousness, the Index-finger of Shame is to be pointed at THE INDEX.

This peck would have been a serious matter from any other fowl than a "very small wood-bird"; but it has only excited an amused surprise which we hasten to suppress from motives of politeness. We solemnly assure his offended Lectureship, with as much gravity as we can put on for the occasion, that there was nothing "serious" about the paragraph he complains of, except the seriousness of its doubt as to the qualifications of the Rev. Joseph Cook to discuss the evolution philosophy. On this point THE INDEX has, we fear, passed beyond the merely "sceptical" stage, and become a hopelessly dogmatic disbeliever.

In order to smooth the ruffled plumage of the little twitterer, however, THE INDEX hastens to avow its belief that the "newspaper friendly to this Lectureship" did indeed fall into "woful and most unusual injustice" in its report, as was plainly enough hinted at the time; that his Lectureship does indeed know the difference between Hegel and Häckel, and also between a hawk and a heronshaw; and that there is something exquisitely moving and affecting in the tender concern of his Lectureship for the "few operatives on the Merrimac." The thought of these endangered operatives is altogether too much for the quick sensibilities of THE INDEX; it drops a feeling tear over their sad condition, bereaved as they are of the presence of the noble-hearted Lectureship who is going never to "forsake Mr. Micawber," but will "stand by" them while he lives! Heroic resolve! Magnanimous Lectureship! Disinterested little "wood-bird," chirping its evolutionary ditties to the betrayed operatives on the Merrimac, and putting its "elephantine tread" down hard on the toes of the few sophomorical young men at the West!

Not even the manifest inspiration of Mrs. Partington herself, with her "controversial oleaginuousness," shall move us to unseemly levity as his Lectureship proceeds to get hold of the "Index-finger of Shame," and level at the head of THE INDEX that new and extraordinary columbiad of destruction. We have but one request to make, before being annihilated by this impending bombardment: namely, that a competent photographer be present to take his Lectureship in the very act of blowing THE INDEX out of Boston. History has an interest in that little exploit.

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY B. C.

The election, as we write, is still undecided, and it is quite possible that several days more must elapse before the result can be known with certainty. Mr. Tilden has received a fair majority of the popular vote, and one hundred and eighty-four electoral votes. The States of South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana are claimed by both parties, and there is a slight possibility that Wisconsin or Oregon, both of which seem to have voted for Hayes, may yet be found on the other side. The chances, of course, are largely in favor of Tilden, who needs but one more electoral vote. Everyone must regret that the decision with regard to the election appears to rest with the three Southern States above named, for these are the States in which, beyond all others, charges of fraudulent voting and falsification of returns have been most frequent and supported by most evidence. Governor Kellogg, of Louisiana, has requested prominent men of both parties to repair at once to New Orleans and remain there as witnesses of the doings of the Returning Board during the counting of the votes of the State. President Grant has already named a number of gentlemen for this service, and others have been named by the Republican and Democratic National Committees. The situation is undoubtedly a grave one, and if fraud of any kind should be attempted, might be followed by extremely serious consequences. We have fullest confidence, however, that an honest return will finally be made in every one of the doubtful States, and that the members of both parties will quietly—if not cheerfully—acquiesce in the result.

President Grant deserves hearty commendation for the honesty of intention expressed, with reference to the present critical condition of affairs, in a recent order to General Sherman. "No man worthy of the office of President should be willing to hold it if counted in or placed there by fraud. The country can not afford to have the result tainted by the suspicion of illegal or false returns." We believe that neither candidate would be willing to accept office unless honestly chosen, or would in any way become a party to illegal action, and so far as this is concerned, therefore, Grant, Tilden, and Hayes are probably of one mind. But we deeply regret that in the above order Grant should have directed troops to be sent to Florida and Louisiana. We do not understand that any article of the Constitution or law of Congress authorizes the President to send troops into a State in order to insure an honest counting of votes, and the vote in those States, as matter of fact, is probably no closer than in New Hampshire or Wisconsin. We do not suppose that the troops will do any mischief, or that Grant meant any harm; but his

order shows the extent to which he looks upon the South as conquered territory, and foreshadows an unfortunate readiness in case of any emergency to appeal to military power without regard to law. For very many reasons we are heartily glad that a lawyer by profession, and not a soldier, will be the next occupant of the White House.

The evenness with which the electoral votes are divided between the two candidates has made very plain the utter inadequacy of present legislation to provide for many possible contingencies with regard to Presidential elections. We believe, for instance, that no provision is made to supply the place of an elector who might be removed by death after he is chosen and before he has cast his vote. If, for example, one hundred and eighty-five Republican electors should be chosen and one of them should die before voting, neither candidate could be given a majority, and as the House of Representatives would then be called upon to elect a President, the Democratic candidate would be chosen, and thus the result of the election would be reversed. Again, there are at present no rules in force with reference to the counting of the ballots after they have been transmitted to Washington and opened by the President of the Senate. Any one can imagine the grievous complications which might arise in case either House of Congress should then object, for any reason, to the counting of the vote of any State. The next Congress, it is to be hoped, will not fail to make provision for some of these contingencies.

If the Republicans are defeated in the present election the defeat will be accompanied by the mortifying reflection that it is caused by their own foolishness and not by any overwhelming virtue on the part of their antagonists. The *New York Times*, which is universally recognized as the representative of Republicans, admits that the Republican party, with reference to the South, "trifled in a criminal manner with the complications in Louisiana and Alabama, and left the federal service in the South substantially unchanged, with the rank abuses of many of its representatives unrebuked and unatoned for. We have no hesitation in saying that had the South been dealt with in the spirit in which the Wheeler-Foster committee dealt with the Louisiana troubles, and had the federal appointees been held to a strict account, we should to-day have possession of at least seven of the Southern States." Again, speaking of civil service reform, the *Times* says: "Had the party prosecuted in good faith the reform devised by Mr. Curtis, at the call of President Grant, no such defection would or could have taken place. But pride, obstinacy, and selfishness among the leaders, weariness and indifference on the part of the President, and want of intelligent conviction in the masses of the party, stifled the reform in an early and disgraceful death. Instead of the results we might have had from it, we presented the country with the traffic in post-traderships, the whiskey frauds perpetrated with the connivance of an army of subordinate officials, and the conspiracy between the lobby and the politicians which drove Mr. Bristow and Mr. Jewell out of the Cabinet. So far as the civil service is concerned, we made the bed in which we are not very comfortably lying." In view of these truthful statements we think the most bigoted Republican must admit that many earnest men had some good reasons for voting against his party, and that Mr. David A. Wells was not wholly wrong in the following declaration: "Paint the Democratic party as bad as you may, and there is something worse than their succession to power in the country, and that is the failure to hold the Republican party responsible for its many and manifold sins of omission and commission; for not to do so is to offer a premium for continued bad government, and to make government the vested interests of one party." It will be well for Democrats to remember, if they should now come into power, that they have in no sense earned their present victory; that loss of faith in the Republican party by no means implies perfect confidence in the Democratic party; that few things could be more stupid, politically, than a great deal of Democratic opposition during the past five years; and that their continuance in power can be obtained only by the doing of something better than anything they have proposed to do for the past sixteen years.

We do not understand how any active and intelligent member of either political party could repeat some of the charges of party newspapers against opposing candidates, or read the predictions of the awful things sure to happen in case one man should be elected instead of the other, without a deep blush of shame. Neither party is made up of thieves, perjurers, or blacklegs; nor will this country be allowed to drift upon rocks of destruction by Hayes, or be scuttled and sunk by Tilden. We of course believe that the election of one man rather than the other, would be better for the country under present circumstances, but we believe that our national debts will be paid, whoever may appoint the Secretary who pays them, and we believe that neither Tilden nor Hayes can very much increase or very much depress our commercial prosperity.

Civil-service reform of some kind will be forced upon us before long through sheer disgust with the workings of our present system. We doubt if ever before, in this or any other country, have so many government employes been engaged in party work as might have been counted upon the stump or elsewhere for a month or six weeks preceding the seventh of November. And when the clerks at Washington were informed of the probable election of Tilden, the newspapers tell us that anxiety with regard to the future prevented all occupation. Women wept and

men grew pale, and all work at the Department ceased. The beauties of the "spoils" system have indeed been brilliantly illustrated of late. The time will come, we believe, when our successors will regard this kind of civil-service in much the same way as we now look upon the civil-service of Turkey or Dahomey.

The Centennial Exhibition closed on the 10th, and although some facts connected with its early history and subsequent management have not been according to our liking, we believe, nevertheless, that on the whole it has been decidedly successful. More people have attended it than were present at any other international exhibition; the pecuniary receipts have been larger than ever before known; and the articles exhibited compared favorably with those shown at Vienna. The United States will be better known than before in foreign countries; our people have certainly learned some things from others; and various portions of our own country have become better acquainted with one another. Above all, our people present at the Exhibition have behaved admirably, and American manners can no longer be sneered at by the natives of other countries; they may be in some respects peculiar to ourselves, and therefore unlike those of other nations, but they compare well and in some respects more than well with the manners of any European people.

The notorious "Boss" Shepherd, of Washington, has failed in business, or been obliged, at least, to ask help from his creditors. A thoroughly uneducated man, starting in life as a plumber's assistant, setting up for himself as a plumber, and making money out of government contracts in plumbing, he became a builder, real-estate speculator, "boss" of the District of Columbia, and intimate friend of General Grant. Shepherd is an excellent illustration of a class of men with whom the speculative opportunities of the past fifteen years have made us well acquainted. Every large city in the country can furnish one or more of the men of whom Tweed and Fisk are prominent illustrations and "Colonel Sellers" the exaggerated likeness. As a rule they are uncultivated, very energetic, filled with notions of large enterprises, open-handed in money matters, somewhat unscrupulous as regards methods, with but little sense of honor, no delicacy, and fond of show and a good time. They invariably overreach themselves after a time, and falling, seldom, though occasionally, rise again. Grant's encouragement of this class of men has been one of the worst features of his administration. The return of healthier business methods will gradually drive them into obscurity. They can well be spared.

The Episcopalians have resolved upon that which is for them a decidedly novel enterprise—the holding (in Boston, this week) of a convention or "congress" for the discussion of questions of denominational interest. And what is more, they have had the good sense to propose for discussion questions of not only a denominational but also of general interest. "The Morals of Politics," "The Relations of Religious and Secular Education," etc., are among the subjects proposed. This novel project—novel, that is, for Episcopalians—is a thoroughly commendable one, and might be imitated with profit by other denominations.

The way of the Spiritualist medium is becoming more and more hard. The *Boston Herald* sent a representative, last Saturday, in company with Mr. W. Irving Bishop—the latter disguised as a woman—to "interview," hold "sittings" with, and procure "tests" from a number of prominent mediums of this city. The result of the excursion demonstrated the fact that a large proportion of professional mediums are unmitigated humbugs. The "spirits" invariably followed any kind of false scent furnished by their visitors, and their "revelations" were stupid platitudes or unmeaning verbiage. All honest Spiritualists must be heartily glad of the *Herald's* crusade. It will have the effect of weeding out a mass of charlatans who have been making money out of weak people's credulity, and will oblige them to seek a more decent method of making a living.

ENGLISH SKETCHES.

BY MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

LONDON, Oct. 15, 1876.

It is strange to note the ever-growing trouble of the Church over the spread of unbelief. At the Church Congress of this year the cry swelled into a general wail, and a special day was set apart to consider the "causes of unbelief." The discussion was opened by the Dean of Manchester, a man of very different character from the Bishop of that diocese. Dr. Fraser, the bishop, is a brave, honest English gentleman, ready to learn, ready to think, glad to improve, quick to recognize his own mistakes, ever fair to his antagonists. He is a man with all possibilities of growth in him, such as we should all desire to be. Dr. Cowie, the Dean, on the other hand, is one of those men who are fond of maligning their antagonists behind their backs, but who fear to meet them face to face. He makes untrue assertions regarding them, and then, challenged to substantiate them, takes shelter in silence. He is far too grand a dignitary, for instance, to meet a secularist in debate, or answer any question from an unbeliever, but not too grand to slander secularists when in an audience of clerical sympathizers, nor too honest to refuse to those he has libelled any word of explanation or apology. It cannot be wondered at, then, that Dean Cowie's paper was absurdly unsatisfactory. His clerical conceit blinded his eyes to the main positions of unbelievers, and he only bestowed upon them a kind

of little Sunday-school lecture which could perhaps awe very small children, but was ludicrously inadequate to the necessities of the day. A "debate" ensued; but in a Church Congress the speakers are all on one side, and there is, consequently, no stimulus to induce them to exert their mental ability.

A more important expression of opinion has come from some of the bishops. The Archbishop of Canterbury, as you will already be aware, proclaimed that materialistic atheism was the pressing danger of the times, and his words were endorsed and emphasized by the Bishop of Manchester, who confessed that scientific analysis "did not suggest the idea of God." The Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, who is now delivering his charge, seems, so far, to have entirely devoted it to the subject of unbelief. You probably know the English system of Episcopal charges. The Bishop, once in either three or four years, delivers a "charge" to the clergy of his diocese. This pastoral address is divided into numerous sections, and the Bishop delivers the first at one town, the next at a second town, and so on, until the whole is gone through. The late charge of the Primate was delivered in seven such sections in seven different places. The Bishop of Gloucester (Dr. Elliott) commenced his charge by considering the spread of unbelief. When he delivered his primary charge twelve years ago, he then, said he, pointed to the rapid spread of unbelief: "I said, if I remember rightly, that I saw even then baleful and ominous signs of that frightful development of anti-Christian error which is summed up not only in the denial of the Son but of the Father; and I ventured to call serious attention to the nature of the current speculations of those times, as suggesting the gradual approach of man's last and worst denial,—the denial of the personality of his Maker and of the adorable fatherhood of God." This unbelief, says the Bishop, grows and grows, and is now founded on science; and, worst of all, it is becoming popular, for scientific thought is spreading in every direction: "A few years ago the results, or supposed results, of modern science were not popularly known beyond the general circle of scientific men." But now things are very different; the knowledge of these results is no longer confined to the few, but is common to the many; and unbelief is no longer shut up in the study of the learned, but passes from lip to lip amid the crowd.

Continuing his charge, the Bishop pointed out that, of the many causes of unbelief that may "be assigned, there are three which seem to claim more especial consideration,—the tone and direction of recent historical criticism, the deductions that have been drawn from the real or alleged discoveries of modern science, and the moral and metaphysical difficulties which have been supposed to be involved in or connected with the fundamental doctrines of Christianity."

The historical criticism is of a most dangerous character, and has exercised a most injurious influence in reference to revealed religion: "Its leading position has always been the same,—that any narration of facts which involves the miraculous element in it, must, for this very reason, be regarded with the gravest suspicion. It is urged that early history in its earliest forms is found nearly always to involve the miraculous, but that investigation and close examination have never failed to show that the evidence on which the alleged miracles rest is totally untrustworthy. If this be so with all ancient history, why, it is said, is the ancient history of the Jewish people to be supposed to form any exception to the general principle? Why, too, it is added, is the same miraculous element in the history of the New Testament to be regarded otherwise than as involving a *prima facie* reason why the narrative should not be accepted as historically credible? And this presumption is independent, to a considerable extent, of the scientific aspect of the question whether miracles are or are not to be considered as *a priori* impossible. The case stands thus: a certain element is found in these narratives which, when found elsewhere, in early history, is invariably associated with what critical investigation shows to be mythical and legendary. The simple presence, then, of this element, it is urged, is in itself enough to raise a reasonable presumption against the true historic character of the narrative in which it finds a place."

The Bishop strives hard to meet this objection by pleading that both the Old and New Testaments differ *toto celo*, from all other narratives involving miraculous occurrences; but the argument limps sadly, and reminds one only of a lawyer for the defence with a very poor case: "And still more serious is the effect produced by the speculative deductions that have been made from the real or alleged discoveries of modern science. He would advisedly say real or alleged, for he was persuaded that many scientific theories of the present day, which are now current and popular, will in the sequel have to be seriously reconsidered and modified."

But more fruitful in unbelief than even this terrible science is moral and metaphysical speculation: "Still more distinctly may we trace the prevalence of unbelief to the moral and metaphysical difficulties which have been supposed to be involved in the fundamental truths of the Christian dispensation. The problem of the existence of evil, especially the traces of the misery and suffering of living creatures, ages before man's sin cast its shadow on the creation around him, the still deeper problems connected with the holy mystery of sin's atonement, and the dark and terrible questions that are connected with the doom of the impenitent,—these three aspects of physical and moral evil do, beyond all doubt, fearfully try the faith of thousands at the present time. Our very increased knowledge becomes a snare to us. The more science displays to us the wonders of the realms of Nature around us, the further we see into the beauty and the glory of the marvellous works of

God, the more terrible seems the difficulty connected with the power and presence of evil."

The Bishop does not help us to solve these dark problems. He has clearly himself become a partial unbeliever when he talks of the traces of physical evil "ages before man's sin," for he forgets that Genesis I. leaves no room for intervening ages, while Paul distinctly states that "by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin." And what answer does he give us to our difficulty? These questions he says, "can only properly be met by a faith that finds it easier to believe impossibilities than to doubt for one instant in the mercy and the love of God." Theism, pantheism, and atheism are the three forms of unbelief the Bishop dreads, and he especially protests against the idea that Christianity is "the mere development of Judaism, or the last and presumably the best of a series of revelations of religious thought, liable to be superseded by some development of the future." The doctrine of evolution carried into morals is as terrible a blow to believers in supernatural revelation, as it has been in physics to believers in supernatural creation.

One way of meeting the growing infidelity was proposed at the Church Congress; namely, the establishment of a "penny weekly Church paper for the million to supplant the London Sunday papers of dissenting, radical, and irreligious tendencies."

"Canon Erskine Clarke spoke with more especial reference to *Lloyd's Weekly News*, and five other Sunday papers, which he calculated had a circulation of about one million three hundred thousand, and had about five million readers. They were read very much and very deeply by working-classes, upon whom they exercised an immense influence. Many of them had a sceptical or atheistical tendency. His suggestion was, that the Christian Knowledge Society should issue a somewhat similar paper. There was a disagreeable unreality in condemning working-men for reading papers on a Sunday, when they openly talked about them and prided themselves on reference to them in the pulpit. The Christian Knowledge Society, even if they sunk some £11,000 a year on such a paper, would still be doing more for the spread of Christian knowledge than by selling books and packets of pictures to their good church-going customers. Or the Society might influence or subsidize one of these papers to which he had referred on condition that it should be made religious in its tone. (Applause.)"

I don't fancy that the Christian Knowledge Society would find it easy to purchase the *National Reformer*!

Communications.

CRITICISMS OF A FRIEND.

FALL RIVER, NOV. 3, 1876.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

I was exceedingly sorry to see in THE INDEX of the 2d instant that "a few subscribers have discontinued the paper on account of dissatisfaction with some of the political opinions which have been expressed in it."

The liberal spirit of THE INDEX, the noble stand it has taken for freedom, and the important results it has already accomplished should be sufficient to enable its subscribers to overlook a sentiment now and then which does not coincide with their own views. How else can the army of liberals be held together? How else can they remain united until the great objects of free religion are accomplished? Differences of individual opinion are inevitable, and the importance of the final result should forbid any desertion from the ranks in the presence of the enemy.

This principle, which I consider so important with regard to the objects of free religion, I wish to apply to the present political situation of the country, and you will pardon me if I take exception to the positions which you yourself, as well as some of the contributors to THE INDEX have taken.

We are on the eve of a national election, more important, perhaps, than any through which the country has passed, not excepting even the election of 1860, which was so quickly followed by open revolt against the government; for then the traitors were counting on and profiting by the apathy, if not the sympathy, of the President and many of the highest officers of the government and of the army; while now, in spite of a loyal and watchful President, and in the full light of a vivid and recent experience, deeds of violence are committed against the Constitution, and threats are openly made in defiance of the national authority, such as were never dreamed of in the early days of the rebellion.

On the one side we have an aspirant for the Presidential chair who cannot point to a single word uttered in behalf of our country in her dark hour of trial, and who, if he succeeds at all, must do so as the accepted candidate of those who a few years ago were in arms against the United States, and of a portion of the Northern voters, among whom will be found all those known as "copperheads" during the war.

On the other side we have the candidate of the loyal masses who preserved the Union by their money and by their blood, and who are naturally loth to entrust it now to those who so lately tried to destroy it, and who have not yet shown fruits meet for repentance.

One or the other of these two men must, in all probability, be elected, and the influence of every man will, whether he intends it or not, help one or the other.

I agree with you that the question of the complete secularization of the State is of vast importance, and I intend to coöperate most heartily with you and

others for this object; but I do not choose to be so dazzled by this idea that I cannot see the importance of the practical questions which are now directly at issue. I abate not one jot or tittle of my devotion to free religion, when I claim that the question of the hour is free humanity, and for this I raise my voice and give my vote. He that is not with us is against us; and he who does not use his influence for Hayes is in effect an ally of Tilden.

The advocates of woman suffrage might be so fully persuaded of the importance of their cardinal principle that they would refuse to give their votes to any who did not agree with them on this point; the prohibitionists might do the same with regard to their main idea; and so the evangelicals and the radicals might act in the same narrow way; but practically it is impossible to nominate a candidate who unites in himself the views of all, and so on account of internal strife among the loyal masses on points of detail (each one perhaps appearing vital to its special advocates), the government is liable to fall by default into the hands of its enemies.

The important question is this: If you think the principles that you consider vital (secularization of the State, for instance), will be safer in the hands of Tilden and the Southern rebels, vote for the Democratic nominees, and frankly throw all your influence on that side. If you are persuaded that those principles will in the main be better guarded by Hayes and the Northern patriots, vote for them, and do not embarrass the great principles of the campaign by inopportune discussion of points which are not at issue.

I am surprised and sorry to see in THE INDEX such sentiments as "R. C." expresses, to which "W. J. P." has so eloquently replied, and I am equally sorry that you have been led (after mature and conscientious reflection, I am sure), to take the lukewarm position that you have done with regard to the presidential campaign; but be assured that this will not detract one iota from my devotion to THE INDEX and its principles.

Before these lines can be printed, the great question will be decided, and permit me to express the hope that, in spite of the defection of many loyal men and the neutral position of others, the Republican party and policy will next Tuesday be triumphantly vindicated at the polls. Wm. ROTCH.

[For the justice and kindness of the above letter, we tender our sincerest thanks. It is especially grateful to us after some recent letters of a quite contrary description.—Ed.]

A MILD ADMONITION.

MY DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

I hope I do not need any excuse, when I allow myself to express a slight censure on THE INDEX; for no one knows better than you yourself that whatever I may venture to say will be coupled with the highest regard for yourself and the most grateful appreciation of your labors, the warmest interest in and best wishes for THE INDEX. Animated by these sentiments, may I not be permitted to express regrets in seeing here and there more politics talked of in THE INDEX than, I think, may be consonant with its interest and its high character? The political notes of "R. C." in his interesting "Current Events," I deem sufficient for a journal of the character of THE INDEX. His political notes may also be the more tolerated, as they are characterized by a most laudable independence, impartiality, and fairness. Any other sort, however, ought to be carefully excluded, I think, from the pages of THE INDEX for the too weighty reasons: that it is not a political paper, but has a much higher aim; that its readers are adherents to all the various political parties, and partisan politics must offend at least some of them. Even you, my much esteemed friend, allow yourself now and then editorially to "talk politics" outside of the necessary line of demarcation. If, in a journal like THE INDEX, politics must be treated of, it ought to be done in a manner so equitable and impartial that the reader may be at a loss to find out whether the writer be a Democrat or a Republican,—as is the case with "R. C." But all political communications (as, for instance, such as Dr. Horach's in THE INDEX of Oct. 26), ought to be scrupulously excluded. What does the general reader care whether he (Dr. H.) is a Republican or a Democrat, or by what means or reasons he became the one or the other? His reasoning, furthermore, is by no means faultless, and I might point out a number of fallacies in his communication, if I did not consider it incumbent on every correspondent to strictly abstain from "talking politics" in that manner in THE INDEX. It will not make any (political) converts, and surely cannot contribute to the interest and benefit of THE INDEX, but more likely to prejudice some against it. Would you, therefore, not far better keep politics entirely out of THE INDEX (or, at the most, leave them to "R. C." and his "Current Events")?

So our fair hope to see the Paine bust placed among his compatriots in Independence Hall is once more frustrated by a bigoted Council? "How long, O Lord! O how long?" I apprehend much longer yet than a great many sanguinely hope. When I consider the assiduity of the National Reform Association and its influence on Congress and its legislation on one hand, and on the other hand the culpable supineness and disorganized state of liberals, I have but little doubt, for the present and next future, as to the result. Your wise counsels are unheeded, and your patriotic and herculean efforts cannot avert the inevitable. I believe this republic doomed to be brought back into that mental slavery from which monarchical Europe is emancipating itself fast and gloriously. Liberalism there is advancing

in "seven-mile boots," as a common German phrase so pointedly expresses it; while here it moves with the "snail's pace." Or, if I must with others admit its rapid growth here, too, it at any rate indisputably lacks the energy and courage of action that so significantly characterizes liberalism in Europe. Considering all this, I am forced to believe that the National Reform Association will carry the day and accomplish all it aims at—for the time. My consolation, however, is that their schemes are not understood by the people, and therefore not opposed as they ought to be, and as they certainly would be if the people knew that this pious Association aims at nothing less than a perfect union of Church and State, the establishment of a State religion, and finally to rob the people of their liberties and freedom. I hope, then, that when the National Reform Association will have gained all it is now striving for, needs no longer any disguise, and begins to carry its plans into practice, the eyes of the people will open; that then a reaction will take place, sweeping off the National Reform Association and its unholy work, bringing about greater and far more wide-reaching reforms than we could effect now, even if all the "Demands of Liberalism" were granted.

The issue between the National Reform Association and liberalism must be met, however, and the sooner it will come the better, let the result be whatever it may. Ultimately liberalism will and must conquer. MORRIS EINSTEIN.

TITUSVILLE, Oct. 29, 1876.

[So kindly a criticism as the above is certainly received in the kindly spirit it deserves. It is true that THE INDEX does not profess to be devoted to party politics, but it is impossible to "talk politics" at all, and say nothing of the parties. Since the State Secularization movement necessarily enters the political arena, therefore, we have found it impossible, in fairness to all, to keep out of these pages all party discussions. But Presidential elections only come once in four years, and they affect the Liberal League movement too vitally to be disregarded when they do come. Mr. Einstein sets us all a good example by his consideration; and we have no fears that many of our subscribers will be found deficient in genuine liberality of spirit. We have tried to give all sides an equally fair hearing, and must trust to the general good sense to pardon any errors of judgment we may have made in details.—Ed.]

"MOLECULAR ENERGY."

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

In your brief comments upon my essay on "Theism" is one remark that I cannot permit to pass unnoticed. You say:—

"What is this 'energy'? 'Energy' is not a mechanical, but a strictly dynamical conception; it is equivalent to 'power' or 'force' in action. All that the strict mechanist could have said would be: 'The only ultimate fact in Nature recognized by the evolution philosophy is molecular motion.' Mr. Lum has unwittingly but fatally betrayed his original thesis, by this admission of 'molecular energy' as an 'operating agent in Nature.'"

No inconsiderable portion of my article was devoted to an examination of the use of the words *energy*, *force*, *power*, etc., from the stand-point of associative psychology; and in the sense there used I deny the alleged "fatal admission."

I had expressly said: "Nature presents nothing but molecular change," and had argued against the metaphysical conception of energy, which, in your comments, you still persist in bestowing upon my words. To conclude, this point was effectually answered in the article itself by the following words: "We have seen that *force* and *power* are but words used to describe events, and indicate a logical distinction only, not existing in Nature, but only in the universe as given in thought, and from thence reflected back upon Nature." I may have presented the subject very poorly, and the argument may be open to many and fatal objections; but that I "fatally betrayed my original thesis" I cannot admit, and protest the more earnestly when I discover that the sole evidence given is to give my words a meaning which subsequent paragraphs expressly forbade.

Yours truly, DYER D. LUM.

NORTHAMPTON, Mass., Nov. 2, 1876.

[The sentence to which we alluded was this: "The only operating agent in Nature recognized by the evolution philosophy is molecular energy." We did not overlook the succeeding parts of his essay, but meant to point out that this sentence is in direct contradiction of them. The only way to escape this contradiction is to maintain that "energy" can be at the same time a mere "word" and also an "operating agent in Nature." Mr. Lum will hardly be so bold as to maintain that. No mere "word" can be an "operating agent in Nature"; and to refer us to passages in which molecular energy is declared to be a mere "word" is not to explain away the contradiction between them and this other passage in which molecular energy is declared to be an "operating energy in Nature." When Mr. Lum wrote this sentence, he unconsciously but evidently had in his mind a conception of "energy" as something *objective* in Nature, not *subjective* in thought—something more than a mere "word." And that is precisely what the scientific theist contends for.—Ed.]

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THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unfit for Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practicing the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

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SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification for any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

It is reported that seven thousand persons were present at Mr. Moody's first service in Chicago.

THE AMHERST *Student* relates this anecdote: "Two seniors, diligently poring over Plato's *Apology*, met the sentence, 'To fear death is nothing else than to seem to be wise when you are not.' First senior (inquiringly): 'What does that mean?' Second senior (thoughtfully): 'Well, I don't see; but we had better not fool with it, for it may lead to Pantheism for all we know. Let's go on.'"

BY SOME FREAK of Fortune, a circular "Call for a Christian Convention, to be held in the Tabernacle, Chicago, Nov. 21st, 22d, 23d, 1876," has been addressed to us by the Executive Committee and duly received. It seems that the "Pastors of Chicago" consider us a "Reverend and Dear Sir." Far be it from us to suggest that "somebody blundered"; yet, if we should accept the polite attentions of the Committee and present ourselves at the place and time appointed, to be deadheaded through the Convention, we fear that conclusion would be forced upon us. On the whole, we will stay at home.

LAST SUNDAY a meeting was held at the Parker Memorial Meeting-House to consider whether Theodore Parker's old society, the Twenty-Eighth Congregational, should disband and surrender the building. To save the latter, it was necessary to raise \$20,000 additional stock, of which \$4200 still remained unsubscribed. This latter sum was raised on the spot, with great earnestness of spirit; and so all thought of disbanding was triumphantly dismissed. Every liberal will congratulate the Society, and the public too, on this happy termination of financial embarrassments caused by the long-continued commercial depression. May greatly increased usefulness and prosperity attend the Society from this day forward!

THE REACTION in favor of increased rigor of "Sabbath" observance extends to the Dominion of Canada. A letter from the Minister of Public Works, dated Ottawa, Oct. 4, in reply to resolutions of the Baptist Convention of Nova Scotia, states that orders have been "issued on no account to permit any special train to be run on the Sabbath day, except in case of great emergency, and then only on direct order from the government. Similar instructions were given that no freight trains were to be run on that day, and that no passenger trains should perform their journeys. The only encroachment on the Sabbath will

be that of through trains from Quebec reaching their destinations at Halifax and St. John respectively, early on the Sabbath morning." *Harper's Weekly* makes this significant Sabbatarian comment: "These orders, if carried out, will put the government of Canada in advance of any other in the observance of the Christian day of rest by the State."

THE "Sunday Observance Convention" of the Free Religious Association was held as announced last week. The Essays were of an unusually practical and valuable character, and we are very glad to be enabled to promise the publication of them in THE INDEX, beginning with next week. Colonel Higginson presided at the forenoon and afternoon sessions, and Mr. Potter at the evening session. The audiences were respectable in point of number, if not large; and the reports of the meetings in the daily papers had the effect of enlarging the audiences immensely. Similar conventions ought to be held everywhere for the education of public opinion, and they will be by and by, when Liberal Leagues are multiplied sufficiently. For this was strictly Liberal League work as far as it went—the only difference being that a vigorous Liberal League would have at once initiated a practical movement to carry out the principles so ably advocated by the Essayists.

THIS IS what the New York *Observer* says of "The Religions of Harvard": "The governing boards, its corporation, its overseers, its professors, are composed of men of most diverse views regarding religion, Christianity, theology, and philosophy. Mr. Emerson, for instance, comes down from Concord on a Wednesday morning to a meeting of the overseers to oppose Mr. Cabot's motion for the discontinuance of morning prayers; and Phillips Brooks, with his usual impetuosity, throws a good deal of striking common sense into the philosophy of the 'Concord dreamer.' James Freeman Clarke's protest against the movement for the abolition of required attendance at church is ably seconded by his Orthodox brother, the Rev. Alexander McKenzie, and is supported by his legal brother of Episcopal affinities, R. H. Dana, Jr. The Adamsons and the Hoars, the Sewalls and the Wymans, the Parkmans and the Thayers,—these and other gentlemen of as dissimilar opinions regarding religion, compose the governing bodies of the University. The hundred professors and tutors exhibit the similar varieties. Dr. Peabody, honored alike by Unitarians and the Congregationalists, sits in faculty meetings by the side of his brother professor of rather liberal tendencies, James Russell Lowell. Prof. Asa Gray, Benjamin Pierce, and Prof. Palmer, a graduate of Andover, are colleagues of Charles Eliot Norton, Prof. Henry Adams (editor of the *North American Review*), and Prof. Sophocles, who is as filial to his Greek religion as he is to his Greek tongue. Fourteen per cent. of the students at Harvard are Unitarians, twelve per cent. Congregationalists, and between eleven and twelve per cent. are Episcopalians. Considering the Congregationalists, the Episcopalians, the Methodists, the Baptists, the Lutherans, and him whose 'religious preference' 'Christianity alone expresses,' as belonging to Evangelical denominations, we find that about thirty per cent. of the students have Evangelical views regarding religion, which is double the number of those of Unitarian tendencies. Both Unitarians and Evangelical men are together equal to those who have no preference in religion; since most of those 'not heard from' would have reported that they had none. Judged by the proportions in the last class graduated at Yale, thirty-four per cent. of the students have Congregational preferences, sixteen Episcopal, thirteen Presbyterian, three Baptist, two Methodist, and about sixteen per cent. have neither religion nor denominational preferences. Quakers, Universalists, Jews, Catholics, Pantheists, and Deists make up the remainder."

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

The Essential Piety of Modern Science.

AN ADDRESS READ BEFORE THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF UNITARIAN AND OTHER CHRISTIAN CHURCHES, HELD AT SARATOGA, SEPT. 12-15, 1876.

BY REV. JOHN W. CHADWICK.

[CONCLUDED FROM LAST WEEK.]

We all know that man was not the earth's first occupant; we all know that he did not move in as soon as the plaster was dry; that the duration of his earthly career is only the smallest fraction of the earth's duration as a separate orb. Prof. Dana tells us that the coral-reefs of Florida have all been built in modern times, and he assigns a period of one hundred and ninety-two thousand years for their formation. If modern times go back so far, what can be the limit of the mediæval times or the ancient? Sir William Thomson is a very learned but somewhat conservative geologist, and his conclusion is that the geological history of the earth, as showing continuity of life, must be limited to one hundred million years! But what is such a period as this to the time that must have preceded for the evolution of the solar system from a single mass, and then far back of that for the evolution of all the stars that make the nightly heavens sparkle with so many points of flame! "We shall have time enough in eternity," said Newman Hall to Dr. Cuyler, in the course of a very busy day. "We have eternity enough in time" is the reflection that is suggested by the revelations of astronomy and geology.

There are those who assure us that all of these things harmonize very readily with the cosmology of Genesis. The six days mean six periods of almost infinite duration. Why not? Why but that such an explanation never occurred to any one till the fact had been established by the patient labors of a multitude of scientific men? The sun of truth had not merely peeped above the horizon, it was well up towards its meridian splendor, ere theology gathered her courtiers about her, and in her most dignified and impressive manner said, "Now rise."

The astronomer's telescope, together with his calculations, and the geologist's hammer, similarly aided, have done wonders for us all. They have revealed the macrocosmic side of things, their largeness, their immensity, their vast relations both of time and space. But all this would not particularly impress us if the average make of things was not in keeping with their size, in keeping, too, with the immensities of time consumed in the making of them. It is only natural for a cultivated mind to resent any attempt to overpower it with mere size and weight and a colossal heap of years:—

"In small proportions we just beauties see,
 And in short measures life may perfect be."

Nothing is stupider than the Brahminical chronology. Archbishop Usher's is respectable compared with it. But all the marvellous extensions of our conceptions of the universe in time and space revealed to us by modern science are full as they can hold of microscopic wonders and perfections. The revelations of the microscope, and crucible, and all the various appliances of chemical analysis and synthesis have revealed to us the microcosmic side of things. And this side, seen by itself, is more impressive than the other. The infinitely small appeals to us as the infinitely great does not, not because it is so small, but because, for all its smallness, it is so wonderful in its construction. My friend will magnify a diatom scarcely visible to the naked eye, and you might mistake his photograph of it for a photograph of a superb rose-window of Strasburg or Cologne, until you saw it was a hundred times more exquisite in its construction. It is only when the times and spaces of a Herschel or a Proctor are conceived of as having all their vastness packed with the wonders which the chemist and the entomologist reveal that we begin to realize that, thanks to modern science, a new heaven overarches us, a new earth is spread beneath our feet, and that

"Still the new transcends the old
 In signs and tokens manifold."

But there is one revelation of science which includes all the revelations of longer time and vaster space, and new relations, and such nicety in the make of every animate tissue or inanimate substance as was never dreamed of till our day,—there is one revelation that includes all these particular revelations and a hundred more. It is the revelation of law. The supernaturalist theologian has done his best to check the progress of this revelation, but it has gone on conquering and to conquer. The less law the more God, has been the theological assumption. The perplexities of science have been the consolations of faith. With every new extension of the domain of law, faith has felt its privileges curtailed, its rights invaded. And still the dreaded process has gone forward with remorseless step. The number of recognized connections of phenomena is being every day increased. A few years ago the theologian could still pray for rain, and now his smallest children interrupt his morning grace to ask him for the probabilities. The rain, too, hath a father*—is no illegitimate child. "And, manifestly, as fast as the class of ungeneralized relations becomes smaller, the probability that there may be among them some that do not conform to law becomes less."† It will moreover be seen that there is a law in the discovery of law, that the directions in which universality of law is not yet established are those in which its establishment must necessarily be latest. The more abstract the material, the later the discovery of its law.

The last word of science is unity. This is the rev-

* Job xxxviii., 28.

† Herbert Spencer, *First Principles*, p. 141.

elation of the spectroscopic, showing with cumulative evidence that the chemical constituents of the sun and of the stars are the same as those of our own planet. Ay, the discovery of unknown constituents in the sun and stars has led to the discovery of the same constituents in the stuff the earth is made of. And this same teaching comes to us in the majestic doctrine of the correlation and conservation of forces, in every broader generalization of the vegetable and animal world, in the researches of the historian and the philologist, and last, but not least, in the investigations of comparative religion. The march of unity, like that of law, has left the ruin of many a theological fiction and conceit to mark the line of its advance. But the ban of heresy has been no match for the fascinations of the enterprise.

Such are, in brief, and stated meagrely enough, some of the more prominent conclusions to which modern science has attained. Can we affirm the essential piety of these conclusions? remembering that piety is man's sense of his relation to and his dependence on the infinite, informing Life of everything that is, for which we have, and need to have, no better name than God. Yes, verily, we can. For if the tiny world of ancient thought demanded such a Life as its original source, the world that science has revealed demands it all the more; demands a deeper, purer source, a fountain far more inexhaustible. If chance and miracle did not exclude him, the reign of law bespeaks his constant, immanent activity. And all the unities of nature and of life lead up to his eternal unity:—

"One God, one law, one element,
 And one far-off divine event,
 To which the whole creation moves."

As the white light of Nature can be decomposed into the different colors of the solar spectrum, so the white light of piety can be decomposed into its constituent elements of awe and wonder, admiration, reverence, adoration, thankfulness, the sense of power, the sense of infinity, humility, and trust, and loyalty. What one of all these sentiments is not ennobled and exalted by the results of scientific study and investigation? Is not implied in these results? Is not as essential to them as freshness to the spring-time or as fragrance to the rose? "The more thou searchest, the more thou shalt wonder." The Scripture is apocryphal, but truer word was never spoken. The more thou shalt wonder, not only at the discoveries thou makest—the symmetries, the harmonies, the marvellousness, the beauty of them,—but also at the undiscovered deep which underlies all possible discoveries. Never at any time since man began to think has there been less danger than there is at the present time of men's imagining that they have found out all the secrets of the universe. "Lo, these are parts of his ways, but how little is yet known of him!" The modern scientist can say that with a deeper feeling and a tenderer accent than could the ancient seer. If David could come back to us and, to so much knowledge of the heavens as came to him as he was tending his father's sheep, could add all that our Newtons and Laplaces, our Herschels, Bunsens, and Lockyers know, would he, think you, wish to retract one word in which his awe and wonder, reverence and adoration, found expression eight-and-twenty centuries ago? Nay, more than ever would he feel that "the heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth his handiwork"; that "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof, the world and they that dwell therein." And what accession must the sense of power receive from the teachings of the modern scientist, what accession, too, the sense of God's infinity! The names we give to him are no measure of the sentiments that stir within our breasts. Men have always called him good, and in the next breath have ascribed to him thoughts and actions that would disgrace a highway-robber or the imaginary evil one himself. Words do not generate feeling. It takes ideas, it takes processes of thought, it takes experience, to do this. Of course no number of finites can by any process of addition or multiplication make an infinite, but the universe of modern science has a practical infinitude that is more fruitful of the sense of infinite and eternal things than all the demonstrations of a metaphysical infinity that can be heaped together. Whose heart ever burned within him, by the way, when told that God must be infinite because he is a perfect being and infinity is an attribute of perfection, or because the finite implies the infinite? But whose heart does not leap up, as ne'er did theirs who listened to the Corymbic mysteries, as he attempts to follow the scientific teachers of the day along the path of their sublime interpretations of the practical infinitudes of time and space and the infinite nicety of adaptation?

But awe and wonder, reverence and adoration, are not the only sentiments that are inseparable from any tolerable appreciation of the results of scientific thought. That genuine humility, which has no more in common with the self-contempt of camp-meetings and revivals than with the conceit they nourish that the whole universe was constructed for the scene of man's redemption, may well be nourished by the scientific revelation of the relation of our tiny planet to all the starry host. The conceit that our little planet is the moral centre of the universe ought to have been exploded with the conceit that it is the astronomic centre. But it has outlived that notion now more than two centuries. And still I think it cannot long resist the cumulative evidence that rebukes a feeling so absurd and arrogant. Jupiter and Saturn may be incandescent, Mars may no longer house a race of men among its frosted mountains, there may be no man in the moon, and many another star and planet may be destitute of any life that corresponds to ours; but if this life of ours is the great thing we dare believe it is, then is it monstrously conceited to imagine that there are not thousands of

worlds drifting across those awful spaces—nay, not one of them drifting, but sailing all, steered by a hand divine,—peopled with life as eager as our own. With every fresh discovery of the astronomer we can say with deeper pathos and with more profound humility, "When I consider the heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and stars which thou has ordained, what is man that thou art mindful of him?"

But is there anything in modern science that assists the sentiment of trust, of all the forms of piety the most significant, anything that reinvigorates this sentiment? There is, indeed; and, what is more, this gracious sentiment inheres in that assurance born of the scientific spirit, which has been held to be its deadly enemy; namely, in the invariability of law. Yes, law that has been so dreaded, so maligned, whose conquests have always been greeted with anathemas, whose gains have always been considered so much lost to God, that has been made the antithesis of will and Deity,—law is now, and always has been, "the confidence of all the ends of the earth." "Oh! that thou wouldst rend the heavens, and come down!" has been the cry of all the generations. "Oh! for some miracle, some break in the established order, to convince us that Thou art!" And all the time, the source of so much peace as men have had has been the invariable sequence of events. Because of this, we have always known where to find God. We have known what to expect, what to anticipate. We talk about the cruelty of law because it never steps aside, "freezes a man like an apple," distinguishes not between saint and sinner. This is not cruelty. This is education. It would be cruel if the law should swerve, if it were an unstable quantity. The suspicion of such a thing would paralyze all human effort. We should neither plant nor build. What we call mercy is no afterthought of Deity; it is the constitution of the universe. Other than law, there is no name given under heaven by which men can be saved from ignorance and helplessness. It is the everlasting faithfulness. God's providence is universal. In man only it is specialized. And law is that which makes it possible for man to foresee and so prevent disaster; foresee and so prepare for victory. All special providence is human, and the condition of its ever-widening development is the invariability of law.

But because the special providence is human it is not therefore any less divine. God's arm is not shortened that he cannot save because there is man here at this hither end of his almighty finger-tip. There is not less of the infinite life in our humanity than in the lower forms of Nature; nay, but infinitely more. That word of Jesus, "I and my father are one," was not the announcement of a solitary exception, but of a constant, an invariable unity. Had he but known it, the man Judas also could have said it. The equator is an ideal line, say the geographers. The line between the human and divine is not so much as that. Or if it is,—

"Draw, if thou canst, the mystic line
Rightly severing His from thine,
Which is human, which divine."

Did I call trust the most significant of all the forms of piety? And so it is of piety distinguished from morality. But was not loyalty one of the constituent elements into which we decomposed the white light of piety,—the violet of the spectrum, its most tender hue, or shall we rather say the red, the ruddiest, the tint of blood, of life? And loyalty is but a finer word for "mere morality." No, not exactly. Morality is the sense of social obligation, of obligation between man and man. If in its last analysis it bears a flower of piety, it is because "the power not ourselves" is an eternal power; not merely the social push, but a push behind society and antecedent to it,—the earnest expectation of the creation longing for the manifestation of the sons of God. But at its best, starting from the morality side, morality does not include the whole of piety. But, starting from the side of piety, this includes the whole of morality. Love, loyalty, is the fulfilling of the law. Let a man's heart really quicken with those sentiments of awe and wonder, gratitude and trust, which are so deeply implicated in the scientific rendering of the universe, and how can he help desiring, longing, steadfastly resolving to give himself in earnest service that of Infinite Power whose manifestations have awakened in him all these sentiments? So piety becomes enthusiasm for humanity. The one Life is in everything. There is nothing without it; nothing without its power, its wisdom; nothing without its goodness. The power, the wisdom, and the goodness are not outside the universe, outside the laws, outside the daily tasks, outside the men and women, outside the cares, and crosses, and calamities, but in all these forever. And all things are for every one. Leave out one man or woman, leave out one flower or star, leave out one struggle, sorrow, victory, of all the past, and you and I should not be what we are to-day. All the pasts help us; all the futures beckon us. And now what is the natural, the inevitable, response of any earnest heart that knows and feels all this; that all is so for each; that One, the Infinite, is so for all? What can it be but, Each for all, each for the Infinite One? And this is loyalty. Freely ye have received, freely give. So grandly helped, we long to help in turn. But how? We cannot make the sun any brighter, or the sky any bluer, or the ocean or the mountains any more sublime. Here and there we can make the earth a little greener, fairer; perhaps make such a flower to bloom as God, in all his everlastingness, has never seen before. But this is not enough. We must do more than this. And the way is always clear; the gate is always open. It is to lend a hand, to do what in us lies to make life happier, sweeter, brighter, pleasanter, holier, diviner, for those with whom we mingle in the various activities of life and love. This is practical

piety, and it is the essential piety of modern scientific thought.

This piety is sometimes very stern and exigent. Sometimes demands it great things of us; not less than that we say sometimes, "Though the Lord slay me, yet will I trust in him," trust that he does not do it willingly, trust that he only slays because it is best for all, and so best for us, that he should slay, and, trusting so, take sides with him against ourselves, and be willing in a new sense, but in a vastly higher than the old, to be damned for his glory, condemned to suffer grievous loss and pain, rather than that the everlasting laws which are his glory should swerve or bend in any least degree to suit our dearest plan, our sweetest hope, our tenderest delight, our fondest expectation.

"Thy various messengers employ,
Thy purposes of love fulfill;
And 'mid the wreck of human joy,
Let kneeling faith adore thy will."

But let us do full justice to the terror that has been excited in religious minds by recent scientific speculations. It is no longer the astronomer, or the geologist, who excites the most alarm. It is the biologist, the evolutionist; not Herschel and Thomson, but Darwin and Spencer. I have said that these names stand as yet for scientific tendencies, rather than for scientific results. I say this in no spirit of disparagement. In saying it, my wish is not the father of my thought. On the contrary, Spencer's whole doctrine of evolution and Darwin's special illustration of it seem to me so intrinsically grand and beautiful, and so harmonious with all we do know of the make of things, that I am obliged to be continually upon my guard, lest I accept them because I want to, instead of because they have been proved beyond a doubt. But what if they should thus be proved? Is it inconceivable that piety should inhere in such results? I cannot think so. I can find nothing in them that dishonors either God or man. I find that which honors both; God, by exhibiting the ordered beauty of his operation; man, by suggesting for him a development in the future proportioned to his development through an illimitable past. I find nothing but new proofs, and grander, more suggestive, more poetic, than any known before, of the ONE in all and of the all in each, and new sanctions for the law that each shall be for all; all things so working together for us, and ONE in all, that we are honor-bound to perfect loyalty of thought, and word, and deed to all, and in, and through, and over all, to the eternal ONE. I dare not long that anything not clearly seen to be the truth may be the truth, remembering who it was that said, "My judgment is just, because I seek not mine own will." But if I dared, then I would long with a great longing that these speculations, which men stand in fear and terror of, might be established on irrefragable foundations.

At the same time, there is a doctrine of evolution abroad of which to predicate essential piety would be manifestly absurd. It is a doctrine which suggests that out of mere dead matter came all the present bounty, and wonder, and delight of this most glorious universe, "the Lord Christ's heart and Plato's brain," and all the wisdom, and the love, and the joy that ever made it good to be alive. But of mere dead matter who has ever yet discovered the first atom, not with the eye of sense, but with the keenest intellectual vision? Wherever we find matter, it is not dead, but alive; alive with order, and tendency, and purpose. Even Büchner, the most redoubtable of all materialists, must allow that his dead matter has a tendency to combine. To allow that is to allow everything. But why be frightened so by this matter, when no man knows, or ever can know, what matter is? All we are certain of is mind, is consciousness. Extension, hardness, these do not inhere in matter. These are but forms of consciousness affected by we know not what.

Any doctrine of evolution that does not affirm a first term of the series, a spiritual term, which then and there, at the imaginary beginning, was in itself more than all that has ever since been evolved from it, from Him, is a self-evident absurdity. The laws of thought demand an infinite element in every step of evolution. Evolution of a higher by a lower is unthinkable. Evolution of a higher from a lower presupposes, antecedent to the lower, a higher than the highest term of the ascending series. For that higher than the highest we have, and need to have, no better name than God. Nothing better can come out of it, of him, than was in him in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be,—if not thought, then something better; if not love, then something better. But is he conscious of our awe and wonder, our adoration and thanksgiving, our trust in him, our heart-felt loyalty? "No consciousness without vibration," say the mental physiologists. And yet, right here in ourselves, where we are absolutely certain of the consciousness, it eludes all chemical and microscopic tests. It may, then, well do so in the universe, and the converse of the proposition, No vibration without consciousness, may bespeak a Heart of things that can rejoice in us as consciously as we rejoice in Him. But if not consciousness, then something better.

What expression is there of the piety of by-gone times that does not stagger, as it never did before under its weight of meaning, when we attempt to make it bear the weight of this new piety which is essential to our modern scientific thought? Not as exact expressions, but as symbols, we may still retain the words of psalm and prophecy, still take them joyfully and tenderly upon our lips,—but they are all inadequate. The awe, the reverence, the thankfulness, the trust, the loyalty, are more than such, or any, words can tell. Let the new poets sing them ever so sweetly, let the new prophets preach them ever so grandly, the unspeakable cannot be spoken. Only

a life devoted to all highest purposes and tenderest benefactions, only a life of absolute justice, and sincerity, and truth, and love, can adequately give expression to our sense of the ineffable sweetness and benignity of that relation which exists between the soul of man and the Eternal God.

NOTE.—This and other sermons by Mr. Chadwick can be obtained of Mr. Charles P. Somerby, 139 Eighth Street, New York, in pamphlet form, at five cents each.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

CHURCH AND STATE.

DEFINITIONS.

What is the State? There are many answers to this question, depending on the particular aspect in which we view the subject. It is the organic function of the instinct of nationality; it is an association for mutual protection; it is the resultant motion of conflicting personal ambitions; government is in part positive expression of the popular will, and in greater part a complement of individual or class assumption filling the vacuum left by popular passiveness and lack of will. But the most practical and important aspect of government is this: An association of property-holders or possessors of the material means of life, having for object the retention and increase of their possessions and of the advantages which those who have possess over those who want. There is no other definition of government so complete as to say: "Government is the agency of capital." Nearly all legislation is for the direct purpose of protecting the possessors of wealth in their possessions. Most of the legislation protective of life and liberty is possible only by giving life and liberty an estimated money-value. If money rather than manhood controls the government, it is the fault of manhood, not of money. Wealth has its natural weight, inseparable from it as gravitation from the idea of matter. If the ballots of the multitudes of laborers, possessors mainly of muscles and stomachs, avail little against the will of the manufacturing or transportation monopolists, why, all that can be said is, that this is the necessary penalty which the laborers pay for having permitted others to reap vast fortunes from their labors. To cure the ills of the toiler, to invigorate the vote, to make the government the exponent of popular strength instead of the counterpart of popular impotence, this is not to be effected by additional legislation, for legislation is unpreventably in the interest of wealth; it is only by union, coöperation, and by understanding and managing their own affairs,—by making themselves capable to manage them,—that the laborers can retain in their own possession the fruits of their labors, and reduce overgrown individual estates, dangerous monopolies, and corrupt governments to healthy proportions.

WHAT IS THE CHURCH?

That side of it which we have to do with here may be described as organized association for the better satisfaction of the religious instinct. What is religion? This is a question too vast to be discussed here, and in fact no two men agree on precisely the same answer to it. Like all motor forces of human nature, religion grows from roots that reach down into an obscurity that is impenetrable to the intellect; but however shapeless, indeterminate, and indescribable, it nevertheless animates some very positive and apparent institutions. Most of these are summed up in the word "Church." Government is the recognition of the hard, hateful, undodgeable facts of existence; the Church is the asylum of the ideal, the focus of dreams confessed too bright for this world, and therefore postponed in their realization to the world beyond the skies. The beautiful and beneficent side of religious institutionalism it would be useless to deny; but it has also a very repulsive and anti-human side. No one can deny that, in practice, religion (the necessity of love and reverence), like government (the necessity of order and centrality), is made use of by its ministrants for the enslavement of the masses. They who are deputized to officiate at the altar, or in any of the many branches of over-government, are steadily taught by the nature of their functions to forget that they are the servants of the people, and to acquire the habit of looking at the people as a flock, which they are willing to direct and shear, but not to pasture. In practice, law is the grip of the strong on the weak, and religion is the sanctification of power.

CHURCH AND STATE NATURAL AND INDISSOLUBLE ALLIES.

Any community that has not grown beyond the need of a government has not grown beyond the need of a Church. The more Church the more government; the more government the more Church. Both flourish in proportion to the general faith in institutionalism as a remedy for natural ills. The anti-popular tendency in each is a link which neither has yet been able to break. A successful administration never lacks the support of Orthodoxy. When capital decrees and can enforce the absolute slavery of the working classes, Orthodoxy is ever ready to quote God in support of masters' rights; when capital finds it politic to decree modified or wage-slavery, Orthodoxy abandons the old doctrines with well-timed agility. The Church is the agency that the State uses to make the slaves believe their condition equitable and God-appointed.

In short, Church and State exist to legitimize and justify success—whatever has power to arise and stand—and to condemn failure; to give to him that hath much and take away from him that hath little. Although this seems to be the natural, necessary way of the world, still there are those who inhabit a level of thought (and action?) far removed from this on which Church and State agree so well.

The principal dissensions between Church and State arise over the division of the spoils, and over

the question who shall be greatest. On the point of popular subjection they are always agreed. In point of moral elevation there is rarely any great difference between the priest and legislator of the epoch. No form of oppression, however monstrous and blood-stained, but has had the seal of divine right set upon it by the prevailing religious sentiment of its epoch. True, there is always a very small minority of rebels against force and fashion, but they cannot be said to represent the prevailing religious sentiment of any age. We will neither complain of these facts nor deny them.

The merits of Church and State need no advocacy; they are apparent; they have facts, the past, the overwhelming chorus of salaried pettifoggers, the majority of bayonets to back them. Why fear to admit that, like all other human institutions, they have also a wrong side? To the strong, the successful, the State is a cherishing mother; to the weak and unfortunate it is a relentless pressure sinking them into the bloody mire. To the docile, the mediocre, the fortunate inmates of mildly-tempered clay, the easily-satisfied, the temple may be a heaven on earth; but to many, original in thought and sentiment, incapable of obedience to conventionalisms however beneficent, it may be the abhorred plague-spot of the universe. Those find their happiness in the bosom of the Church who carry it there with them.

DESTRUCTIVE ASPECT OF REFORM.

The human mind, in its earlier efforts to comprehend its relations to Nature and humanity, makes use of hypothetical constructions which, by a further advance in thought, are discovered to be premature and imperfect. Belief may be defined as provisional knowledge (though this is not the whole of belief), and the developing mind is constantly finding itself forced to leave behind the form, if not the essence, of its most cherished faiths. The attachment to old ideas which have become a part of our life, moulded our speech, allied themselves almost inextricably with our sentiments and affections, is strong in all, and strong enough in most of our species to give a hateful look to all reform. For reform is necessarily destructive; it is a revision of the accepted limitations of human knowledge, and this is the self-contradiction of science that all veritable increase of it implies a reduction of its formal pretensions. Science consists as much in finding out what may not be known as in positive cognition. The more rudimentary the state of the individual or race, the greater the faith in the mind's power to extend the realm of the known. The more acute and positive the perception of the world around us, the livelier is the sense of the barriers of the unknowable, and the less value we attach to the early faiths that comprehend everything and explain nothing.

That augmentation of the positiveness and certainty of knowledge is always attended by circumscription of its claims to formal comprehensiveness (a process akin to the condensation of nebulous chaos into habitable globes) needs no proof. Historical illustrations of the fact would be tedious, and the reader can supply them for himself. The less the real knowledge of mind and matter in any age, the more likely is it to be used as the stock of a tyrannical monopoly,—on the principle that the less of any commodity in the market, the easier to get up a "corner."

The shape that the most valuable reforms present to the popular eye is that of mischievous destructiveness. What is built may be mostly secret mental processes; what is displaced is institutions, establishments, visible, tangible facts. The venerable dungeon walls are something solid; but the viewless freedom of the air, what is that? Who reck of it? Only those newly deprived of it!

Most real reforms in government consist in repeal, abolition, removing the swaddling-bands of the infant, or knocking off the fetters that the slave, waking to a consciousness of his strength, refuses longer to wear. True reform in the relations of Church and State is very simple; it is to abolish State interference with natural religious (or irreligious) liberty. Equal rights before the law—all the liberty that is compatible with the equal liberty of all others,—that is the most, and least, that any one can demand.

THE TWIN FORCES OF SOCIETY.

Society polarizes itself to our view into two forces which divide it into hostile camps,—the possessors and the wanters; held, for the most part, from overt war by the numerous middle class whose interests take hold on both possession and want. Conservative and radical; Orthodox and heterodox; rich and poor; old and young,—names of these opposites are legion, and, like all names, avail little. The conflict between these opposed tendencies, which, for convenience' sake, we may call conservative and radical, is eternal and omnipresent. It is neither possible nor needful to make a logic-proof statement of their relations. One side is labor, love, fecundity, want, discontent, disorder, ignorance, slavery; the other is freedom from toil and want, content with the actual, hatred of nascent humanity, repression of wild, popular instincts, order, mastership. The desire to gain life, liberty, happiness, everything—the desire to preserve that which has already been gained,—these two motives, identical at bottom, redeem the world from stagnation. Most men are made radical or conservative by their condition in life forcing upon them one policy or the other,—either of assaulting the bars that shut them from the objects of their natural desires, or maintaining the institutions that protect them in the enjoyment of their inherited or acquired advantages over their fellows.

The aim of the radical, which he never expects to reach, is anarchy, the reign of love and the death of the ancient necessity for laws and weapon-bearing institutions; the aim of the conservative, which is

constantly growing more indistinct in the darkness of the past, is the subordination of the blind, genial, destructive impulses of the many to the greatest good of the least number.

UNITY.

The foundations of existence are deeply, darkly laid; justice is cruel; all soils are sterile till fertilized by carnage; goodness has its terrors; holiness covers a skeleton of relentless austerity; prudence and order are backed by rod and sword; love's flower springs from the black depths of lust; beauty is a bewildering exhalation that stirs itself over the face of chaos. Whether we call all good, or evil, matters little. The universal movements wait not upon our approbation. All things are bound together in a chain which man has not forged and cannot sever; all lines leading in opposite directions curve around to meet at their extremes, and the inviolable wholeness of the universe ever thwarts our attempts at segregation or partisanship. One-sidedness cannot endure, but runs at last into the arms of its antipode. All whirls and turns, and seeks its balance forever, in exact confusion.

The radical is beholden to conservatism for the stern centripetal grasp that prevents his nebulous aspirations from exploding the world in ruin; the conservative, hugging close his fact, would petrify all in a living death but for the all-creating, all-destroying inventiveness of radicalism. Burn all, oxygen! Resist all, nitrogen! Corrosion is death, stagnation is death, and their warlike union is all life.

To rear, repair, and enlarge the social edifice needs all sorts of workers. No one but contributes something, but often not according to his intention. All is collision and conflict, issuing in a grand harmony. The enemies of society, they who would lay all in ruins, by their attempts thereto only confirm and consolidate it; they make necessary stricter laws and sterner procedures than would otherwise be needed. The other extreme, the friends of society, the communists, they who would identify all interests and make society mean everything, by their humanitarian, anti-selfish teachings loosen the bonds of a force-cemented society, and by their illumination of that profound fatality, universal brotherhood, make peace, instead of war, the instinct and policy of the masses, and thus make property more secure and promote the growth of plutocracy.

The Tree of Life stands strong and fair in eternal verdure; its leaves flutter in the clear sky where all is light and gladness; its roots reach down into sadness and obscurity. Strike at the ever-budding growths with the sword of law and order, ye dwellers in the top-most branches! Hew them into some theoretic pattern! Vain, vain forever is your aim and indispensable your efforts. And ye, proletarian myriads, despised toiling rabble, choke its roots with nutrient filth, water them with your hearts' blood that the senseless sand drinks, and secret tears of defeat falling into darkness and oblivion! Blind love working on millions the primal woe of birth, blind hatred with its beneficent pruning out of the inefficient,—the ineradicable dualism of passion, shall broder eternally on the infinite album, Time and Space, beautiful, grotesque, and horrible figments, and that which strives to be shall jostle that which is.

G. E. T.

BINGHAMPTON, N. Y.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

THE SCIENCE OF UNIVERSOLOGY.

BY STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

I took pains in a preliminary article (INDEX, Oct. 26) to show that sciento-philosophy is neither Metaphysics properly so called, or as heretofore understood, nor Physics in that broadest sense in which it contrasts with Metaphysics,—what Elseberg calls Physology; but that it concerns especially that intermediate region in which the domain of matter is co-terminous with the domain of mind, and where, as it will appear, the laws of matter and the laws of mind are translatable into each other, by means of this betweenness; if, indeed, they be not rather identified as one and the same. More strictly speaking, it is analogic as a direct derivation from mathematics, which, as before shown, is the centring domain of universo-logy. Analogic is, so to say, the metaphysics of physics symbolized in mathematics; and its particulars consist of laws and principles, recurring like an echo in every domain.

All laws and principles whatsoever are derived from, and relate themselves back to, the primal discriminations or first elements of the mathematics; and all classification is derived from those laws and principles.

This identity of the laws and principles of all domains institutes recurring samenesses of distribution everywhere, no matter how diverse the nature of the substances, or things, or domains so distributed—an infinite variety in unity,—all traceable back to definite underlying mathematical origins. To make this matter simple, let me say, referring to the previous article, that, if the total universe is constructed upon the plan there exhibited of having a Without, a Within, and a Between, so each of these *universcula*, or sub-universes, is in turn constituted upon the same plan, and has its Without, Within, and Between, down to the least possible instance of universo-logical subdivision. Two observations are here called for; first, that the universe, or sub-universe, not merely is so constituted, as if by the fiat of a god, but that it must be so constituted by an *inherent necessity*; it being inconceivable that it, or anything, should be constituted in any other way since everything, to be anything, must have its Without, its Within, and its Between; and secondly, that from this mode of the constitution of universal things it results that there not merely is, but that there must be UNIVERSAL ANALOGY, from a repetition of the same mode of distribution within the

whole, and within each part and part-icular, or little part, down to the least part, within the totality of things. It is this which Swedenborg means when he says that "all things are contained in the least thing"—not all things, strictly, but all laws and principles. In other words, the constitution of a pea embodies all the principles which are embodied in the constitution of the universe. While this statement may not be apprehended or acceded to at once by the reader, in its total largeness, he will at least admit that Outerness, Innerness, and Betweenness of those two are conditions which necessarily affect equally the smallest and the largest things; and that it is, therefore, at least conceivable that whole, part, and least part should be subject, in some sense, to one and the same law of distribution; and also he may be able to perceive that, if such analogy exists, it must be possible by means of it to reason from the minor to the major, reversing the syllogistic which reasons only from major to minor.

Analogic is the science of this identity of law in diversity of spheres. It goes back, for its origin, at least in the direction of largeness, to the primal distribution of the universe into matter, mind, and their intermediation; and of this intermediation into catalogic, (logic, grammar, etc.), mathematics, and analogic, as shown in the preceding article—back therefore to mathematics as the middle of the betweenness of universal things.

Each whole and each part being thus distributed in a like manner, the sameness of distribution between any two parts, or between any parts and the whole, is called analogy. And as everything is characterized by it, this analogy or sameness of law is called Universal Analogy; and the particular parts or members of any two such domains which answer to each other, or fill the similar place, are called analogues of each other. The right understanding of the meaning of these two terms, *analogy* and *analogue*, is the key to the science of analogic.

The members in the distribution of any domain whatsoever may be taken as the pattern, and the corresponding members of the other domains be referred to them as analogues; but the mathematical domain is the most simple, determinate, and certain, and within it the geometrical or morphological, which furnishes diagrams or pictures to aid the imagination; whence the fact arises that the mathematical analogies serve best for the secure basis of the new science. It is for this reason that in the previous article I promised to give some idea, specifically, in this, of the nature of this mathematical basis of scientific analogy.

We will dismiss for the moment our former beginning point, in the difference between the Without, the Within, and the Between, returning to it after a little, and take now another beginning point in the difference, in a sense even more primitive than the other (logically speaking), between nothing and something, or what Kant calls negation and reality. Named in this manner, they are metaphysical terms, and neither Kant nor any of his commentators, not even Hegel, who has begun his philosophy at this point, has related them to anything mathematical or realistic.

It will not be difficult to perceive, however, the moment it is mentioned that the zero of mathematics is the mathematical nothing or negation, or the negative factor, department, or member of the mathematical domain; and that one—repeated it may be, as many ones or units—is the mathematical something or reality, or the affirmative factor, department, or member of the general field of mathematics, or of number. And so soon as this objective and obvious alliance is formed between the speculative thought of the great metaphysician and this most common and quasi-objective sphere, the arithmetical sphere, what was before half mystical, and at all events obscure, becomes patent and comprehensible for every grade of intellect.

We have now established analogy between a metaphysical discrimination (negation and reality) and a mathematical discrimination (zero and affirmative numeration),—the metaphysical discrimination being universal, or belonging to no particular sphere (philosophical), and the mathematical discrimination being special, or belonging to the particular domain of number (scientoid); the metaphysical discrimination being, on account of its broad generality, vague, indeterminate, unsatisfactory; and the mathematical discrimination being, by virtue of its speciality, definite, determinate, and satisfactory. It is this kind of terminal conversion into opposites, or beginning at the other end, for the sake of clearness and certainty, this commencement in the analytical details of something which is manageable and familiar, instead of the far-off and universal,—this adoption of the scientific in place of the speculative method, which converts philosophy into sciento-philosophy proper, and founds the science of universo-logy by means of analogic.

Those two great universal principles, permeating all spheres, called negative and positive, take their origin from and revert for elucidation to the commencement of count in the difference between zero and one; and might have been called *zero-ish* and *unit-ish*; and all other universal principles whatsoever, I again emphatically aver, take their origin from the simplest of mathematical discriminations.

Kant calls that aspect of universal being which so divides into negative and positive the domain of quality. He then proceeds to the proper domain of quantity, and divides it into one, many, and all. How many persons have ever recognized in these formidable metaphysical aspersions our simple and familiar grammatical distribution of nouns into singular, plural, and collective; or the still more familiar mathematical idea of single, manifold, and compound, as in the one, the manyness, and the sum composed of the one and the many, on the school-

boy's slate? But of what practical use is a universal which has no particulars; a broad speculative discrimination which is never brought down into special applications? Who has distinctly perceived that the integration and differentiation of Spencer are no other than the one and many of Kant, in a more specialized form? Here again we are establishing analogies between different spheres, and are recurring, for that purpose, to a simple and primary mathematical distribution. This line of thought is so new and for some so difficult, merely from its newness, that it is better to risk being obscure from brevity than cumbersome from prolixity. Hence I shall make my occasional articles on the subject purposely short.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

SUNDAY AT THE CENTENNIAL.

[We are extremely glad to be allowed to publish this thoughtful article even at this late day. It was withheld too long by the modesty of the writer.—ED.]

To a thinking mind the universe itself is the sermon of all sermons. It begins to preach itself to the sprawling babe, and has not done till the stony eye of age closes upon a day as bright as the first. There is nothing for any preacher but to explain microscopically the nearest points of this never-begun, never-ending sermon, and modestly try to assign his hearers to their present places and duties in this infinite, incomprehensible system of things.

Of all human sermons explanatory of the universe and man's place in it, the present Centennial Exhibition seems to me the most solemn and impressive. I cannot conceive why it should be closed on Sunday, except to pour contempt on the Christian Sabbath. Were I a Sabbatarian, in the theological sense of that term, I should insist that of all days in the week the Exhibition should be open on the Sabbath, and closed for the necessary rest of the exhibitors on some other day or days of the week. Suppose a religious pastor desirous to inculcate upon his flock the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, in regard to the universe and their relations to it,—here is a field where he may lead them and clinch the instructions of years of previous Sabbaths. Is the Sabbath too good for that?

But supposing he has been busy inculcating views which the great sermon of the Exhibition would not sustain but confute,—then it is conceivable that he might wish to brand the Exhibition as profane, by excluding it from a day which is commonly accounted sacred. Largely secular the Exhibition undoubtedly is; but as long as secular things are allowed to exist and be taken cognizance of on the Sabbath in the pulpit, this cannot be a reason why Sabbatarians object to the opening of the Exhibition on Sunday. The only true reason is that in the Exhibition are a large number of objects which have no secular or commercial, but only a religious bearing. In other words, they tell on certain religious dogmas. If they told favorably, the supporters of these dogmas would think no day too sacred to avail themselves of their powerful aid. They would lead their Sabbath-schools in crowds up to these objects as a holy confirmation of their faith. As it is, the best they can do is to treat the Exhibition as wholly secular, if not profane, and allow their Sabbath-schools to visit it only on secular days, and without any instruction as to the bearing on their sacred history of the relics of prehistoric man.

This dread of absolute truth which has closed the Exhibition on Sunday, in favor of an effete and indefensible dogmatism, has had the pernicious effect of encouraging a set of the most abominable side-shows that ever disgraced Christendom. I do not refer to learned pigs and two-headed calves, but to gambling and drinking-saloons, and theatres for the exhibition of nude vulgarity. All these, with the exception of about two acres and a half of them that were burned up the previous Saturday, right under the eaves of the great Exhibition, were open to some fifty thousand people who, like me, were obliged to remain over Sunday in the neighborhood. This, of course, was their harvest time. But for the exclusion of the crowd from the Exhibition grounds, they could not have existed. Gladly would tens of thousands of that crowd of strangers from the far-off wilds of Arkansas or Minnesota have paid fifty cents for permission simply to walk in the beautiful grounds and examine the multitude of rare plants and flowers outside the buildings. Bigotry, for their accommodation, had hermatically sealed Paradise, but left hell wide open across the street! I cannot say how many of the Sunday-bound strangers patronized the vile nuisances of which I speak, but they were certainly noisy from the inside. O, that it may be otherwise at the next Centennial!

It is not to be supposed that the class of Christians who had shut up the Centennial Exhibition on Sunday could be wholly oblivious of the spiritual interests of the strangers thereabout assembled, like sheep without a shepherd, on that day. As a specimen of what they were about at the Atlas Hotel, where I boarded, I will describe what I saw and heard Sunday evening.

The Atlas Hotel is a vast aggregate of shanties, two stories high, directly opposite the western end of the Exhibition grounds, capable of lodging three thousand people, and feeding as many more as could be persuaded to wait long enough. Its sitting-room, in the midst of which is the hotel office, seems to cover about an acre of ground, with abundant provision of chairs, and tables for writing. On one side is a raised stage or dais, with piano, parlor organ, and reading desk, with a large expanse of settees before it. From this piano, on several previous evenings, some lady volunteers had given us good music. This evening it was announced that religious services

would take place, to be conducted by a delegation from the Young Men's Christian Association of Philadelphia, at half-past seven o'clock. As the delegation was tardy, a young man whose piety much exceeded his musical talent, humbly volunteered to occupy the time by singing, in a very unreviving way, several "revival hymns," accompanying himself on the organ, which is considerably more sacred, though less tolerable, than the piano. The crowd bore it with truly Christian fortitude. At last the delegation, with a vastly business air about them, arrived and took the platform. It consisted of two, whose names I would be glad to record, if I could, but to call them "Moody and Sankey accented" will be enough for practical purposes. The volunteer who had done so much for us seemed about to leave the stage, but at the request of Sankey remained as organist. The bearing of Moody seemed to say: "You all see I am a man of business, and my business here is to bring you all to Christ." He arranged his books at the desk, dropped on his knees, buried his face in his handkerchief, and was probably supposed to be praying silently for half a minute. Then he gave out a hymn, beginning,

"There is a fountain filled with blood,
Drawn from Immanuel's veins."

He was particular to urge all present to rise during the singing, which they generally did. This struck me as more polite than politic, for the hymn, though poetical and pious enough, is decidedly immoral, and such as few men would care to sanction in the sense put upon it by the revivalists. Then there was a commendably short, though very impertinent, prayer, and another hymn of the same sort, sung standing. The perfect familiarity with God and Christ which this young sprig of commerce assumed in conducting the devotional exercises was something quite astounding; too great, certainly, to last long. But when he arose and announced his text, Dr. McCosh, had been there, would have shrunk into his shell. He had chosen the words of the woman of Tekoah to King David: "For the king doth speak this thing as one that is faulty, in that the king doth not fetch home again his banished."

The king had pronounced in her favor on her feigned case, and now she had him logically bound to bring back Absalom. So the sinner having admitted the truth of the gospel, this young Philadelphia Christian held him bound to give his heart to Christ that night. The banished Christ must at once be brought back. The vigor with which he handled the analogy reminded me of the way I have seen lumber-men roll logs with a cant-hook. But I could not see that any visible effect was produced. The multitude of logs seemed to occupy the same place, as wooden as ever.

Seriously, in the nineteenth century, this is a little too bad. There are two views widely taken of the literary collection from which this dry-goods clerk took his text. One is that it is exceedingly valuable for its wisdom and venerable for its age, but subject to criticism as any other human production. In this view the curious legend of the woman of Tekoah is not beset with special difficulties, and could not have the remotest relation to Christianity. Another view, taken by the American Bible Society, and expressed by a conspicuous sign on its building in the Centennial grounds, is that the whole collection is "holy"; a revelation, not a word of which is without the inspiration of the Almighty himself. In this view of it a question arises at once as to what divine inspiration meant by this woman of Tekoah, which our Moody No. 2 did not seem at all competent to settle. Joab sends a woman called wise, with a lie in her mouth, to entrap the royal author of the Psalms into a promise to recall Absalom, his favorite son, then a fugitive murderer. She succeeds in obtaining a favorable judgment on her feigned case, and then not only brings it home to the king in our preacher's text, but proceeds immediately to say, as another home-thrust of her argument: "For we must needs die, and are as water spilt on the ground, which cannot be gathered up again." The royal Psalmist is not recorded as making any reply whatever to this most emphatic denial of any life after death; and the question therefore arises whether divine inspiration does not here teach the mortality of the soul as well as of the body. And if the Bible, in other parts of it, written in later times, teaches a different doctrine, then comes the question, why God in one age should have revealed the mortality of the soul, and in another its immortality. I confess I should much rather listen to Dr. Woolsey, Dr. Bacon, or Dr. McCosh on this particular passage of the oldest of books than to any imitator of Moody. Till such men succeed in answering this question, there must be a rapidly increasing number of our fellow-citizens who, while giving the Bible a place of high honor in the literature of past ages, will regard the Bible Society's sign on the Centennial grounds as a relic of fetishism. Such relics are to be found in the exhibits of all the nations, from the miserable Jerusalem booth for the sale of "holy" trinkets, to an elegant stall in the Main Building, which bears the following frank inscription: "Magaud Frères, 11 Boulevard Sebastopol, Paris, MANUFACTURERS OF BEADS, MEDALS, CHRISTMAS, IVORY, AND LOCKETS." Poor Africa also shows her fetiches, quite as reasonable, in themselves, but seems not like the Christian peoples to offer them for sale. If this traffic in fetiches should flourish another hundred years, probably the next Centennial will also be closed on Sunday, for Sabbath and Bible are worshipped by our exclusionists not only for the use that rational beings can derive from them, but over and above and beyond all that, with exactly the same superstitious feeling which the African has for the "holy thing" which he hangs about his neck. When we have come to see that everything is holy except a wicked

soul, we shall be free to use the best day for the deepest look into the wonders of creation and of man.

ELIZUR WRIGHT.

Oct. 7, 1876.

A DISTINGUISHED lawyer and freethinker of Illinois, while arguing a case before a Chicago Court on the subject of "mandamus," had occasion to refer to a book called *Moses on Mandamus*. The judge, probably as a joke, asked him to give the exact chapter and verse of Moses. The counsellor replied, "Oh, your Honor misapprehends the reference. I refer to a very good law book; but your Honor has in mind a different book by a different Moses, and I may say also on a different subject. That is a book on *God-damus*, while the one to which I refer is on *Mandamus*."

Poetry.

AUTUMN LEAVES.

Gold and crimson and darkest umber,
Rivalling gorgeous sunset rays;
Dyes that olden, barbaric princes
Loved to brighten their festal days.

Russet and green and vivid scarlet
Rustling lay 'neath my eager feet;
As I walked beneath the bannered arches
When Life was young and Love was sweet.

The Wind played glad triumphal marches
To which my heart kept time and tune,
And through the bright autumnal weather
Earth wore for me a look of June.

A decade—and again I'm walking
Adown the old familiar street,
"The flying gold of ruined woodlands"
Bustles and glows beneath my feet.

But Wind among the bannered branches
Plays only funeral dirges low,
For Life hath nothing more to give me,
If Thou and Love together go!

MAGGIE STEWART SIBLEY.

ONEIDA, N.Y.

THE OX-TAMER.

BY WALT WHITMAN.

In a far-away northern county, in the placid, pastoral region,
Lives my farmer friend, the theme of my recitative, a famous Tamer of Oxen:
There they bring him the three-year-olds, and the four-year-olds, to break them;
He will take the wildest steer in the world, and break him and tame him;
He will go fearless, without any whip, where the young bullock chafes up and down the yard;
The bullock's head tosses restlessly high in the air, with raging eyes;
Yet, see you! how soon his rage subsides—how soon this Tamer tames him.
See you, on the farms hereabout, a hundred oxen, young and old, and he is the man who has tamed them;
They all know him—all are affectionate to him;
See you! Some are such beautiful animals—so lofty looking!
Some are buff-colored—some mottled—one has a white line running along his back—some are brindled;
Some have wide flaring horns (a good sign). See you the bright hides;
See, the two with stars on their foreheads—see, the round bodies and broad backs;
See, how straight and square they stand on their legs—see, what fine, sagacious eyes;
See, how they watch their Tamer—they wish him near them—how they turn to look after him!
What yearning expression! how uneasy they are when he moves away from them.
—Now I marvel what it can be he appears to them (books, politics, poems depart—all else departs);
I confess I envy only his fascination—my silent, illiterate friend,
Whom a hundred oxen love, there in his life on farms,
In the northern county far, in the placid, pastoral region.
—Two Rivulets.

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The Index.

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CARY STANTON, Editorial Contributors.

NOTICE.

On receipt of \$3.20, THE INDEX will be sent to any name not already on its mail-list, from the present time until January 1, 1878. This is an excellent opportunity for friends of the paper to increase its circulation among their acquaintances; and it is hoped that they will not neglect to render in this way some greatly-needed assistance to the important cause it represents.

MISS SUSAN B. ANTHONY, the able and popular lecturer, will speak in Investigator Hall, Paine Building, on Sunday evening, Dec. 3. This will be the first of a course of ten Sunday-evening lectures, all of them by women of acknowledged ability.

MR. J. A. J. WILCOX, of Boston, has been duly elected Treasurer of the Index Association, to fill the vacancy in that office caused by the deeply mourned death of Mr. Ranney. Mr. Wilcox is a gentleman highly respected in this city, and was elected last July Treasurer of the National Liberal League.

THE LONDON *Pall Mall Gazette* has the following: "It may be from a weariness of the strife between Church and State in the Old World that some zealous Catholics begin to look wistfully toward America as the country which is supposed to accord the most absolute religious freedom to all sects and churches. M. de Molinari can scarcely help warming into enthusiasm as he tells us that 'the good fathers' (i. e., the Jesuits) have divided the United States into four provinces of their order,—to wit, Missouri, New Orleans, Baltimore, and New York. In St. Louis, where they have their head-quarters, there are twenty-nine Roman Catholic churches and a college where the studies are superintended by twenty Jesuit professors,—French, Belgian, and American. The building is declared to be a fine one, though it does not approach the magnificent proportions of the house which the ladies of the Sacred Heart have built for themselves at Marysville, a suburb of St. Louis. This convent is said to be a real palace, to which no other institution of the same kind in Europe can be compared. Among its inmates are several nuns who have fled from the 'persecution' in Germany. Hard by stands a Franciscan monastery."

AT A MEETING of the Directors of the Index Association, held in this city on November 15, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

WHEREAS, By the death of Ralph H. Ranney the Index Association has been deprived of an officer who has discharged with spotless integrity, singular faithfulness, and most generous self-devotion the uncompensated duties of Director and Treasurer in its service for the past three years: therefore,

Resolved, That we, his sorrowing survivors in the Board of Directors, desire to leave on our records some permanent testimonial of the profound esteem and warm personal regard which we so soon learned to cherish for our lamented associate.

Resolved, That THE INDEX and the Index Association have suffered through his death the loss of a friend whose zeal for their best interests has been tireless and inexhaustible, and the value of whose services can only be appreciated by the few who were cognizant of them from month to month and from year to year.

Resolved, That we have found him at all times a counsellor of rarely equalled practical sagacity and wisdom, an honorable and efficient executive officer, and a man that in every respect commanded the highest confidence of all who came into personal relationship with him; and that we shall treasure his memory as one of the most sacred and precious legacies of human worth.

Resolved, That we share the grief of his afflicted family, and offer to them our sincerest and most tender sympathy in their great bereavement.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to his family, and that they be published in THE INDEX.

THE LOVE OF GOD.

Rev. M. J. Savage, a Unitarian minister in this city of whom our readers do not now hear for the first time, and of whom it is very evident that they do not now hear for the last time, had this passage in a sermon delivered on the fifth of November:—

"Humanity will be regenerated and lifted up only as men come to love God with all their hearts, and their neighbor as themselves. I wish to define myself just here, lest I may be misunderstood. By loving God, I do not mean the sentimental gush of enthusiasm, the springing of an affectional passion towards an imaginary being and an imaginal idea. To show you how far I would convey this definition, let me refer to Mr. R. H. Ranney, who died and was buried last week, a man who thought himself and really believed himself an atheist, from the time he was able to think until his death. According to my definition of those that love God, I should most certainly reverently and tenderly include him; for what I mean by the love of God is this: the movement of the whole heart, and passion, and affectional nature, the aspiration and endeavor of man towards the ideal right, and good, and true, which, summed up, gives me my definition of God. And although Mr. Ranney rejected the definition, if there was ever a man in our city of whom it was true, it was true of him, that the generous impulses of his nature went out ardently after the best, and highest, and truest things. This, then, is what I mean by the love of God and the love of humanity."

What a change has indeed come over the world, when such words as these can be spoken from a Christian pulpit! And what a new conception of Christianity would be forced upon us all, if every occupant of a Christian pulpit should show himself so fair, so just, so liberal in thought, so kindly in feeling, so appreciative of excellence even under the dreaded name of atheism! We cannot repress the impulse to do public honor to the brain that could think, to the soul that could feel, to the mouth that could speak, such thoughts as those. They will be an open sesame to every heart not gangrened by bigotry and pharisaism.

But there are some who can not and will not believe that an atheist could be what this young atheist nevertheless was. They are utterly unable to do justice to one who dared to be so pure and unselfish and high-minded without believing in God,—nay, they can scarcely forgive him for not exemplifying by a bad character what they conceive must be the necessary consequences of such disbelief. To concede that any atheist could possibly exhibit the lustrous virtues that shone in this man's life would be the overthrow of all their creed. If atheists could be good, they think, there would be no need of religion; but religion is needful; therefore he could not be so good as is supposed. That is the way that many argue. And it is the way in which they fortify themselves in injustice.

Yet the fact stands unshaken by dogmatic incredulity; and it is a fact so full of instruction that men may well ponder its lessons. Has Mr. Savage explained it aright? Is it true that the "love of God" must be affirmed of every one who lives such a life as has just passed beyond our human ken? Much as we admire the spirit which, rather than deny the intrinsic and superlative purity of such a character, would attribute the "love of God" to one who did not believe in any power in Nature except unintelligent and purposeless necessity, we cannot accept the explanation. Mr. Savage can hardly have expressed his own entire thought in his "definition of God." The "ideal right, and good, and true," as a mere abstraction devoid of all personality, can hardly fill out his thought of God,—or, if it does, we must demur at such a use of the term. More than that, certainly, is necessary to distinguish theism from atheism. If the Universal Power is believed to be devoid of all intellectual and moral qualities,—if no spiritual likeness is believed to exist between it and the human soul, affording a basis for spiritual communion and affection,—the phrase "love of God" becomes evacuated of all definite meaning, and fails to express fitly the mental state of a serious and intelligent atheist. Mr. Ranney believed that all human consciousness is the product of nervous organization, and that there is nothing analogous to it in Nature as a whole; although he always recognized the possibility of such an analogy, he saw no evidence of it whatever, and had quite as definite and fixed a belief on this point as any Christian believer. Calm, and cheerful, and gentle as he always was in expressing his convictions, he yet cherished them with as great tenacity and decision as the most strongly persuaded theist; and to him, at least, the phrase "love of God" would have seemed utterly inappropriate as a description of his feeling and thought. The affectional element did not enter into his devotion to the "ideal right, and good, and true," though the element of

reverence did; yet a "love of God" marked by the absence of the affectional element would have appeared to him, as it does to us, to be a confusion of terms. His was indeed an affectionate and loving nature, but the manifestations of it did not extend to what Mr. Savage above designates as "God"; it expended itself on human relationships. Reverence for the "ideal right, and good, and true" was unquestionably one of the most powerful and dominant forces of his entire being; and it would certainly have made him disclaim a eulogy which did not conform to the exact reality of things.

It concerns all thoughtful students of religious truth that the facts of such a life and character as Mr. Ranney's should not be even unconsciously distorted or obscured by *a priori* conclusions. On the one hand, he was an atheist in the sense of disbelieving utterly in the existence of any supreme or immanent Intelligence in Nature; he believed only in an immanent necessity of Law, working by unconscious and unintelligent forces, and constituting the universe a self-moved mechanism of infinite extent and complexity; and this conviction was to him just as precious and sacred as to the Christian is his faith in a redeeming Savior. On the other hand, he gave every possible proof, both in conduct and conversation, of being uniformly governed by a most religious devotion to the "ideal right and good and true"; and he made his short life not only one of purity and rectitude, but also one of singular unselfishness and spiritual beauty. Make what one will of the fact, the fact was exactly that, and nothing else. It ought not to be manipulated or tampered with in any way, but studied—as earnestly and seriously as the student of science investigates a most important phenomenon of Nature. Thus considered, it cannot fail to lead to religious truth of no small import. Our own views were widely different from Mr. Ranney's, as THE INDEX everywhere shows; but it is a matter of sacred duty to him and to truth itself to let him throw the whole weight of his life and character on the side of his own views, and not on that either of ours or those of others. Deeper than any one's intellectual conclusions, perhaps, lies the true secret of religious self-consecration and integrity of soul; and if any one wishes to know in what we find it, we can now only refer to the Index Tract entitled "A Study of Religion: the Name and the Thing."

THE AGGRESSIVE ASPECT OF FREE RELIGION.

It was natural that free religion should present first its pacific and conciliatory side. Its primary purpose was to show that all religions have the same root in human nature; that all have in common certain fundamental ideas, aspirations, principles, and precepts; that they succeeded each other in the order of intellectual and moral development in the human race; that they owe their several peculiarities to the strata of humanity in which they have taken root and the epochs in which they have flourished; and that each was probably in its flourishing season the faith best adapted to the age and the people it controlled. This in sum is our view. To maintain and justify it has been and long will be our chief aim. Our best essays have been in this direction. So prevaillingly has this been the case that hitherto the other side of the subject, the differences and antagonisms of religion, has scarcely been alluded to. The antipathies of faith have been lost sight of in the sympathies. This, too, was inevitable, for the antipathies are made sufficiently prominent all the time, are even grossly exaggerated and erroneously conceived. Differences are invented where none exist and existing differences are so caricatured and falsified that the firm presentation of the sympathies is still perhaps the best way of vindicating the full claims of any system. But, allowing every claim that the pacific method may make, it still is evident that free religion has its aggressive attitude towards religions; and may have it toward one as well as toward another.

Not towards their dogmatic ideas as such. In matters of opinion free religion raises no issue. Questions of speculative belief lie out of its province. Having no dogmatic system of its own it cannot make war on the systems professed by its neighbors. Speculative beliefs must present themselves before reason and argue their cause there. Whether they be accepted or rejected by the rational mind it is for the rational mind, in the course of its investigations, to determine. There is, philosophically, much to be said for trinity, deity of Christ, atonement, predestination, even for eternal, *not everlasting*, punishment. Free religion is not interested in such discussions, and has no choice as to their issue.

It simply is concerned that each of the systems shall have a fair chance to vindicate itself; that neither shall assume the right to dogmatize over the rest. In this it is concerned, deeply and primarily. All assumption of superior light or authority, on the part of any faith, even the best accredited, and the most popular it resists as earnestly and sharply as Romanism ever resisted heathenism, or Orthodoxy ever resisted heresy. Not of course in the same way; not with violent means; not with curses or execrations, but with an intense conviction. Such arrogance is the soul of infidelity. Between Rome as a religion, and Rome as a domination, it draws a broad distinction. Others may oppose Rome as a religion, if they feel called to do it. Free Religion challenges Rome as a domination, watches jealously its attempts to acquire political and social influence, has an eye on its machinations to control elections, to appropriate money and land, to influence education, to shape laws. We should be no less jealous of rationalism were it plotting to compass the same things. Protestantism would pass unmolested on the score of its doctrines, however wild and absurd they might seem, if it would desist from its intentions to "Christianize" the Constitution, to make the Bible an authority in public schools, to secure the permanence of religious usages arranged in conformity with its own ideas of human duty and public obligation. But in attempting all or any of these things it exposes itself to criticism and assault from the champions of free thought. The best creed in the world becomes intolerable the instant it arrogates to itself the supremacy that belongs to absolute truth alone. And to that only on the ground of its persuasiveness. It is a question, as Mr. Higginson said, of *credo* and *crede*. *Credo* is respectable and may be noble; but *crede* is never respectable, and never anything but ignoble. *Credo* is welcome to every friend of religion whatever name he may assume or may discard; but *crede* is never anything but a foe in the regard of the believer in freedom. Against that Free Religion girds itself for battle, and wages war on every issue raised. It is jealous, suspicious, critical, hypercritical, perhaps; but it is convinced that all error is venial by the side of carelessness.

O. B. F.

THE WASHINGTON CONVENTION.

TENAFLY, N. J., Nov. 14, 1876.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

Can you find space for the enclosed call? Please note the closing paragraph. We have been petitioning for a sixteenth Amendment since 1869, when George W. Julian introduced the proposition in the House. Our Christian brethren must yield precedence to us. They have no right to call their proposed amendment the Sixteenth. It seems to me, in the order of development, that, as all men—black and white, foreign and native, lettered and unlettered, washed and unwashed, are now enfranchised, woman's time has surely come. To those who would press any other amendment before our rights are adjusted, I would say, in the language of Scripture: "If you love not woman, whom you have seen, how can you love God, whom you have not seen?"

Respectfully yours,

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

The Eighth Annual Convention of the National Woman Suffrage Association will be held in Lincoln Hall, Washington, D. C., Jan. 16th and 17th, 1877.

As by repeated judicial decisions woman's right to vote under the fourteenth Amendment has been denied, we must now unitedly demand a sixteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, that shall secure this right to the women of the nation.

In certain States and Territories where women had already voted, they have been denied the right by legislative action. Hence it must be clear to every thinking mind that this fundamental right of citizenship must not be left to the ignorant majorities in the several States; for unless it is secured everywhere, it is safe nowhere.

We urge all Suffrage Associations and friends of Woman's Enfranchisement throughout the country to send delegates to this Convention, freighted with mammoth petitions for a sixteenth Amendment. Let other proposed amendments be held in abeyance to the sacred rights of the women of this nation. The most reverent recognition of God in the Constitution would be justice and equality for woman.

On behalf of the National Woman Suffrage Association,

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, Pres.

MATILDA JOSLYN GAGE, Chair. Ex. Com.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Cor. Sec.

TENAFLY, N. J., Nov. 10, 1876.

N. B.—Letters should be addressed to the Secretary, Susan B. Anthony, Tenafly, N. J., and contributions to the Treasurer, Ellen Clarke Sargent, 1732 De Sales Street, Washington, D. C.

Editors please copy.

[As the next additional amendment to the Consti-

tution, whatever it is, will necessarily be the "sixteenth," the mere matter of name is not of vital consequence; though it is pleasant to note in passing that, if the number sixteen is already mortgaged to a Woman Suffrage Amendment, the Religious Freedom Amendment, being proposed as an enlargement of that now known as the first, will not interfere with it.

But, with reference to priority of action on the different amendments already proposed, it seems hopeless to expect that any but an absolutely secular government will ever guarantee the equal rights of women as individual citizens. Christianity does not recognize them, and no "Christian government" will. So long as the nation is unwilling to secularize its government, it will be still more unwilling to emancipate woman. The shortest possible road to Woman Suffrage seems to lie through the Religious Freedom Amendment. The right of women to be counted as the individual equals of men is really one of their religious rights, if they did but know it; and their political equality will, we suspect, lag in the rear of universal religious equality.—F. E. A.]

WORD OR WORK.

This message from one of the keenest observers of the times is pithy and full of truth. "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear":—

VINELAND, N. J., Nov. 15, 1876.

EDITOR INDEX:—

The numerous and able contributors to your columns, editorial and other, would seem to make unnecessary any word of mine. But I will with permission make one suggestion.

The arguments of THE INDEX are able, convincing, and conclusive against all the claims of the Church, Catholic and Protestant, to any sanctity, divinity, or inspiration not known to the world long before even Messiah or Moses appeared. But so far nothing is gained. With the Church, the conflict is not now of words, but works. The Church activities to-day exceed all that were ever witnessed before. Arms, not argument, will be the order henceforth. The canons of the sacramental host are not yet carnal, but that will not long be true. They are ever in armor, ready for use.

Shutting the Centennial Exhibition on Sunday succeeded so wondrously with the Church, that the zeal in that direction has been greatly quickened, and arrears for violations of the Sabbath now multiply on every hand. I am glad THE INDEX makes note of the portent. The Protestant Jesuits, known as "Young Men's Christian Association," are becoming the right arm of the Church for work, as really as were the disciples of Loyola three hundred years ago. And their fidelity to their priesthood is not less sacredly sworn, nor devoutly kept. Moody and Sankey machinery is multiplying, East and West, and its successes will be the wonder of the time. That, with the Young Men's Christian Association, is the grand double-cylinder "Corliss Engine" of the priesthood, and with it they will jar the globe. Meantime, the Evangelical Alliance and the "God in the Constitution" Society are working with "the powers that be," at Washington, wise and wily as serpents, and deadly as Humboldt's "pyramid of serpents," of a hundred huge, bristling heads, ready and able to deal death on every side!

I speak of things as they are. Wise men and wise women may judge what I say. The time will disclose. Words may do wonders; but only work is omnipotent.

PARKER PILLSBURY.

GOV. RICE'S PROCLAMATION.

As a curious specimen of State meddling with religion in the Centennial year, the following should be put on record in THE INDEX:—

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY

ALEXANDER H. RICE, GOVERNOR:

A Proclamation

FOR A DAY OF

PUBLIC THANKSGIVING AND PRAISE.

For nearly two hundred years the people of Massachusetts have set apart a day in each autumnal season for the special celebration of their love and gratitude to the Lord of the Harvest for His blessing upon the labors of the husbandman, and for the ingathering of the fruits of the earth.

In continuance of this ancient and pious example I hereby appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Council, THURSDAY, THE THIRTIETH DAY OF NOVEMBER, INSTANT, to be observed as a day of Thanksgiving and Praise to Almighty God for the bounties of His Providence and the riches of His Grace.

With fervent hearts and melodious songs let the

people of the Commonwealth, on that day, turn from secular avocations to the temples of the Lord. O go your way into His gates with thanksgiving, and into his Courts with praise; be thankful unto Him and speak good of His name! For the Lord is gracious, His mercy is everlasting and His truth endureth from generation to generation.

Praise Him that the Republic, with increasing vigor and strength, has passed its Centennial Anniversary, and is consecrated anew in the affection and patriotism of its people; that the Commonwealth abides by the principles of justice, of liberty, and of charity; that in the brighter illumination which knowledge is shedding through the world Science appears as the handmaid of Religion, and the visible Universe as the interpreter and counterpart of revelation. Let us praise Him for freedom from pestilence and famine. Praise Him for whatever measure of success has attended the pursuits of our people; for the liberality of those who have come to the relief of honest poverty; for the courage and fortitude which have sustained the unemployed and the disappointed; and for the cheering tokens of returning prosperity. Praise Him for the blessing of peace and fellowship with all mankind; for every triumph of virtue; for every vice forsaken; and for the holy gifts and influences which strengthen and refresh the soul. And finally, let us praise Him for all the perils that are past, for the faith that survives, and for the inspiring and beckoning hopes of immortality.

Given at the Council Chamber in Boston on this first day in November, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-six, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and first.

ALEXANDER H. RICE.

By his Excellency the Governor, with the advice of the Council.

HENRY B. PEIRCE, Secretary.

God Save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

PROFESSOR MORSE UPON MR. COOK'S AUTHORITIES.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE BOSTON DAILY ADVERTISER:—

I felt obliged to reply to Mr. Cook's lectures on the concessions of Evolutionists, because they appeared to me to be full of misrepresentations, and what seemed "confusion" to Mr. Cook may have been the natural consequence of an effective blow. I was obliged to accuse Mr. Cook of misrepresentation and misquotation. I have now turned again to the authors he cites, and the pages he has indicated, and I still think him guilty of precisely what he has been accused of. Corruptions of rhetoric, unscrupulous harangues and ingenuity in putting things together, bringing down rounds of applause, may for the moment obscure, but cannot alter, the merits or demerits of the case.

Mr. Cook calls the attention of his hearers to the perversions of grammar in the report of my lecture. I ask them to notice in his a more serious perversion. An ungrammatical sentence is venial in comparison with an untruthful one. I take no account of his statement that I made "fifty points" against him, all of which he has demolished, whereas I count but eighteen at most; for the number, like the demolition, may pass for a rhetorical flourish.

The strenuous manner in which Mr. Cook insists that Huxley refers to Bathylus, and not to the physical basis of life, would seem to indicate not only that the Lectureship's key-stone, but the arch itself, would be badly cracked did he not succeed in making his hearers and readers take the same view.

This may stand, however, as a fair gauge of his clearness of interpretation in other cases. I know it is utterly useless to stem the tide against the enthusiastic worshippers of Mr. Cook and his utterances. Nevertheless, I would call attention to the monstrous conceit in asserting that the doctrine of evolution cannot be met unless some bridge can be found to span the chasm between the living and the not living. When we consider the thoughtful and painstaking researches of Professor Hyatt on the jurassic ammonites and other groups, and remember that he is working out his results on the basis of the "evolution of Huxley and his school," and the hundreds of other students who, in similar paths of research, are confirming the views of Darwin, it seems strange indeed that it remains for this eminent Lectureship of Boston to show that these men haven't the slightest foundation for their convictions unless they can demonstrate beyond a doubt the manner in which life first arose! Even poor Darwin has labored under a delusion for the past thirty years because his attention has not been called to this fatal omission, and that in the face of this grave oversight hundreds of experienced naturalists have been forced to abandon their previous conceptions and adopt the theories of Darwin. Surely the thoughtful reader must see the arrogance of Mr. Cook's demand.

And, in speaking of Darwin, why does Mr. Cook find it necessary to quote the erratic Carlyle's opinion, and not the opinions of professed naturalists like Professor Gray and others, whose names he so often appeals to, and who are certainly the best judges of Darwin's worth? Surely this one-sidedness seems to savor a little of injustice.

It will be observed that the Lectureship still persists that it quoted Huxley rightly in regard to that ancient skull containing the brains of a philosopher. (See Huxley's *Man's Place in Nature*, page 181, and compare.) It will be further observed that in spite of the years of research given to the remains of fossil vertebrates by Professor Huxley (and by Professor Marsh who agrees with him), the Lectureship still insists that Professor Dana and Professor Verrill are equally well or better acquainted with the fossils in

question, though neither of these naturalists, if appealed to, would claim any such equality or superiority.

Of course, in spite of the host of observers to the contrary—notably, in this country, the cautious Wyman,—the Lectureship will insist that the oldest human fossils exhibit no approach to the ape tribe. I would still patiently inquire for the page and volume of Haeckel wherein he says that no so-called good species has ever been transmuted into another. Does the Lectureship still persist in asserting that Haeckel says that for the commencement of life we need a supernatural act? (See the page to which he refers,—Haeckel, Vol. I., page 327; also, 331.) If I have alluded to other reports in one or two cases, rather than to the official reports of the *Advertiser*, I heartily regret it; though, from the lecture I heard Mr. Cook deliver, I find the other reports must be relied upon as to what he actually said, and not what he meant to say. Thus the Lectureship presented the monstrous aspect of appealing to Sir Charles Lyell as living, when poor Lyell had been in his grave for nearly two years! In the words of the ancient astronomer poet of Persia, I can say:—

"If I myself upon a looser creed
Have loosely strung the jewel of good deed,
Let this one thing for my atonement plead:
That one for two I never did misread."

EDWARD S. MORSE.

SALEM, November 11.

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY R. C.

The result of the election, as we write, is still undecided. South Carolina is given to Hayes, by a very small majority, by the Returning Board's summing up of the votes furnished by the County Managers. The meeting of the Board was held, we believe, in the presence of reporters, and we do not understand that any one doubts the fairness of the count, although several members of the Board were candidates for election to office. It is asserted, however, that the County Managers "cooked" their reports to the Board, and that the original returns of the Precinct or District Managers would show a different result. A recount of the returns of the Precinct Managers has been requested and perhaps may be had. Hampton is probably elected Governor, over Chamberlain, by a very small majority, and the remaining State officers appear to be divided between the two parties. Both parties yet claim Florida, and will continue to do so, doubtless, until the Returning Board declares the result, which it cannot yet do, however, owing to bad means of communication with distant portions of the State. What is true of Florida is true also of Louisiana, with the important modification, however, that few persons of either party appear to have any confidence in the honesty of this State's Returning Board. A Louisiana election has for years been a farcical affair at best, and it is extremely unfortunate that upon this State the result of the election would seem to depend. In fact, there is a great deal—with regard to the election, and, especially, the events of the past two weeks—to justify the language of the *Nation* in the following passage: "Considering the character of the voters and the leaders in South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, we would ask whether a community like the North has often before, or ever before, stood in a more humiliating position than that in which we stood from last Wednesday week to Wednesday, waiting for the delectable politicians of those States to tell us who our next President should be, and listening to the boastings, and lies, and mutual accusations of fraud and pillage, which they kept sending over the wires to soothe or rouse us? There are lower depths than this, but not many."

To those who may believe the above language a little too trenchant, notwithstanding the aggravating character of the circumstances, we commend this passage from the same article, as, on the whole, the best summing up of the present situation we have anywhere met with: "The duty of all good citizens now, however, both North and South, is to give that highest proof of political capacity, which consists in ability to bear patiently the errors of administrators and the omissions of legislators, and to remember that the success of this government and the happiness and prosperity of the people do not depend on any one election or any one President. If the next President does not obtain his place in a satisfactory and fair manner, do not let us get in a passion over it. Such things will happen now and again under all political systems, and the value of frequent elections lies in the fact that each supplies a remedy for the faults or misfortunes of the preceding one. The worst that will happen, if there is any cheating now, and the worst that ought to happen, is that the party guilty of conniving at it or profiting by it will have disappeared before 1880 under a load of infamy; but it is the business of the voters to see that the government suffers thereby no loss of credit or repute, and the country no loss of confidence in its ability to meet all emergencies whether of war or peace."

The Episcopal Congress, to which we referred last week, was on the whole a very successful affair, and compares favorably with similar conventions of other religious denominations. There was no appearance of heresy in the Congress, all speakers accepting apparently the assumption of the presiding Bishop that there is "a changeless faith" "once delivered to the saints," and that the Episcopalians are in full possession of the precious article. But little attempt was made to define this faith however, and the claim was made that the denomination is the true home of freedom of thought, being freer even, as one speaker

asserted, than the Unitarian sect. Some of the discussions on practical subjects—those, for instance, on "The Cause and Cure of Drunkenness," and "The Relations of Secular and Religious Educations"—were better, in some respects, especially in breadth of scope and in the absence of intolerance and bigotry, than anything of a like character from a religious body for a long time.

The "Sunday-Observance" Convention, held in Boston last week, under the auspices of the Free Religious Association, did not succeed in adding much that was new to the discussion of the proposed question. In fact, the "Sunday question" is hardly a live subject any longer, and only needs overhauling occasionally in connection with some display of traditional sentiment like that exhibited recently in the matter of the International Fair. Outside of New England and a few of the Eastern States, the old Puritan "Sabbath" is only known here and there in spots; and even in New England it is very much modified. In many parts of Massachusetts, Sunday afternoon games of croquet or coastings down hill by boys go on merrily, with none to molest or make afraid; and in some of our large cities the naturalized and native citizens go regularly to church in the morning, to a lager-beer garden in the afternoon, and to a theatre in the evening. Legal restrictions with reference to the observance of the day are everywhere more nominal than real. Occasionally an arrest is made for card-playing on Sunday, or a man is fined for engaging publicly in some kind of labor; but as a rule, and so long as one does not interfere with his neighbors, he is at liberty, so far as legal restraints are concerned, to spend Sunday pretty much as he may deem fit. The laws which forbid a man, or any body of men, to compel others to engage in any business on Sunday are likely to remain, and during our present civilization should always remain, upon our statute books. Social and religious restraints with regard to the observance of Sunday are without doubt, at present, far more potent and unsatisfactory than those of a legal nature, and afford a good field for philanthropic work. About the most decided occasion for complaint mentioned at the Convention was that introduced by a Jewish rabbi, who stated that the Boston School Commissioners compel the attendance of children at school on Saturday mornings at the same time that Jewish custom requires the attendance of the same children at the synagogue. We believe that our School Commissioners in keeping up this custom are obeying a very stupid precedent, and would do well to follow the custom of full Saturday holidays in vogue elsewhere throughout the country; but we also believe that the Jews who insist upon synagogue attendance on Saturday instead of Sunday are following an equally stupid superstition, and would do well to conform to the customs of the country to which they belong. Admitting the possibility of a divine injunction to observe one day in seven, the dispute with regard to the name or number of the day rests upon absurd verbal quibbling, or if aside from verbal quibbling (and we believe there are some pretended arguments of another character), is altogether too ridiculous for serious discussion.

In the Beecher-Moulton controversy Judge Westbrook, upon petition of Mr. Beecher, having granted a change of venue and removed the case to Delaware County for trial, Mr. Moulton immediately "threw up the sponge," declaring that he could afford neither the time nor money necessary to follow Beecher into the wilderness. And this is the end, in all probability, of legal controversy in the notorious affair of Beecher and Tilton. Beecher does not go to jail for adultery, but is received into the bosom of his denomination as a "beloved and honored brother," and his church is so crowded on Sundays that regular attendants are requested to stay at home for a while in order to give strangers a chance; while Tilton does not go to jail for levying blackmail, but goes about the country making money by lecturing on the "Problem of Human Life." Ah, well! let us all be happy, if possible, wish "grace, mercy, and peace" for all performers in the disgusting farce, and leave a few cynics only to murmur phrases about decency and honor.

Harper's for December publishes, at the desire of the author, a letter of Mr. Gladstone, written on the 28th of November, 1872, and addressed to General Schenck, at that time Minister of the United States in London. Mr. Gladstone's purpose in writing the letter was to show that he had never deviated "from the path of a sincere good-will toward the entire people of America," notwithstanding the fact that in the volume entitled *the Case of the United States, to be laid before the Tribunal of Arbitration at Geneva*, a portion of the second chapter is devoted to the exhibition of "proof of the unfriendly feeling of members of the British Cabinet and Parliament," and that this portion contains extracts, apparently of a very unfriendly character, from his own speeches. These extracts are, in substance, as follows: "On the 7th of October, 1862, Mr. Gladstone declared 'that the leaders of the South had made a nation'; and 'that the separation of the Southern States was as certain as any event yet future and contingent could be'; and on the 30th of June, 1863, he declared 'that the cessation of the war was to be desired, inasmuch as to warrant its continuance, it must have an object attainable, as well as otherwise just and adequate'; that in his opinion, and, as he believed, in the general opinion, 'the re-incorporation of the Southern States was not an attainable object'; and that 'it was a fatal error, even for sincere and philanthropic men, to pursue the emancipation of the negro race through the bloodshed of the war.' Mr. Gladstone does not deny the essential correctness of the above

quotations, and confesses that he was wrong, that he took too much upon himself in expressing the above opinions, admitting that he "probably like many Europeans, did not understand the nature and working of the American Union." But he endeavors to prove, by extracts from other speeches and even from the same speeches from which these quotations were taken, that these opinions were not at that time inconsistent with a friendly feeling, which he often expressed, toward the United States, and that his "sympathies were then where they had long before been, where they are now,—with the whole American people." At one time, without doubt, it would have been impossible for us to believe that one who entertained the opinions admitted by Mr. Gladstone could at the same time have been friendly in his feelings toward our nation; but we have learned some things during the years following our war, and can accept Mr. Gladstone's explanation of his position in the same candid spirit in which it is evidently offered.

War in Europe is still imminent, and may break out at any moment. Lord Beaconsfield (Disraeli) and the Czar have made speeches of a somewhat warlike character, the former explaining England's position with reference to the Turco-Servian struggle, and the latter referring to the duty of Russians to look after the welfare of their fellow-Christians in Turkey. England's proposition for a conference of the powers at Constantinople has been accepted by all but Turkey, although as we write a report comes that Turkey has finally concluded to be represented. Russia appears to be making extensive preparations for war, and there is but little hope throughout Europe that the Conference will be enabled to preserve peace. Turkey is surely in a most humiliating position. After successfully conquering rebellious subjects, she finds herself required not only to give them all they were fighting for, but to change her methods of administration and initiate various reforms in different provinces, and these requirements are demanded by the foreign nation which openly assisted her rebellious subjects. No doubt she would like to refuse, and would have many good reasons for doing so; but the penalty of refusal would be a terrible war for which she is certainly very poorly prepared.

Communications.

MAKE CITIZENS OF THE INDIANS.

LONG LAKE, Minn., Oct. 15, 1876.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT:

My dear Sir,—How I wish I had the capital and time to aid you in your work! You have my most earnest sympathy. I wish you could say more on the Indian question. The outrages that are continually perpetrated are horrifying. All the Indians want is protection by the laws, and to be treated like men, not like babes. They want no reservations, but to be let alone and protected in whatever pursuits they see fit to follow like any man, and, if anything farther, to be assisted to develop, grow, and be like other men. The great pretension of fighting them is all a sham. There is no idea of killing them. All that the speculators are after is to huddle them on to a reservation where they can make money out of them, and in the meantime there must be the semblance of an Indian war to enable interested parties to amass large fortunes. All the Western towns and settlements are interested in encouraging the trick, because it makes business lively and trade more prosperous. Enough money has been spent this summer under the pretence of fighting than to have built them each a house, and established them comfortably in life wherever they would like to settle and make a permanent home, as they would all like to do. They know too well the result of being forced upon a reservation to be manipulated by priests and the Indian ring.

On this point it seems to me that your own observation would bring conviction. Take any of our foreign-born emigrants, and settle them in a mass by themselves. They would keep up their old habits and customs, and it would be an age before they would take a step in advance. But scatter them about among the Americans, and they become Americans very soon. The same would be the result with the Indians, and much sooner than with foreigners, as they are more free from inveterate prejudices. I cannot be reconciled to the present condition of things, when I remember that many years ago I was among them, and was treated with such consideration and kindness. These people are worth saving; they would be a great benefit to us and we should be to them. Five hundred of their own men would be worth all the soldiers we could put in the country as a guard to protect all in their rights as men. I wish some reasonable man could tell me what excuse we can give for filling the country with soldiers this summer. Did they declare war or commit any depredations first? Not at all. The first the Indians knew, they were attacked. The result we all know. Our soldiers were defeated. The Indians were aroused, and justly, too. The next step is to send out a lot of priests, or churchmen, to accomplish what the soldiers could not; namely, to persuade them to go on to some reservation, and there to be robbed of their substance, both in mind and body.

I wish I could have an hour's talk with you; I think I could put this subject in a light that would interest you, and induce you to make THE INDEX speak a word in behalf of a race we are continually acting so unjustly towards. If you are induced to do so, pray do not advocate placing them under the control of the military. Such a course is a perfect insult to their manhood. Much more reasonable would it be to place the soldiers under the control of the In-

dians. Give the Indians the authority to call on the military to protect them in their rights, if the civil authorities are not powerful enough to do so, and the Indian problem is solved. I do not mean that they should be the acknowledged owners of a large extent of undeveloped country. The proper right of ownership is in actual possession by occupancy and development. The Indian has no such right; he never has done a thing towards developing the country which we are so fond of calling his. But the Indian is a human being, possessed of the same reasoning faculties, and sense of right and wrong that we have, and as such he is entitled to our consideration and assistance. He wants none of our religion; he has a religion as well suited to his capacity as any we can give him; but he wants to be taught how to sustain himself and family, when his old pursuits have become impossible. The Indians would make good mechanics, and would readily be taught; if they were settled among the whites, they would learn to do almost anything that we do. As an evidence of this I gave you several cases in point in one of my former letters. In view of this fact alone, how perfectly absurd is the idea of forcing them upon reservations! The most outrageous of all is to attempt to move them into the Indian Territory. I have no patience with Bishop Whipple in his attempts to bring this about. I must say that of all men, I regard him as the least qualified to have anything to do with the Indians. He has not a single rational or practical idea in regard to them, but he has influence with the government. If it were not for the faith I have in the good sense of the Indians themselves, I should feel that his efforts would lead to their entire annihilation in a very short time.

But enough. I did not intend to write so much, but the subject is one of interest to me, and almost unconsciously I have written what I have. As it is written, I let it go on a mission, I hope, for good.

Yours very truly, B. M. SMITH.

[We are very glad to hear from Mr. Smith on this subject, about which he knows a great deal more than we do. So far as theory goes, we are predisposed to sympathize with his conception of the right method to deal with the Indian problem; but it is preeminently a question to be settled in the light of experience. The great success of the Canadian policy towards the Indians is conceded, we believe, on all hands; cannot Mr. Smith give us some exact information concerning it? Are the Indians treated as citizens in Canada, with all the rights of citizens? If so, what is the result? The miserable failure of our own Indian policy is evident enough; what is the real secret of the lasting peace between Indians and whites across the border? If there the Indians become civilized and industrious, it certainly seems reasonable to expect the same results here from a similar policy towards them.—ED.]

A COLORED CAMP-MEETING.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Now that the noise of the battle is over, and the voices of the fiery orators in the Presidential campaign are no longer heard, it may not be out of the way to give you some account of the camp-meeting lately held by people of color in this neighborhood. THE INDEX, standing as it does at the head of the religious movement of our age, must not be quite devoid of sympathy with the longings of a faith which sprung from social conditions of more barbarous times.

A grove of tall trees, with the underbrush removed and the ground made smooth, was equally convenient for the participants in the meeting and the occupants of the stands for meats and drinks. Platforms raised on posts and covered with earth served as foundation for fires which gave light.

An interesting feature of the meeting was the peculiarity of the music. The "Chorus," who were placed on a platform a little higher than that occupied by the other performers, began by singing a verse as, "De Lawd will provide, yes, de Lawd will provide"; then the music was taken up by those placed below, and the intermingling and alternation, to some extent, of the leader's voice and portions of the song with those of the chorus of singers below had a not unpleasant effect. The burden of the refrain was, "Yes, de Lawd will provide, yes, de Lawd will provide; if ye put yo' truse in Jesus, de Lawd he will provide." When a new verse was introduced, such for instance as—"Ole Abraham he camed it dat de Lawd would provide," the same refrain came in after it, and also after every one of its three repetitions. Thus the spiritual steam was maintained at normal pitch with little expense of material. This perpetual repetition seemed to be enjoyed by those engaged in it; and one of the performers especially, a bright-looking colored Thalia, appeared from her movements at times to feel the elevating elasticity which accompanied the song. The general tenor of the theology may be judged of from the following specimen: A lady preacher, in the progress of her discourse one evening, quoted a hymn full of spiritual or spiritistic fire and cheerful poetical inspiration, the same that once appeared in THE INDEX, and which is as follows:—

My thoughts on awful subjects roll—
Damnation and the dead;
What horrors seize the guilty soul
Upon a dying bed!

Lingering about these mortal shores,
She makes a long delay,
Till like a flood with rapid force,
Death sweeps the wretch away.

Then swift and dreadful she descends
Down to the fiery coast,
Amongst abominable fiends,
Herself a frightened ghost.

There endless crowds of sinners lie,
And darkness makes their chains;
Tortured with keen despair they cry,
Yet wait for fiercer pains.

Not all their anguish nor their blood,
For their old guilt atones;
Nor the compassion of a God
Shall hearken to their groans.

Amazing grace, that kept my breath,
Nor bade my soul remove,
Till I had learned my Savior's death,
And well insured his love.

It came from the handsome ebony black face whose gloss was rendered the more striking by the contrast of white teeth, with as good a grace as it could have come from any other quarter, whether in keeping or not with its poetical shading or its "dim religious light." Possibly some consolation might have been afforded to some stricken soul or over-tender conscience, if she had recited another African hymn or piece of Scripture of at least equal authority, which is as follows:—

John de Gladd'n kill de debb'l,
Ho Billy Roe.
How did he kill de debb'l?
Ho Billy Roe.
John de Gladd'n shoot de debb'l,
Ho Billy Roe.
How did he shoot de debb'l?
Ho Billy Roe.
Good ball and silvah rifle,
Ho Billy Roe.
Whar did he shoot de debb'l?
Ho Billy Roe.
Shoot de debb'l on de lebb'l,
Ho Billy Roe, etc.

The taking up of contributions was regarded as an important part of the proceedings, and one of the speakers commented with some feeling upon the conduct of two young men, one of whom he said had put into the contribution-box a piece of wax, and the other a button; and he avowed his intention of leaving them "in de hands ob de Lawd who might do what he had a mind to wid dem."

On one occasion a beautiful example of what is called "expository preaching" was given by one of the speakers. It was as follows: "Dah was a man in ole Judee by de name o' Legion. Some folks says dat wasn't his name. But it was, and he had a wife and chil'n; and he had great many debb'ls in him, and he use a spen his time wan'rin roun monst te grave-stones 'n jumplin ober de creeks an ober de fences, and he was asides himself. Well, de Lawd come long one day, cas' all dem debb'ls out, an sho enough dey all went int de swine. Dem dis Legion he stait for home, de chil'n playin in de street dey see him comin an dey begin to holla, 'O, momma, momma, pap's a comin, he's comin right dis way; we see him runnin ober de fields, an jumplin ober de creeks an ober de fences. Peg down de windahs an bolt all de does!' Putty soon dis Legion come his self, knock at de front doe. 'My deah companion, please let me in. I is'n't asides myself no mo'. Some dese ladies heah laugh, make game dis camp-meetin, but I tell yo de troof; some dese ladies hab mo' debb'ls in 'm 'n eber dat Missa Legion hab. Well, dar was a good many debb'ls; dar was a thousand swine, and ebery swine had a debb'l.'"

C. C.

NORTHUMBERLAND, Pa., Nov. 10, 1876.

"THE BIBLE THE SECURITY OF AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS."

EDITOR INDEX:—

The above is the title of one of a package of Republican campaign documents received by me a few days ago. It is "A Sermon Preached in the First Congregational Church, Washington, D. C., January 16, 1876, by the pastor, J. E. Rankin, D. D." The title is a key to its contents. It is a carefully prepared, thoroughly Orthodox sermon, contending that, if the Bible makes "high-minded men" and "safe citizens," "then the highest of all laws, the law of self-preservation, makes it incumbent on the State,—makes it not only the right but the duty of the State, not only not to permit the Bible to be crowded out of the place it has occupied in the fundamental instruction of American children, but even to make it the corner-stone of their education; to begin with it, to end with it, to make it a text-book in all our schools."

That is sufficient to make its intent and animus plain to the readers of THE INDEX. I am not surprised to meet with such views held and ably expressed in plausible guise. It is the old story adapted to a new historical epoch. The Sanhedrim rejected Christ because he was charged with setting aside the teachings of Moses, the hope of the Jewish race. The Pope, with views as broad as those of Rankin, fulminated his bulls against the heads of the States who withdrew from the religious surveillance of civil affairs. Martin Luther contended, like the free religionists of the present day, for the free reading of the Scriptures, and against the dictation of the priesthood as to their interpretation. The advocates of God in the Constitution, and the Bible in our schools, walk in the footsteps of illustrious predecessors, and they profit but little by the teachings of ages. They are a power in the land.

I am surprised to find this Bible sermon among political pamphlets forwarded from the head-quarters (in all probability) of a great national party. It appears as a disagreeable precursor of a coming storm. The union of the Protestant clergy with our civil rulers, as foreshadowed by recent events, seems to be cropping out. Religious liberty will be more or less a dead letter on the statute books, as the earnest efforts of free religionists may compel through positive, open, and decided action! We are surely in

need of "high-minded" men, knowing their rights and daring to maintain them, to counteract the growing strength of the American Protestant Alliance.

EMERSON BENTLEY.

MORGAN CITY, La., Oct. 19, 1876.

POLITICAL PARTIES AND VOTING.

There will be always two or more parties who oppose each other; we have, therefore, to vote with the one which comes the nearest to our convictions, in order to carry out the principles of a Republic as well as the average capacity and honesty of officials and the people permit. We have to accept the best conditions which exist at the present time.

If I could not find better political or religious parties than as they are represented by Emperor Wilhelm and the Pope, I would vote for Wilhelm; I would vote even for the Pope as against a worse candidate. Who will deny that the United States is the freest nation existing, and the Republican party the best political organization known? We hope that the beautiful principles of the Liberal League and perfect secularization of Church and State will be carried out by that national party, just as well as the abolishing of slavery was.

I do agree with our good friends F. E. Abbot and F. A. Angell, that the secularizing of the State is very important; but who has to accomplish this secularization? Is it not one or the other ruling party? I therefore think that a "protest ballot" is a vote thrown away, and not voting at all is a neglect of a citizen's duty. Did those abolitionists who did not vote abolish slavery?

If Gov. Hayes is in favor of this anti-Republican faction, the American Alliance, it shows a pitifully perverted condition of his mind. Send him an honorary membership of the Liberal League and the "Demands of Liberalism," which ought to convince him of the folly which that deluded institution advocates; but the majority of the Republican party are against it, and, therefore, it will vanish like Know-Nothingism. THE INDEX is certainly the best pioneer for a truly free press, and if hundreds of such papers were established and each one had a large circulation, we should come nearer to the principles of a true Republic. But until then, let us work in the best way with the material we have for the ballot-box.

CARL H. HORSCH.

DOVER, N. H., Nov. 12, 1876.

A TRIBUTE TO MR. RANNEY.

SALAMANCA, N. Y., Nov. 4, 1876.

EDITOR INDEX:—

May I say a word in relation to the death of our devoted brother, R. H. Ranney? All who knew him will endorse what you say,—that his loss is "absolutely irreparable." For where is the man to fill his place? What our cause needs is only one such man in each State to accelerate greatly its movement. One such in each large town would give us victory in a short period of time. But it will be a long time, I fear, before we shall have them.

He not only professed, but he worked. And with him his liberal work was not a secondary matter, but the principal thing. He gave the cause everything, and I should not be surprised to learn that overwork in that direction shortened his days. It was but a few weeks while I was in Boston, working for THE INDEX, that I was permitted to be personally acquainted with him; but I shall never forget that very pleasant acquaintance, and with what energy and zeal he assisted me, and labored wherever he found liberal work to do. May his example be a lesson for us all, and stimulate us to go forward in the work he loved so well.

May I convey through THE INDEX a word of sympathy to his bereaved family? H. L. GREEN.

PROSELYTISM IN HOSPITALS.

Religious bigotry is detestable at any time and in any place; but exhibited in institutions founded for the relief of bodily suffering, and towards their inmates, who occupy one common ground as candidates for skilled attendance on their physical ailments, it is especially odious. Proselytism among the sick in hospitals is open to more than one objection; it contemplates making converts of people who, having their mental faculties more or less affected by bodily disease, are incapable of fully appreciating the nice distinctions of different forms of belief; and it is calculated to introduce an element of discord among the professional staff and other officials of an institution established for a purely secular, though benevolent purpose. It would seem that in one or more of the Paris hospitals religious zeal is being pushed to an inconvenient and objectionable extent. Dr. Despres states that in one hospital sick people have implored him to protect them from the interference and menaces of the nuns and missionaries. Patients are secretly drenched with Lourdes water. Succulent dainties are lavished on those yielding to clerical exhortations, whilst those of firmer temper are stinted and neglected. A shocking case of this kind has come to his knowledge. At the Val de Grâce Hospital, a student, generously answering to the surgeon's appeal in behalf of a soldier dying of hemorrhage, bared his arm and let his blood be transfused into the patient's vein. After the operation he, feeling weak, asked for a glass of wine of the nun in charge. She refused because he had confessed himself a deist. In going home through the chill morning air, the student caught a severe cold. Inflammation of the lungs supervened, and he is now in a rapid consumption.—London Lancet, Sept. 30.

IT IS SAID that the pig will not eat tobacco. It is singular, however, that those who hold up the pigs as models to us never hold us up as models to the pigs.—C. D. Warner.

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Prof. MAX MÜLLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America—that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of our country,—is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large." And later still "I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest."

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ARTICLE V.—... All charter-members and life-members of the National Liberal League, and all duly accredited delegates from local auxiliary Liberal Leagues organized in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution, shall be entitled to seats and votes in the Annual Congress. Annual members of the National Liberal League shall be entitled to seats, but not to votes, in the Annual Congress.

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THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental ideas on which it is built.

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SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

THE BAPTIST minister gave this advice to would-be orators at the camp-meeting: "Get yourself chuck-full of your subject, knock out the bung, and let nature caper!"

IT IS STATED that "the Centennial Commission invited Lucretia Mott to ride through the Centennial Grounds in her private carriage,—an honor which was granted to no other American man or woman."

AT THE Massachusetts State Prison, there are Catholic as well as Protestant religious services for the prisoners. Rev. Mr. Spears, the Protestant chaplain, in his just published report, attacks the Catholic services as "sectarian." What, pray, does he consider his own?

GENERAL JOSEPH R. HAWLEY now discovers that hypocritically shutting the gates of the International Exhibition on Sundays to all but favored dead-heads was a bad speculation, after all, for he has been defeated for Congress. The public are nauseated with puritanism for political effect.

THE REPORT of the Sunday Observance Convention, commenced this week, will be found full of interest as a complete treatment of the Sunday question in its chief aspects,—scriptural, historical, legal, and practical. Of course, very much remains to be said; but these essays will be found to be abundantly worth the reading.

A JEWISH subscriber in New York city writes: "I am pleased to report to you that the Sunday lectures of Professor Felix Adler, at Standard Hall, in this city, prove so far very successful. His audience is already too large for the commodious Hall, and we are looking around for a larger place. Among his hearers I notice several of the most eminent professional men in this city."

REQUESTS FOR PRAYERS for the "conversion of eight moral young men" were made on a single occasion at one of the Moody meetings in Chicago. Converted to what? Immorality? That would be the natural inference, but it would be a mistake, unsophisticated reader! The revivalists want to make "Christians"; and not only intelligence, but also morality, it seems, are unfavorable to Christianity.

A NEW SCHEME is on foot, if the following sensational statement is correct: "Father Beckx, General of the Society of Jesus, has a plan for the purchase of Palestine from Turkey, with a view to make Jerusalem the Rome of the future. Negotiations are being carried on with great vigor between the Vatican and the Porte through the Patriarch Haseoun.

Jaffa will be made a first-class harbor, and a railroad will be constructed from Jerusalem to Bethlehem."

MRS. IRVINE HOUSE, the acquitted murderess who shot her husband in New Jersey, is the latest addition to the "Christian party in politics." She intends to lecture, it seems, and expounds her platform as follows: "I shall never rest until I have divorce abolished for every cause all over the United States. I shall never rest until I have the laws relating to schools so changed that Christianity, from infancy, shall be instilled as thoroughly as the alphabet, accompanying every study, and fit my charges so that sin cannot get hold on their minds or lives. The world will learn that, although I have read medicine, and might become a practising physician, and make a living by curing, yet I believe in prevention more than cure later applied, in that as well as all other branches of practice. I have got my mind firmly made up that all the faults and sins and evils of life can be entirely overcome,—eradicated by commencing with consistent correction and Christian instruction with the infant mind within the very first years of life."

THE BISHOP of Northern Texas, judging by his remarks at the late Church Congress in Boston, must have had a severe experience: "In the course of his address the bishop illustrated the need of varying the methods of preaching by asking what was to be done when, in such a place as Texas, you met a man with his belt stuck full of pistols and carrying a Winchester rifle, who stops you and asks, 'What kind of a man are you?' and on being told that you are a preacher asks you if you ever preached from the text, 'Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned. And these signs shall follow them that believe. In my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them.' You say yes, you have undoubtedly done such a thing. The man asks if you believe it, and you answer that you would not preach it if you did not believe it, whereupon he says he wants to test a few of your pet converts with arsenic. The bishop dryly remarked that, under such circumstances, there was great need of elastic power in the adaptation of the service to the wants of the people."

HIS LECTURESHIP, the Reverend Joseph Cook, at Tremont Temple, November 20, thus delivered his elephantine soul with reference to the Sunday Observance Convention: "We have had in the last week, in Boston, a somewhat obscure and erratic convention, advising America to do better than she has done in following the New England ideas concerning Sunday. Give America, from sea to sea, the Parisian Sunday, and in two hundred years all our greatest cities will be politically under the heels of the featherheads, the roughs, the sneaks, and the money-grapes. [Applause.] What elephantine taste His Lectureship displays, when writing the reports of his own lectures for the *Advertiser*, in scrupulously noting the "[Applause]" after all the particularly elephantine passages! And what elephantine gentleness, after receiving a polite invitation from the Free Religious Association to present his own views of Sunday observance on their platform, to trumpet shrilly his defiance and crush them in this excruciating way as "an obscure and somewhat erratic convention"! This elephant is getting altogether too big for anybody but Barnum to manage. In tendering their next courtesy to His Lectureship, the Free Religious Association will find themselves in the predicament of the Irish girl who was sent to offer a cake to old Romeo, and returned to inquire, with a defeated and bewildered air: "Plaze, sir, which end of the two-tailed baste shall I give it to?"

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE,
 AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

Sunday Observance.

REPORT OF THE CONVENTION

OF

THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION,

HELD AT BEETHOVEN HALL, BOSTON, NOVEMBER 15, 1876.

Colonel T. W. Higginson called the Convention to order at half-past ten o'clock, and spoke as follows:—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The hour announced for this meeting having arrived, I am deputed to call it to order. I had but little personal concern with the arrangements for the meeting, but in the absence of the President of the Free Religious Association, I, as one of the humblest among the Vice-Presidents, have been asked to occupy his place during this session. It has been the custom of this Association to hold an autumnal Convention of some form somewhere, every year, and this year it was suggested, in view of the interest that has risen in regard to the proper use of Sunday in different quarters, that the Convention should be held here, and that the subject for discussion should be that particular point. The call for the Convention I will read, and it is as follows:—

A PUBLIC CONVENTION!

HOW SHALL WE KEEP SUNDAY?

A public meeting on the Sunday Observance Question is to be held in Boston, under the auspices of the Free Religious Association, in BEETHOVEN HALL, Washington Street (opposite the Globe Theatre), on WEDNESDAY, the 15th instant, with sessions at half-past ten A. M. and at three and half-past seven P. M.

At the morning session there will be essays by C. K. WHIPPLE on "The Scripture Evidence in regard to the Obligation of Sabbath Observance," and by Rev. M. J. SAVAGE on "The Historical Growth of the Sunday Institution in Christendom."

Afternoon session—Essay by CHAS. E. PRATT, Esq., on "The Lord's Day in Massachusetts"—a legal view of the subject. Evening session—Essay by WM. C. GANNETT on "The Working-men's Sunday"—a view of the Educational and Philanthropic uses of the day.

Addresses will follow the essays. Among the speakers expected to be present are T. W. Higginson, Rabbi Lasker, Mrs. E. D. Cheney, F. E. ABBOT, Rev. Dr. Bartol, W. J. Potter, and others to be announced. Distinguished representatives of the Orthodox, Protestant, and the Catholic churches have been invited to speak, and some of them, it is hoped, will do so. The action of the Centennial Commissioners, in keeping the Philadelphia Exhibition closed on Sundays (except to a select few), has awakened new interest in the question of the meaning and uses of the day; and a cordial invitation is extended to the public, of whatsoever shade of faith, to attend this Convention.

WM. J. POTTER,

Secretary F. R. A.

This meeting is, therefore (continued Mr. Higginson), a perfectly free one for the discussion of the Sunday question, without reference to any special propagandism or any definite action, but simply for the purpose, as the meetings of the Free Religious Association always are, of a free comparison of views. By the Constitution of the Free Religious Association, everybody who is willing to cooperate in the objects of the Association is free to speak in its meetings for debate; and, as the mere desire to speak may be regarded as a cooperation in the purposes of the Association, the Chair will be obliged to rule that it is a perfectly free meeting, and that any person present has the right to speak, when speaking is in order, under the usual limits of parliamentary order as to subject, and under the usual limits of human patience as to the amount of time taken up by each one.

The subject will be presented from a variety of points of view, theological, legal, and practical, as is necessary, and the debate, I suppose, will cover an equally wide ground. There is always an interest in a community in regard to the Sunday observance question. It begins in the family, from the time when the question arises whether the small children are to have out their dolls or not on Sunday; and when the older children, more mature, who have their individual doll which they like to play with, find the community in various ways restricting the use of these dolls on Sunday, the debate naturally continues, so that there is always a chronic discussion going on in this and every community in regard to the use of Sunday. This has lately been brought especially before the community, through the excitement prevailing in Philadelphia at the time when the question of opening the Exhibition there on Sunday was up for discussion. It seemed to develop unexpected aspects and attitudes in the community there. The proposal to open on Sunday brought allies from unexpected quarters, and was objected to in the very quarters where a cordial assent had been expected. The result of it was, as you all know, that it was decided that the safety of the souls of the community required that the Exhibition should be closed; except that there was on each Sunday found about four or five thousand people in Philadelphia whose souls were in less danger than the souls of others, and they were allowed to go in. This was substantially the same solution that has been arrived at in other places. I remember in England, a few years ago, being in London over Sunday, a friend sent me a private card of admission to the Zoological Gardens. I went there accordingly with a small party, expecting to have the monkeys and wild beasts all to myself, but found to my amazement that half the population of London seemed to have private invitations that day, and I was told that that was, on the whole, the fullest day in the Zoological Gardens. I looked around upon the well-dressed crowd thronging in all directions. There was nothing to show why they should be there, while the world outside was rudely excluded. So far as I could judge, there was nothing to show the ringed-tailed baboon whether the man who poked his umbrella at him had paid for his

admission, or came in with a card from the management of the exhibition; and I suppose it was equally puzzling to all the Japanese and Chinese at Philadelphia. It was equally impossible for them to recognize the carded or the charged. But when any institution is in a transition state, thus perplexing and complicated are the phases that it exhibits. I remember hearing of a young lady once, who experienced religion, and made up her mind that it was her duty not to go to balls any longer. So, as she explained to a friend, she made a collection of all the works of vanity she had—all her ornaments, and all her faces, and all her fine clothes; and, collecting them all in one vast heap of renunciation, she thought she never should have anything to do with them, and gave them to her younger sister. [Laughter.] On the same principle, I remember once that in New York State I came upon an old law providing that whereas, during certain months of the year, oysters were not healthy—the months without the *r* in *I*, I suppose,—all oysters offered for sale in the market should be confiscated and given to the poor. [Laughter.] Thus do we solve these perplexing problems in our institutions; we confiscate the Exhibition in Philadelphia, and give it to the rich.

In all cases, I suppose, there is a desire on the part of the mass of considerate minds to find some rational intermediate ground which shall be neither the extreme of conformity nor quite the extreme of antagonism. We all admit that the Puritan Sabbath has gone forever. Nobody proposes, so far as I know, to restore it in strictness. On the other hand, comparatively few, I think, of the most extreme innovators on the Sabbath question would like to see quite the introduction into America of the European Sunday. That is, the European Sunday, as it practically exists, does away so entirely, not merely with the day of worship, but with the day of rest, that I think it extremely doubtful whether the majority even of those who come here to discuss the question would vote for its entire introduction, as it stands. If you go to France and wish to travel on Sunday, for any reason, you naturally inquire for the Sunday time-table of the railways. You will find that there is no Sunday time-table. There is the time-table; that is all. All days of the week are the same; just the same trains run, just the same number of trains, just the same stoppages on Sunday as on the other days of the week; and, however desirable it might be to leave the railroads free by law to do that, if they wish, still I think it is very doubtful whether it is for the public interest that practically it should be done; that is, whether the sacrifice, on the part of so large a number of people, of their opportunity of Sunday rest, is counterbalanced by the advantage gained to the rest of the community by the opportunity of free Sunday travel. I state this only to show what, from my point of view, seem to me the limits of the question. I am not in the slightest degree, personally, in favor of the Puritan Sabbath, as it once existed, or even as it exists now in many quarters; and on the other hand, it must be that this community, in the gradual development of the institution, will find some intermediate point between that and the practical abolition of the day of rest which greets you everywhere in Europe. As far as the law of the matter is concerned, we are told by the best legal advisers that the legal provisions on the subject rest, not upon the theological origin of the day, but upon the assumed necessity of the day of rest, and upon the desirableness of conforming that day of rest to the day which the majority of the community have, for whatever reason, adopted as their day of religious worship also. I am perhaps more accustomed to the idea of liberality on this subject than many of those present, because I happen to live in the State which has gone the farthest, I suppose, of all our older States, in the concession of religious freedom on this subject. In Rhode Island, where I live, there are the usual Sunday laws, though less strict than in most States; still there are the usual laws in Rhode Island, with a special provision, however, that these laws shall not be construed as applying to the towns of Westerly and Hopkinton. The explanation is, that in Westerly, which is a large town, and in Hopkinton, which is a much smaller town, the population consists of Seventh-Day Baptists, and they, from the time of their organization as a sect, have kept Sunday; but they have kept it on the last day of the week instead of the first. The consequence is, if you go to Westerly on Saturday, you will find one-half the factories in action, one-half the stores open, one-half the people of the town doing their usual business; and, if you go the next day, you will find that half of the factories closed, that half of the shops shut up, that part of the people abstaining from business, and the other half in full operation. It is the only instance, so far as I know, of a town, in which the direct issue has been practically made, and in which one-half of the people keep one day as Sunday, and the other half keep the other. Yet still, you will observe that even there the question is not entirely disentangled from theological association, because it is a concession in this case to a difference of opinion about what is the Jewish Sabbath, and what is not. But, so far as it goes, it is a recognition that the laws of a community must be adapted to the conscientious principles of a community, and when any wider toleration than that will be secured, is one of the problems for consideration before this meeting.

I would repeat, ladies and gentlemen, the statement which I made at the beginning: that this meeting will be devoted to some extent to prepared essays, which of course take precedence over all other business, when their appointed time comes, and that the intervening time will be given to the discussion of these essays, and that that discussion is absolutely free. The Chair would cordially invite all who are interested in this matter to take part, and especially

all those who differ from the statements made in any of the essays, because it is always more interesting in a public meeting to hear the opinion of those who differ than of those who agree. But this does not merely rest upon the invitation extended by the Chair, but it is, as the Chair construes it, something guaranteed by the platform of the Association—a fact recognized whenever meetings of this sort, for open discussion, are to be held. The Chair will call attention, though perhaps it is hardly necessary, to the fact that an invitation so wide necessarily brings a perfect absence of all responsibility on the part of the Association for the individual opinions expressed. You cannot combine freedom of speech with responsibility on the part of the platform for the opinions that shall be stated, except the general restriction of decency and good order. Those who speak will speak individually, and it is not for me or anybody else to anticipate what they will speak. I heard the other day of a lady who boasted of her acquaintance with the language of parrots. She said she could always understand a parrot, if anybody would only tell her beforehand the words he was going to say. We can't give you any understanding of those who are to follow, here, but they will speak individually on their own responsibility. The first essay will be by Mr. Charles K. Whipple, of Boston, and will be read, by his request, by the Rev. William J. Potter, Secretary of the Association.

Mr. Potter said:—
I regret, Mr. Chairman and friends, that the author of this essay will not consent to read it himself; but, fearing that his voice might not fill the hall, he has asked me to do this service for him.

But at this point it may be perhaps of interest, if I read a letter I received last night from a gentleman who was invited to address this meeting, especially at the evening session. This was his reply.

[Mr. Potter here read a letter from Mr. Wendell Phillips.]

This then is the voice of the "veteran in the cause":—

SCRIPTURE EVIDENCE IN REGARD TO THE OBLIGATION OF SABBATICAL OBSERVANCE.

BY CHARLES K. WHIPPLE.

Of the theological assumptions made by professional teachers of the popular forms of Protestantism, many are found, on examination, to have no sufficient evidence; but the group of assumptions implied in one of the stock phrases of those teachers, namely, "The Christian Sabbath," is specially noteworthy as being contradicted by the very documents quoted by those teachers in support of it. The book appealed to by Sabbatarians as the "inspired, sufficient, and infallible rule of life for Christians," not only gives no warrant for their claim of the scriptural appointment of a Sunday Sabbath, but proves that claim to be fraudulent as well as unfounded, it being in direct opposition to both parts of the Bible. This will plainly appear from an unprejudiced examination of the book in question.

There is a well-known institution called the Jewish Sabbath. The Hebrew people hold themselves religiously bound to observe it; and the Hebrew Scriptures not only distinctly set forth the law requiring such observance, and accurately describe in what it consists, but give us also its origin and history.

If you ask a Jew why he observes the Sabbath, he will probably refer you to the fourth of the "Ten Commandments" formerly enjoined upon his nation by Moses, at Mount Sinai, and now recorded in the twentieth chapter of Exodus. It is as follows:—

"Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labor, and do all thy work; but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God. In it thou shalt not do any work; thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man-servant nor thy maid-servant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates; for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day; wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it."—Exodus xx., 8-11.

The word "remember," above used in regard to Sabbatical observance of the seventh day, indicates that the Hebrews had already some acquaintance with it; and, tracing back the narrative in Exodus, we find the institution of such observance recorded in the sixteenth chapter. In verse 23d of that chapter, speaking to the Hebrews "on the sixth day," Moses said to them, "To-morrow is the rest of the holy Sabbath unto the Lord."

On the morrow, the seventh day, Moses said, (speaking of the manna which they had previously gathered), "Eat that to-day; for to-day is a Sabbath unto the Lord; to-day ye shall not find it in the field; six days ye shall gather it; but on the seventh day, which is the Sabbath, in it there shall be none."

But the people, having evidently known nothing of Sabbath observance before, did not put perfect confidence in this statement; and the narrative proceeds:—

"And it came to pass that there went out some of the people on the seventh day for to gather, and they found none. And the Lord said unto Moses, How long refuse ye to keep my commandments and my laws? See, for that the Lord hath given you the Sabbath, therefore he giveth you on the sixth day the bread of two days. Abide ye every man in his place; let no man go out of his place on the seventh day. So the people rested on the seventh day."

Observe that the rest of the Sabbath was here expressly fixed for a definite day. On that day travel and one kind of labor were expressly forbidden. The Hebrews were not to gather manna, and were not to go out of their place on a certain fixed day, the seventh. And the record proceeds so say that they did rest on that day.

Now when, four chapters after (about one month after; compare Exodus xvi., 1-29, and xix., 1; xx., 8), the solemn command is given to these same people, "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy" (that is, to keep it separate from other days in the manner prescribed), is it not in the highest degree probable that the Sabbath here spoken of is the same that they had been observing for a month past? And does not this probability become certainty when it is immediately added,—"Six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work, but the seventh day is the Sabbath?"

The day is here proved to be not merely a seventh part of time, to be chosen by each according to his pleasure, but a particular day of the week, which the Hebrews were already getting accustomed to observe. That day they still observe; and the name of that day is Saturday, alike by their usage and ours. There is no more doubt that the "seventh day" of the fourth commandment Sabbath is Saturday than that "the first day of the week," spoken of in the New Testament, is Sunday.

The fourth commandment has a wider scope than the direction given a month earlier, and recorded in the sixteenth chapter. That one, the earlier, (addressed to the Hebrews and to them only, since no other nation depended on manna for food), forbade them to gather manna, and also to leave their appointed places on Saturday, the seventh day of the week. This one, the later, addressed to the same people, required them to "remember" that same Saturday-Sabbath, and to observe it by "not doing any work."

It would seem plain, even from the first aspect of the case, that the two injunctions for Sabbatical observance, one given to the Hebrew people while wandering in the wilderness, and the other to the same persons assembled before Mount Sinai, were appointed and intended for that people only. But there is positive additional evidence to that effect. In many of the Sabbatical commands subsequently recorded in the Old Testament Scriptures the limitation of them to the Hebrews is distinctly expressed, declaring Sabbath observance to have been given them as a mark of distinction between them and other nations. Here is some of the evidence:—

"And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak thou also unto the children of Israel, saying, Verily, my Sabbaths ye shall keep; for it is a sign between me and you throughout your generations."—Ex. xxxi., 12, 13.

"Wherefore the children of Israel shall keep the Sabbath, to observe the Sabbath throughout their generations, for a perpetual covenant. It is a sign between me and the children of Israel forever."—Ex. xxxi., 16, 17.

"And remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and that the Lord thy God brought thee out thence through a mighty hand and by a stretched-out arm: Therefore, the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath day."—Deut. v., 15.

"I gave them my Sabbaths to be a sign between me and them."—Ezek. xx., 12.

Thus it appears by the Old Testament Scriptures that the Sabbath was not only an important part, but a peculiar and distinctive part, of the Jewish system. Nobody supposes that the Philistines and Amalekites were required to observe the Sabbath. That observance was devised expressly as a mark of distinction between Jews and Gentiles. But the term Gentiles includes all who are not Jews; and thus Christians, unless Sabbatism is commanded in the Christian Scriptures, have no more to do with that observance than the Philistines or the Amalekites had. It was never intended for any but Jews, according to the Old Testament. To discover whether there is any such thing as a Christian Sabbath we must go to the Christian Scriptures, the New Testament.

Looking first at the NEGATIVE evidence supplied by the New Testament, we find that neither Jesus nor any apostle enjoins Sabbath-keeping. Not a single writer in the New Testament commands or recommends the observance either of Saturday or of any other day as a Sabbath. We find there no regulation for the observance of any day as peculiar or sacred, or as to be specially devoted to rest or worship. The Christian law being silent on this subject, the times of rest and worship are left free to be decided by Christians, and by all other Gentiles, for themselves. Those who wish to set aside a particular day for their own religious observance have an undoubted right to do so; but they have no right to impose such observance as a duty on other people, and no ground for declaring that God requires such observance.

The second item of negative evidence in the New Testament is that neither Jesus nor any apostle forbids Sabbath-breaking. There is need of making the statement in this form, since so many persons who call and think themselves "followers of Jesus" cry out against what they call "Sabbath-breaking." But in fact, it necessarily follows from the statement next before this—the fact that neither Jesus nor any apostle, nor any New Testament writer, enjoins Sabbath-keeping,—that in the Christian system there is no such thing as Sabbath-breaking. Where no Sabbath is commanded there is no Sabbath to be violated. Of course, then, to Christians, there is no such thing as Sabbath-breaking. If an Episcopal clergyman should stigmatize dissenters as Lent-breakers, or Christmas-breakers, he would be no more absurd than those who, claiming to be Christians, cry out against Sabbath-breaking. The Christian system, judged by the New Testament, gives no injunction respecting either Lent or Christmas, or a weekly Sabbath. The extra-Christian rules of particular sects or churches bind only the members of those bodies, and bind even them only while they choose to remain members.

It is proper to insist here upon the fact that extra-

Christian rules and customs exist in all the great sects, Catholic and Protestant. They all call themselves Christian, and all claim to adopt the New Testament as their authority in religion and their rule of life; but, as each sect differs from the others in its apprehension of the meaning and the relative importance of some parts of that book, and as each naturally emphasizes the particulars wherein it seems to itself to follow the acknowledged rule more closely than others, customs and regulations peculiar to itself are gradually formed in each, which, being supposed by its members illustrations of the eminent faithfulness of their own body, are assumed by them to be undoubtedly Christian. Their Church being, in their view, the best representative of Christianity, its rules are taken for granted to be Christian rules; and thus Mariolatry and penance are reckoned Christian by the Roman Catholic, observance of Lent and Christmas by the Episcopalian, and infant baptism and Sunday Sabbatism by the Presbyterian and the Orthodox Congregationalist, though not one of these observances finds any warrant in the New Testament. Nevertheless, if all the churches in the world should unite for that purpose, they could not manufacture a Christian duty beyond the warranty of that book.

Looking, now, at positive New Testament evidence in regard to Sabbatism, the attitude of Jesus towards it is the first thing to be considered. The ground taken by him upon this subject was such that he was stigmatized by devout Jews as a Sabbath-breaker. This man, they said, "cannot be of God, because he keepeth not the Sabbath day." He accepted an invitation to a feast on that day. He justified his disciples in travelling and laboring on that day. And, in the controversy which he had with the Pharisees on that occasion, while they were maintaining the binding force of their fourth commandment upon him and his disciples, and he was denying it, he unhesitatingly made the claim that he was "Lord of the Sabbath"; a phrase which, in that connection, could have no other meaning than that he was Lord of it to reject it; that he and his disciples were authorized to disregard their Sabbath, were freed from the obligation of their fourth commandment, and might decide (as he said in another place) "even of themselves," what they should do, or not do, on the seventh day of the week. Jesus also commanded, in one case, the bearing of a burden on the Sabbath day, in direct opposition, not only to the fourth commandment, but to the express and emphatic injunctions of the Hebrew prophets, Nehemiah and Jeremiah. And, when accused in regard to this last act, he not only defended himself, but denied the statement in Genesis (which they seem to have quoted to him as pertinent and authoritative), about God having "rested" after the work of creation. Jesus said plainly, "My Father worketh hitherto." He never needed rest, and never did rest.

The point of positive New Testament evidence next in importance on this subject is the teaching of "the Apostle to the Gentiles" in regard to it. Paul, born and educated a Jew, and taught from his youth to consider Sabbath observance as a duty, would of course have continued to teach and practice it under the new religion if such observance had formed a part of the new religion. It is a highly significant fact, considering Paul's antecedents, that no word of injunction to keep either the Sabbath or a Sabbath ever dropped from his lips after he became a Christian. But we are not left to this negative evidence. He plainly teaches, in strong, varied, and multiplied forms of expression, that Christian proselytes from Judaism are delivered from the Sabbatical obligation, as from all other distinctively Jewish obligations. Observance of days, to the Jew who became a Christian, was utterly abolished. To all such, as soon as they received the doctrine taught by Jesus, Paul proclaimed their entire freedom from all Sabbatical ordinances. Hear him:—

"And you, being dead in your sins, and the uncircumcision of your flesh, hath he quickened together with him, having forgiven you all trespasses; BLOT-
TING OUT THE HANDWRITING OF ORDINANCES that was against us, which was contrary to us, and took it out of the way, nailing it to his cross; LET NO MAN THEREFORE JUDGE YOU in meat or in drink, OR IN RESPECT OF A HOLY DAY, OR OF THE SABBATH DAYS; which are a shadow of things to come; but the BODY is of Christ."—Col. ii., 13-17.

There were at that time many Judaizing Christians, persons disposed to incorporate the old faith with the new, instead of turning decisively to the latter as preferable. To such, Paul speaks of their disposition to sabbatize as a suspicious circumstance; as showing a remainder of subjection to the obsolete ordinances ("beggarly elements" he calls them, Gal. iv., 9), of the Jewish system. To such he says, "Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years. I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labor in vain."—Gal. iv., 10, 11. Still, Paul claims for every man, under the Christian system, the right to make peculiar use of a special day, if he shall think it desirable. "One man esteemeth one day above another; another esteemeth every day alike; let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind." Rom. xiv., 5. This passage is eminently noteworthy, for two reasons: first, it expressly allows to Christians the observance or non-observance of a Sabbath, according to the preference of each person; next, the fact of such allowances proves that Christianity, as Paul understood it, does not require nor include Sabbath-keeping.

In view of the evidence above cited, the ground taken by Jesus and by Paul may be properly called, I think, *anti-Sabbatical*.

It is instructive to notice that the persons in controversy with them were devout conservatives, pious Jews, who were really shocked at the denial, by the new reformers, of points so vital in the old system as

the sanctity of the Sabbath and the infallible inspiration of the Scriptures. Nevertheless, when, at a later period, the distinguished success of Paul and his associates in converting Gentiles had made it needful for the Judaizing Christians to compromise for the sake of union, and to yield some points in favor of the new doctrine, the fact is specially noteworthy that Sabbath observance went, with circumcision, among the points to be yielded. The fifteenth chapter of the book of Acts gives us the proceedings of the first Christian Council, which was convened, by the authorities of the Church at Jerusalem, to consider this very matter. After full and free debate as to how many points of Judaic observance were "necessary" for Gentile Christians, "it pleased the apostles and elders, with the whole Church," to select and prescribe four only, among which Sabbath-keeping was not mentioned.

"The first day of the week" is a phrase several times met with in the New Testament; and the use of this phrase is so insisted on by Sabbatarians that one would naturally expect to find, in connection with it, some authority for the pretence that the Sabbath has been "changed" from the seventh day of the week to the first. It is on the assumption of some authority connected with this phrase that labor or recreation on Sunday is stigmatized as "Sabbath-breaking." Let us look at the record, and see what ground there is for such assumption.

We may clear the way for this examination by noticing that the first day of the week is never, in the New Testament, called the Sabbath. There, as in the Old Testament, the word Sabbath always means the Saturday-Sabbath of the decalogue. The fact that "Sabbath," in the New Testament, means a different day from "the first day of the week," is clearly shown in Matt. xxviii., 1, which says, "In the end of the Sabbath, as it began to dawn towards the first day of the week, came Mary Magdalene," etc.

The cases in the New Testament where "the first day of the week" is mentioned in connection with an assembly of people, a coming together of numbers, (whether for food, worship, preaching, or anything else), are just two; two, and no more. They are the following:—

"Then the same day at evening, being the first day of the week, when the doors were shut where the disciples were assembled for fear of the Jews, came Jesus," etc.—John xx., 19.

"And upon the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached unto them (ready to depart on the morrow), and continued his speech until midnight."—Acts xx., 7.

Here are two historical facts: 1. The disciples of Jesus met together as quietly and secretly as possible on a Sunday evening in Jerusalem, two days after their dispersion in consequence of the crucifixion of their Master. 2. A considerable time after this, the Christians in Troas, in Asia Minor, came together on a Sunday evening to break bread, and to hear an exhortation from Paul, who was going away the next morning.

From just these two little facts, the mention in the Christian records of Sunday evening as the time when two meetings were held, the following unauthorized assumptions are made:—

That all Christians, everywhere, are to hold meetings every Sunday.

That they are not merely to copy these incidental instances of what the early disciples did, by meeting on Sunday evening, but to devote the whole of every Sunday to rest and worship.

That these things are God's command, instead of merely somebody's hasty inference from insufficient premises.

And that God intended, by the mention that these two meetings of early disciples, in different cities and at different times, took place on Sunday evening, to have it understood that a Sunday Sabbath was thenceforth to be binding upon all Christians, in place of the obsolete Saturday-Sabbath of the Jews.

Is it not absurd to attempt to manufacture a "Christian Sabbath" out of these two evenings of the "first day of the week"? But they do it because there is nothing else in the New Testament to make a Sabbath of, while yet a Sabbath seems essential to the successful working of their theological system.

Let it be further noted that, even on the unproved supposition that these two evening meetings were held for worship, there is not the slightest reason to doubt that the disciples went to them after spending the daylight hours in their ordinary bread-earning occupations. The pretence of a Sabbatical day preceding these evening assemblages is destitute alike of evidence and probability.

The phrase "the Lord's day"—often applied to Sunday, the first day of the week, by people who wish to have it thought that God requires some special observance of that day—occurs just once, and no more, in the New Testament. The author of the book of "Revelation" says (i., 10), "I was in the spirit on the Lord's day." What time, or what day of the week, he meant to designate by that, no one can possibly know, though any one may guess as he pleases. What is certain is, that you cannot get out of this passage an injunction for all Christians to observe one day of the week as a Sabbath.

The failure of the fourth commandment argument in this matter is so thorough—it is so self-evident that an injunction to Jews to abstain from labor on Saturday cannot also require, by those same words, that Christians everywhere shall hold meetings for worship on Sunday,—and there is such an utter lack of evidence in all that can be scraped together from the New Testament in support of Sunday-Sabbatism, that the advocates of that theory resort, in despair, to a text in Genesis to help them. This is it: "On the seventh day God ended his work which he had made; and he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made. And God blessed the

seventh day and sanctified it, because that in it he had rested from all his work which God created and made."

The sufficient answer to any sabbatical claim founded on this passage is, that a statement which neither directs any man to do, or not to do, anything whatever, cannot possibly be admitted as a command for a specific duty binding on all men in all ages. No priestly imposture in the world was ever greater than the citation of this passage as requiring that our Sunday be sacredly observed as a Sabbath.

The doctrine of complete identification of the Sabbath with Sunday seems to have been first formally set forth by Rev. Dr. Bound (A. D. 1595), a divine of great authority among the Puritans in England. From him it was adopted into the Confession and Catechism of the famous Westminster Assembly of Divines, thus becoming a recognized tenet of the English and Scotch Presbyterians. From them it came to this country with the Boston Puritans and the Plymouth Pilgrims, and strict regulations for its enforcement were incorporated with the first laws of Massachusetts. Portions of these Sunday laws (laws founded on the utterly mistaken notion that they enforce a rule of Scripture) are still on our statute-books, and still exercise considerable control over the community. False as their basis is, their operation is in part salutary, since it interferes with the disposition of some persons to carry on the ordinary course of labor and business seven days in the week without intermission. On the other hand, these laws have always obstructed measures highly useful to the whole community, such as the opening of public libraries, reading-rooms, museums, and galleries of art, and the running of street-cars and railroad trains on Sunday; and they have been successfully appealed to, not only to prevent public benefits of this sort, but to punish a quiet citizen for training a vine against his own door-post on Sunday morning.

Sunday-Sabbatism, even to this extent, is inculcated by the great Protestant sects which call themselves "evangelical" all through this country, and the ministers of most of them not only assume a divine ordination of it as unquestionable, but seriously present, as scriptural proof of that doctrine, such statements as have been answered in this paper. The English Church, however, does not inculcate this view of sabbatical observance among her authorized formularies, and no such doctrine or practice is known on the continent of Europe.

To sum up: I have tried briefly to show—

That the sabbatical observance enjoined in the fourth commandment of the decalogue and in many subsequent portions of the Old Testament was intended for Jews, and for no other nation or people, and that its requisition was rest on Saturday and labor on Sunday:

That, if any Christians think this fourth commandment binding on them, they also should rest from labor and business on Saturday, and should work on Sunday and the remaining days of the week, since that commandment cannot possibly be obeyed in any other manner:

That, since the Christian Scriptures neither enjoin Sabbath-keeping nor forbid Sabbath-breaking, nor specify any day for particular observance of any sort; and since Paul by elaborate argument, and Jesus both by word and deed claimed immunity for Christians from fourth commandment Sabbatism; and since the phrases which have been quoted from the New Testament as establishing a "change of the day" are found, on examination, to have no such force or meaning, the phrase "Christian Sabbath" must be held unjustifiable, and the thing intended by it as non-existent; and, finally:

That, since the view of sabbatical obligation brought to this country by the Boston Puritans and the Plymouth Pilgrims, and now taught by various sectarian bodies here and in Great Britain, can be clearly traced to its origin in the sixteenth century in a work by Dr. Nicholas Bound, and to the Westminster Assembly of Divines as the chief instruments of its propagation, we need feel no hesitation in treating it like other exploded errors, and in holding the very different ground maintained by Jesus and Paul in the New Testament.

Let it be noted that the view taken in this paper by no means impugns, or is designed to interfere with, that excellent custom and consent of civilized peoples by which the ordinary course of bread-earning labor and business is discontinued one day in seven. Rest and recreation to that extent are clearly beneficial to men's bodies, minds, and souls; and since Sunday is already used for those purposes, as well as for assemblages for religious instruction and worship, it is far better to retain, than to change, our habit of devoting that day to them. Only let the true grounds of such observance be understood, and let not sectarians impose their Church rules upon the community under the pretence that they are laws of God.

At the close of Mr. Whipple's essay, which was listened to with the closest attention, Mr. Higginson said:—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Mr. Potter has told us, with the words of Mr. Whipple, what the point of view was in which the ancient Jews regarded Sunday. It will now be a matter of special interest, as I am sure, to hear in what point of view the modern Jews, by the grace of sanctification and enlightenment, regard it; and I have great pleasure in being able to introduce to you an eminent gentleman from among their number, Rabbi Lasker, of one of the Boston Jewish congregations, to address you next.

Rabbi Lasker was received with applause. He said:—

ADDRESS OF RABBI LASKER.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I have been invited to address you this morning on the subject, "How

should Sunday be kept?" As a Jewish minister, in harmony with the teachings of Judaism, I must say that the Sabbath day is a day of rest and of sanctification; a day of joy, and of recreation, and elevation of the mind; a day on which the whole human family shall be united in love, peace, union, and harmony, and to remove from their hearts all the cares, and the sorrows, and troubles, and anxieties of worldly affairs. One of the oldest maxims in Judaism, pronounced by our rabbis many centuries ago is, I will give it in Hebrew: "*Chasside navummoth yesh lohem chelek, laolom nabah.*" "The good, righteous, and best of all nations, of whatever dominion or sect they may be, have a portion in eternal life; hence will enter the kingdom of heaven." This dominant idea belongs to Judaism, and hence Judaism leaves every man to believe what his reason tells him to be true, to worship as his own mind and his own conscience may dictate, and to observe the Sabbath day according to his own ideas, and customs, and usages. This principle is in strict harmony with the blessed idea of civil and religious liberty. This idea has been adopted by the fathers of our glorious republic, and proclaimed at the opening of the grandest scene ever presented to view in the world's history—the Declaration of Independence,—where it is said: "All men are born free." "They are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." This idea distinguishes our glorious country over all other countries. It is the true democracy in religion. It is the length and breadth of our freedom, for which we contend. It is a matter of justice to all its bodies, and to every individual soul, to see the truth for himself and to worship according to his own ideas of right.

As a Jewish minister, from a Jewish standpoint, I am compelled to ask the question, Which is the true day of rest? Is it the seventh day, the Sabbath, the Sabbath of the Bible, which Moses ordained and which he represents as having been blessed and sanctified by the Supreme Architect of the Universe? Or is it the first day of the week, Sunday, or the so-called Lord's day? This subject has been already exhaustively treated in the scholarly and able essay by Mr. Charles K. Whipple, and read before you so masterly by the Rev. Dr. Potter. I could certainly not add anything to it; but permit me, ladies and gentlemen, to cast a short glance upon the history of the Sabbath.

It is generally admitted that the book of Genesis is the most ancient record of the human family, more ancient than all other known books. It recounts all the events which transpired from Abraham up to Joseph; and whenever that may have been written, or whoever was the author of that book, it is certain that it was the Bible of the Hebrews before Moses ever said a word that it was the Bible of the Israelites in Egypt. As far as man's memory runs back into the remote antiquities and to the dim outlines of the origin of tradition and myths, so far back the seventh-day Sabbath is to be found, an existing institution. We find therein frequent allusion to the hebdomadal division of time. The number "seven" is always sure to convey to us the idea of perfection and completion. The fact is related there that God created and finished his work in six days, and rested on the seventh. Noah was warned of the approach of the deluge seven days previously; on the seventh month the ark rested on Mount Ararat; Jacob mourned seven days for his beloved Rachel, and so did Joseph for Jacob,—also he served seven years each for his wives; Pharaoh's dream was interpreted by Joseph to denote seven years of famine and seven years of plenty. We have all along cases of the symbolic number "seven." The symbolic meaning of it is in the hebdomadal division of time and the holiness of the seventh day. Now it is also a fact that the Israelites in Egypt must have known of the Sabbath, and perhaps observed this day whenever they had an opportunity to do it, whenever they were not prevented by external labors. This is obvious, as it has already been stated to you in Mr. Whipple's essay. It is obvious in the decalogue, in which the fourth commandment, the Sabbath commandment, begins with the word "*Sachor*," in Hebrew—"remember."

Now only that which exists, that which is known, can be remembered; otherwise not. Hence the Sabbath day was already in existence before the decalogue was given, and the reason why the Sabbath shall be celebrated is stated in the twenty-first chapter of Exodus, I think it is, or the twentieth: "God made heaven and earth in six days, and rested on the seventh." It is also stated there: "Between me," that is, God, "and the children of Israel it shall be an everlasting sign." It need not be proved that the Israelites always observed the exact Sabbath day. But it never disappeared from the historical record since Moses; the histories of Jeremiah and Josephus, the authors of the New Testament, and many Roman writers, mention the same identical Sabbath day, which reached back into traditions, and myths, and through all this chilly twilight of human affairs. It is also a known fact that Christians and Mohammedans selected another than the seventh-day Sabbath, in order not to be identified with Jews; hence not for the motive of the divine revelation or of philosophical intelligence. Those who believe in a revelation of Providence in history must stand still before this venerable monument of this people, and must say to themselves: "It must be the will of God that this should be the Sabbath." If it is not so, why has this day been retained distinct, from the beginning, forever? How comes it that the prophecy concerning that Sabbath day—"Between me and the children of Israel it shall be a sign forever"—is so fully, and completely, and continually fulfilled to this very day? Here we Jews stand thirty-four hundred years later in history, and the same Sabbath

day, with the same name in all modern languages, is still the sign between God and Israel, still the sign and the symbol of God's covenant with Israel. No holy day in the world's history has so well kept its rank as this Sabbath day has.

Therefore it appears ridiculous, when the Israelite is asked to make Sunday his Sabbath. You might just as well try to make, or attempt to do away with, this earth which God has made to be, as to do away with the Sabbath which Providence ordained and established to be; as little as the Hebrew language can be forgotten, being the language of the Bible, just as little can the Sabbath day be changed. Error will be overcome, and the intelligent American will observe that the Sabbath of Jehovah is not Mahomet's Friday or the Emperor's Sunday. The Word of God will last forever. Thousands may disregard and put up a religious system for themselves, and ignore God's Providence in history, or interpret that according to their own preconceived opinion; but this changes not the fact. Millions can well remain faithful to the sacred cause and to its lessons.

Ladies and gentlemen, I respect the man who respects his Sabbath. I hold that all men should respect their Sabbath day, the day of rest. I would that every person should not only rest on his day of rest, on his Sabbath day—be it Sunday or any other day: that be immaterial to us,—but that he should also observe all the ordinances of morality, of humanity, of virtue, of justice, and of religion. But on the question whether the State possesses the constitutional power to enforce religious observances, I part company with our very zealous, but, I should say, misguided friends. Our Constitution recognizes only the power of persuasion, not the power to enforce religious observances. The Constitution of the United States secures to every person, be he Christian or Pagan, or Jew or Mohammedan, the free exercise of his rights and conscience. It distinctly declares, every man may worship his God according to the dictates of his conscience; and with such fundamental law, how can the legislature declare that every person, be he Christian, or Infidel, or Jew, shall observe the Sunday-Sabbath? Is it the legitimate province of the legislature to decide what religion is true or false? Our government is a civil, and not a religious, institution.

But there is another question I want to speak upon most especially to-day. I am yet quite a stranger in this city, only a year not quite two weeks; yet I find, to my great consternation and astonishment, that in this free and enlightened State of Massachusetts, and especially in this city of intelligence and American opinions, more than two thousand human souls, little young souls, who are not only not found entirely to observe Sunday as a day of rest, but not even to respect it. Worse than that, sir; they are indeed compelled to disregard their own Sabbath day, the seventh day of the Bible; they are kept away from the observance of their religious duties. I refer to the Saturday morning sessions in our public schools. Whatever the motives of the School Board may be in upholding this session, I do not know, neither do I comprehend, why it is maintained, since I know not what advantage there is in a school session on Saturday. From twenty years' experience as a schoolman, I positively know that five days in the week are sufficient for any child, even the strongest, to attend school. Long school hours on six days in the week are certainly detrimental to the health and intellectual welfare of the child; it is too great a strain on their little brains; it impairs their intellect and their minds. Yet, in spite of many remonstrances, and petitions, and prayers, and complaints, by Christians as well as Jews, I understand the School Board does not countenance these petitions, and does not right the wrongs inflicted on more than forty thousand children here in this city alone in the public schools, among which are at least between two and three thousand children of the Jewish persuasion. I have been told that some masters and teachers are very kind and lenient, and have easily granted excuses; but in most cases, I have been informed by members of my own congregation, they are compelled, not only to attend school, but also to write, for instance,—the girls to sew, and to perform other things which are in direct contradiction to the requirements of Judaism. And if there should be found a child bold enough to refuse to do it, why, other children are brought forth by the teacher who are not so strict, have not been brought up in the requirements of their religion, and the teacher says, "This boy or that girl does it; why can't you do it?" The consequence is the yielding of the child to its taskmaster. The children have to be there on Saturday, and be excused from half-past ten in the morning, too late to go to their house of worship, or else they will be punished; they will lose their good marks of merit, their good standing in school, or they are put back into lower classes.

The Israelites, from time immemorial, have always taken a great interest in education and enlightenment; and, indeed, the pride of knowledge, wisdom, and intelligence has been the greatest pride and glory of Israel. Even the poorest amongst the poor spent his last mite for the instruction of his child. "Education, humanity, enlightenment"—these are the mysterious echoes from Israel's history, which solve the problem of its marvellous preservation; "education, humanity, enlightenment"—these are the three watch-words of our age, and shall be the watch-words. Now what are the Jewish parents to do here? If they send their children to school on Saturday, they never, or very seldom, have the opportunity to attend worship, to elevate their hearts heavenward, or listen to the law and word of God explained by their minister, and mingle their prayers of adoration to the God of their fathers; and they can't send their children to the house of God, as their religion requires; for they lose their standing in school, are put back in

lower classes, perhaps,—which is standing in the way of their promotion. But, indeed, this education, the intellectual welfare of their children, is just as sacred to them as their spiritual welfare. They want to bring them up to be a pride and ornament to society, to be good and loyal citizens to their country, and a blessing to humanity. As I was told by the principal of the Brimmer School last week, the Jewish children are counted amongst the brightest, the most accomplished in deportment and in scholarship, the first of their classes.

Now, I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, do you not call this a spiritual oppression in the strictest sense of the word? Where is our religious liberty? Where is the privilege of worshipping God according to the dictates of our conscience? Do you call such a proceeding right, proper, just? Is this spirit in harmony with the fundamental principles of our country? Now while children of all other denominations have the privilege and the opportunity of visiting on Sunday their various churches and attending divine worship, the Jewish children are deprived of such a blessing. If such children, deprived of their spiritual instruction, should one day, having grown up, happen to fall into the hands of men and women who have no fear of God or love of God, who are full of arrogance, and pride, and selfishness, whose minds are entirely devoted to pleasure,—are not such children to be pitied? Will they be strong enough to withstand all the temptations and allurements of this world? No, I don't think they will; for they are in the midst of wicked company, whose life is full of violence, who have no Sabbath day, and no rest, and hence no self-culture, no self-refinement.

But as a reason for the non-abolishment of the Saturday morning session, it was declared to me last week by a gentleman: "Should the Jews insist on having the Saturday morning session discontinued, the Catholics will also come and demand the release of their children on their holidays." Now I have great respect for this denomination, and I sympathize also with their demand. I think that the schoolmaster is not the absolute lord and master of the child, and I claim that every parent has the right, whenever he wants, to take his child out of school to observe a holiday ordained by his respective religion. But what have the Catholic holidays to do with our Saturday? I do not know whether any of the Catholic holidays ever fall on a Saturday; besides, has not the Jewish religion also holidays and festivals during the year, to celebrate and preserve, which indeed the children are required to solemnize? Again, are not Jewish children deprived of the benefit of their education and instruction on Christmas and New Year, and other days, being also Protestant holidays? In the name of reason, in the name of humanity, progress, and enlightenment, in the name of God, I protest against such spiritual oppression. I demand, not only the discontinuance of the Saturday morning session for the sake of sectarian purposes,—more, I demand it in the name of forty thousand children attending the schools here in this city; I demand it for the sake of their health, of their spiritual and intellectual welfare; I demand it for it is a necessity for them. And I hope and trust, may, I entreat you, ladies and gentlemen, to give me your assistance, that my endeavor shall go through with a perfect success. We demand it as our right, as citizens and as men. Our country, as I said before, is a free country, and freedom must be based upon justice; justice must be based upon equality, which means equal rights, equal privileges, and equal duties. I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for the attention which you have extended to my feeble remarks. [Applause.]

(TO BE CONTINUED NEXT WEEK.)

TWO NAMELESS MEN.

We find in the local columns of our exchanges these fragments of the history of two men which seem to us worth repeating, even in the noisy rumors of impending wars in Europe or of the returns of our own State elections. The story claims attention and bears its meaning, although it concerns only two obscure and nameless men, the one a mechanic, the other a druggist's clerk. The latter, a lad (Charley is the only name given), was a few weeks ago prescription clerk in Lippman's drug store in Savannah. Not a place where any earnest of heroism is likely to open before a young fellow, or where glory of any kind would await him. "Charley" apparently had no thought of heroism or glory; he only put up prescriptions, as it was his business to do. When the yellow fever broke out, the owner and whole force of the shop left,—all but the book-keeper and Charley, who quietly continued putting up prescriptions. At last the book-keeper fled, and Lippman, by letter, ordered Charley to close the shop, his friends in Augusta urging him at the same time to come to them. But he said, "Somebody must give medicine to these people; I'll not leave my work," and went to the other drug store, Clay's, and worked there day and night. Clay took the fever and died, Charley nursing him. His cook took the fever, and a young friend, Symons. Charley nursed them both until they recovered, giving out at the same time thousands of prescriptions daily. He wrote to his mother, "I have not had time to take my clothes off for weeks." After Symons was up Charley took the fever. His friend, still weak from illness, nursed him in his turn, telegraphing twenty times a day to his friends in Augusta, "Charley improving," "With good care will pull through," "Charley is worse." The last telegrams were, "I will stick to him to the last," "I will not sleep tonight." But he did sleep. The next morning the two brave lads were found together—dead.

About the same time the terrible explosion of the Sable Iron Mills in Pittsburgh took place, and this is part of the account given in the daily papers: "The

assistant engineer was found speechless, his hand grasping the throttle of the engine with such force that it required two men to remove him. He might have escaped in time to save himself, but his idea was that he could avert the catastrophe from the workmen by turning off the steam. His terror was extreme, and no wonder. He died an hour later." The man whose terror was extreme, and who yet stood at his post when he might have escaped, was a hero with qualities beside which mere brute courage is mean.

Why do we tell the story of these two men of whom we are not able to preserve even the names? Simply because their chance for a noble death and a great deed in dying may come to any one of us. In old times knights buckled on their armor and went out in public to win renown; even the crown of martyrdom was won by the help of the heroic glow of lofty excitement, "a great cloud of witnesses," tyrants, saints, and angels looking on. Nowadays, men and women have their daily monotonous work set before them. It is plain, hard duty that is called for, seldom feverish heroism. We believe that in the pursuit of that duty men are trained year by year to greater sacrifices; that when life is called for, as in these two cases, it is quietly offered, with no thought of fame or applause, but simply as a matter of course. Poets and romancers sing of Roman courage and medieval chivalry, but we should like American boys to look into the secret of this plain matter-of-fact duty and the doing of it. The young knight, keeping vigil, praying all night in the lonely chapel in his white robes, going out in the morning to receive his sword and spurs, is always a most heroic, enviable figure in their eyes. But what of this druggist clerk Charley, who had not time to change his clothes, nursing his friend and a poor negro through a loathsome disease, hurrying from his bed to the shop to deal out medicines to the plague-stricken city, and lying down, worn out at last, to die? There was no hope of accolade, no fame waiting for him in the back room of the little drug-shop. He knew his duty and he did it. And if it was not after the high old Roman fashion, it was after a nobler and a better way, and Death was proud to take him.—N. Y. Tribune, Oct. 21.

IN EARLY times, Satan was regarded as the ugliest scamp in creation; and those who have been privileged to see an illustrated book of the fifteenth century will remember how he seems to concentrate in himself all the most terrific and brutal qualities of the barbaric imagination. We don't forget the very earliest ideas as to the divine origin of Satan. He was the greatest of the rebel angels,—Lucifer, son of the morning; and he figures grandly in the Book of Job, and in Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Indeed, it has been said by daring critics that "Milton has done more to keep the devil alive than any other single author." It is certain, however, that after Milton a period of degradation set in the popular conception of Satan. But at length with the revival of philosophy and the progress of science, the form of the personality, if not the character, of Satan began to improve. His tail either dropped off or got worn away by sedentary occupations; his horns and cloven hoofs disappeared; and then he sprang forth in Goethe's *Faust* and Bailey's *Festus* in the form of a gentleman, with the instincts of a ravenous questioner,—in fact, a grand sceptic. From this we may infer that Satan for some time past has been subject to the laws of morphology or evolution. Certainly, he was once as ugly as an ape; now he is as handsome as a prince. If this process only goes on long enough, it would be hard to foretell what might become of the grim personality. Happily, there is little danger of his abolition while evil exists. The hold which he has got on the human mind is too profound for that.—*Glasgow Herald*.

DURING A thunder-storm, a gentleman takes a hack down the Champs Elysées towards the Faubourg St. Germain. He notices that at every flash of lightning his driver pliously makes the sign of the cross, and says: "I observe that you cross yourself; you do well." "Oh, yes, it is always well where there are so many trees; but once we get into the streets I don't care a —."

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 25.

Darius Lyman, \$10; Nath'l Little, \$10; Henry Gerson, 25 cents; E. W. Jones, 25 cents; Gilbert Billings, \$2.30; Cash in office, 65 cents; E. M. Berry, \$3.30; Junkerman & Haas, \$3.20; Frank J. Mead, \$3.20; D. Lyman, \$3.20; Cash in office, \$2.14; T. D. Dean, \$2; G. Haynes, \$3.30; H. G. White, \$10; J. L. Shaller, \$1.30; C. F. Blake, 50 cents; A. Williams & Co., \$5.20; Benj. Breed, \$2.14; A. Pritchard, \$3; J. Roberts, \$3.20; S. J. Logan, \$3; J. C. Angel, \$3; J. A. Haynes, \$2; J. Ahrens, \$3.30; W. H. Savage, 20 cents; Gardner Murphy, \$13.20; J. W. Castle, 10 cents; J. Farnsworth, \$3.20; Prof. A. Loos, \$3.20; J. W. Bartlett, \$20; E. C. Westlake, 10 cents; J. G. Jenkins, 25 cents; A. J. Grover, 20 cents; W. D. Brewer, \$3.20; E. B. Elder, \$3.20; J. W. Pike, \$3.20; Andrew Ashton, \$3.30; Mrs. J. C. Merrill, \$3.30; Julia E. Miller, \$4.40; Chas. D. Gambrell, \$4.40; Prof. E. Nipher, \$3; J. H. Morrison, \$3.20; F. Looser, \$3.20; Ohlson Mendlik & Co., 75 cents; W. E. Farmer, \$4.40; E. M. Moore, \$3.20; C. K. Gunn, \$2; E. J. Young, \$1; G. E. Frothingham, \$4.40; Mrs. M. J. Barker, \$3.20; E. L. Umham, 10 cents; E. B. McKenzie, \$3; S. Durell, \$3.20; J. Andrews, \$1.50; David Ballantine, \$3.20; S. J. Matthews, \$2.75; Weaks & Chubb, \$3.25.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are not on hand will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

The Index.

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The transition from Christianity to Free Religion, through which the civilized world is now passing, but which it very little understands, is even more momentous in itself and in its consequences than the great transition of the Roman Empire from Paganism to Christianity. THE INDEX aims to make the character of this vast change intelligible in at least its leading features, and offers an opportunity for discussions on this subject which find no fitting place in other papers.

N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

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HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH
GADY STANTON, Editorial Contributors.

NOTICE.

On receipt of \$3.20, THE INDEX will be sent to any name not already on its mail-list, from the present time until January 1, 1878. This is an excellent opportunity for friends of the paper to increase its circulation among their acquaintances; and it is hoped that they will not neglect to render in this way some greatly-needed assistance to the important cause it represents.

MR. CHARLES P. SOMERBY has begun the publication of a handsome periodical called *Prometheus*. Its motto is, "To destroy, you must replace." Its object seems to be to promote the cause of Positivism, and also "to keep a record of the best Oriental, philosophical, and scientific works." The name of the editor is not given. Address C. P. Somerby, 139 Eighth Street, New York. Price, \$3.00 a year.

"NUNC DIMITTAS!" Since there is a little embarrassment still in deciding whether Democrats or Republicans have won the Presidential election, why should not the people, as a compromise, declare the following ticket unanimously elected? We quote from the *Wabasha County Sentinel*, of Lake City, Minnesota, in its issue of November 8:—

Dr. Boutelle, who is known to be a "Liberal" in his views, produced the following peculiar ticket for the suffrages of the people on election day. We publish it as an item of curiosity in its way:—

INDEPENDENT TICKET.

Equal human rights for all,—white or black, rich or poor, male or female, orthodox or heterodox! Our secular national Constitution securing equal political and religious freedom to remain unimpaired.

For President—Robert G. Ingersoll, of Illinois.
For Vice-President—Francis E. Abbot, of Massachusetts.

Presidential Electors—S. C. Gale, Frank J. Mead, Allen Graves, Sylvester Dickey, and James G. Richardson.

REVELATIONS are still obtainable in the nineteenth century, if this story in the *Tribune* is credible: "Mohammed his ghost ought to be astir when Islam is marching to the wars. And he is, for he has appeared in broad daylight before the eyes of the guardian of his tomb at Medina. Shaik Ahmed had finished his prayers; it was two o'clock in the afternoon; the founder of the faith appeared unto him in a vision, and this is what he said: 'Ahmed Hossain, my followers are sinning. Seventy thousand of them have died lately. Of that number only seven have died in the faith. In consequence of the prevalence of such sins as bribery, drunkenness, murder, forgery, adultery, etc., and the neglect of fasting during Ramazan, God withheld rain. My instructions previously given have not been heeded. Kings have not ruled justly. They have all become tyrannical. It has been revealed to me that my followers do not fear the anger of God, though the Day of Judgment is nigh. I prayed for the pardon of my people. It has been revealed to me that in 1296 H. darkness will cover the face of the earth. It will commence in the beginning of Jammadoosanees and continue to the middle of Rujjub,—a month and a half. During the prevalence of this dense darkness, Hazrat Imman Mehndi, the last of the prophets, will come to earth, and Jazrael will also come to take up the Koran. Whosoever will freely circulate this my revelation will be protected by me in the Day of Judgment. Whosoever doubts the revelation is an infidel and will go to hell.' Shaik Ahmed vows that this is the truth and not a lie; else may his face be blackened both in this world and the next."

DR. SPEAR'S "RELIGION AND THE STATE."

Rev. Samuel T. Spear, D. D., of Brooklyn, has gathered into a volume of nearly four hundred pages, with the above title, a series of able articles contributed by him to the *New York Independent*. Especially when considered as the work of a Presbyterian clergyman who adopts and defends the secular theory of government, it is a very notable addition to the literature of this subject, and cannot fail to do immense good among those who will not listen to arguments for public justice in matters of religion, if offered in any other name than that of Orthodoxy. Dr. Spear, believing fully and strictly in the Evangelical Christian theology, and yet also espousing that view of civil government which forbids it to recognize even general Christianity as the religion of the State, undoubtedly represents a considerable minority of the Protestant Christian population of this country, in their honest endeavor (fruitless as we think it is) to reconcile Christianity with the natural rights of man,—above all, with entire freedom of thought, democratic principles, and complete religious equality before the law. It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to determine precisely how large a proportion of American Protestants are embraced within the limits of this Christian secularism; we do not think that it is a large proportion, since, if it were large, it would long ago have secured the secularization of the public schools. Nothing stands in the way of the exclusion of the Bible and all religious worship and instruction from the schools, except the fixity of the great bulk of Protestants in the conviction that the State is bound publicly to recognize and foster what, with complacent absurdity, they designate as "unsectarian Christianity." In the great battle for freedom and justice against this stupid, obstinate, and dangerous stultification of the first principles on which the United States government is grounded, every freethinker should welcome with alacrity and cordiality the important aid of these friends within the enemy's lines. It was in this spirit that Dr. Spear himself was invited last spring to accept nomination as one of the Vice-Presidents of the National Liberal League—an invitation which, for reasons not stated, was very courteously declined.

The pages of this well-written and well-printed book are rich with felicitous, unambiguous, and comprehensive statements of the secular principle in the abstract. A few of these we must quote:—

"The State, by which we mean the people acting in their organic capacity through the machinery of law, should say to all the religious sects, to all anti-religionists, and indeed to all classes of citizens, that its ground as to the public schools is the one of absolute and impartial 'neutrality' with reference to the doctrines and tenets of religion, whether drawn from the Bible or elsewhere; that the ends for which it exists do not include such doctrines and tenets, either as a means or an end; and that the only aspect in which it can consider Protestants, Catholics, Jews, Rationalists, Infidels, indeed every man, woman, and child subject to its jurisdiction, is simply that of citizenship, without any discrimination for religious reasons. The public school is not a church, or a synagogue, or a theological seminary; but a piece of State machinery, organized and supported for purely temporal ends—as really as a court of justice, a constitutional convention, or a legislative body. Its function is not to make or unmake Christians, or predispose children to this or that form of religious faith. It does not propose a complete education; and does not propose a religious education at all, either partial or complete. It proposes to do a certain thing, on the ground of its necessity and utility to the State, and to stop there, by not entering that field which lies beyond the purview of civil government. In short, it proposes a secular education, and that only—an education that would be needful and useful in this life, if there were no God and no future life for the human soul." [pp. 52, 53.]

"We deny that the State has the right to tax the Jew to propagate Christianity, or to make Infidels help to liquidate the expense account of a religion which they repudiate." [p. 75.]

"The doctrine of democracy is that the ruler represents the sovereignty of the people. The doctrine of theocracy is that he represents the sovereignty of God. The former, not the latter, is the doctrine upon which the civil and political institutions of this country are founded." [p. 186.]

"This disclaimer by Washington in negotiating, and by the Senate in confirming, the treaty with Tripoli, was not designed to disparage the Christian religion or indicate any hostility thereto; but to set forth the fact, so apparent in the Constitution itself, that the Government of the United States was not founded upon that religion, and hence did not embody or assert any of its doctrines—and hence, again, that as a government it had and could have no hostility to a 'Mohammedan nation' on account of its religion. The language of this article in the treaty was used for a purpose, and that purpose was in exact correspondence with the fact as contained in the Constitution itself. Christianity, though the prevalent religion of the people when the Constitution was adopted, is unknown to it. The Constitu-

tion says that it shall be unknown to it as having any place in the organic law of the United States, or in the legislative powers of Congress." [p. 211.]

Strong and clear, however, as Dr. Spear is as to the general relation of the State to Christianity, he is not equally strong and clear as to the special applications of the secular principle he advocates so ably in general. He favors the prohibition of the Bible in public schools and the abolition of tax-exemption for ecclesiastical property; but he fails to see that the "American Sabbath" legislation, the civil oath, the chaplaincy system, the blasphemy laws, the Thanksgiving and Fast-day proclamations, are really violations of the secular principle—furtive and indirect and too often insidious attempts to bolster up Christianity by State support and favor. There is in the latter part of the book a good deal of special pleading—we cannot use any term but that—to explain all these things in harmony with the broad principles laid down so admirably in the first part. Dr. Spear himself will be very likely before long to discover the weakness of his own argumentation here; his logical mind cannot long be satisfied with such overstrained reasoning, and we will not forestall its spontaneous action. We are all the more encouraged in this expectation by the fact that this very book gives evidence of his honest teachableness and rapidly increasing thoroughness as he carries forward his own task. We refer to the very different ground he takes in different passages as to the propriety of amending the United States Constitution so as to secure the secularization of the State by the national organic law. This is so momentous a subject that we must point out the evident change with regard to it wrought in Dr. Spear's mind, while writing this very series of articles.

Commenting on President Grant's famous Annual Message of last year, Dr. Spear says:—

"The President is right in his opinion that church property should be taxed in common with all other property; yet the whole genius and spirit of the Constitution leave this question to be determined by the respective States." [p. 20.]

"Whether a State shall have a public school system or not is purely and absolutely a State question—as much so as the question whether it shall have a prison or a police system; and it should be left to the sovereign discretion of every State." [p. 21.]

Dr. Spear was thus, at the writing of his earlier articles, in favor of leaving the decision of the church taxation and the school questions to the separate States exclusively, without settling them as national questions at all. At the same time, however, he advanced arguments against leaving the school question to be settled by school districts, and not by the States, which are just as forcible against leaving this question to be settled by the States, and not by the nation. He says:—

"If the whole people as represented in the Legislature cannot wisely dispose of the subject, is there any prospect that the people acting in these divisions of the State will be able to do so? The plan would beget animosities and strifes in the school districts, and lead to a general war of sects over the public schools." [p. 49.]

Precisely the same reasoning would lead to the conclusion that the nation, and not the States, should settle the school question on general principles. If the United States are a nation at all, the principle of absolutely secular government, now contained in the Constitution, should be made dominant everywhere throughout the nation, as the necessary condition of the public peace. Dr. Spear himself, enlightened by the signs of the times and the progress of the discussion, came to the same conclusion before finishing his series of articles. Pointing out the defect of the Constitution in omitting to guarantee secular (as well as "republican") government in the several States, he says:—

"We do not know what shape the school question will finally take, or to what collisions it may lead. What we do know is that our National Constitution, except as against encroachments by the General Government, does not stand guard over the religious liberties of the people. . . . Would it not, then, be wise so to amend the Constitution that this great question of religious liberty in all its phases and applications" [and these certainly include the church taxation question] "shall be settled by the fundamental law of the land, and so settled that the whole people, as one political organism, shall be charged with the protection of such liberty? Would it not be wise to make religious liberty in every State a national idea? . . . There is nothing in it to make it a local idea, or require that it should be remitted to the exclusive jurisdiction of the States." [p. 223.]

This is a complete reversal of the position of the first part of the book; and it is a change greatly for the better. It is a cause of great satisfaction to see so candid and logical a mind as that of Dr. Spear thus brought to plant itself on the ground publicly held and advocated by THE INDEX ever since Jan-

uary 1, 1874; and the fact that he is a Presbyterian clergyman only increases his satisfaction. So completely has he abandoned his earlier position that he now even proposes [p. 284] a form of Constitutional Amendment to carry out the idea of the last-quoted extract. It would not, however, be completely efficacious, since it would not affect the questions of church taxation, Sabbath legislation, and various others indicated in the "Demands of Liberalism." It is only fair to suppose that the same progressiveness exemplified by this book itself will yet lead Dr. Spear to take the more advanced and consistent ground of these "Demands," and to accept, as a substitute for his own fragmentary and imperfect amendment, one at least as thorough-going as the "Religious Freedom Amendment." There is no stopping short of that, logically. The nation must eventually adopt it, or drift back to the theory of a "Christian government." Every logical thinker who understandingly accepts the general principles laid down by Dr. Spear will be compelled by logic itself to take at last the uncompromisingly radical ground of THE INDEX on this question; and Dr. Spear will, we hope, yet carry out his own brave and just thought to that very conclusion. Meanwhile we most heartily recommend his book to our readers as a very able, very sincere, and very useful treatise on State Secularization, which ought to be in the hands of every reflective citizen from Maine to Texas and California.

WAS IT USELESS?

Some persons who have criticised the Convention recently held in Boston on the Sunday Observance question, appear to think that it was a very useless and silly affair. "Why attack," they say, "a lingering superstition like that of Sabbatarianism, which has so nearly lost its power and is growing weaker every day? To be sure, there are Sunday laws on the statute books, but they are practically dead, and people have in reality all the liberty on that day that they desire."

Such is the argument we are hearing in certain quarters. Of course it is not the argument of those who believe in the old kind of Sunday observance, but of professed liberals, who seem to think that things somehow move of themselves towards social and religious reform without anybody moving them. That there has been a great change in public opinion in this country during the last century on the question of keeping Sunday—a change due to general enlightenment and progress in religious views—is beyond question. But somebody has been all the time moving, and speaking, and writing, and reading, and thinking, or this general enlightenment and progress would not have come. Was any reform ever effected in human affairs without somebody being interested enough in it to work for it? Moreover, to call Sabbatarianism in this country a feeble superstition, to speak of its power as a thing of the past and practically dead, is at the least a very audacious statement, in view of the fact that less than six months ago it was strong enough to shut the Centennial Exhibition on Sundays, in opposition to the whole secularism of the country and a large portion of the Christian Church and the petition of nearly seventy thousand working-men, all legal voters, in the city of Philadelphia alone. Look, too, at the matter of libraries, museums, etc. The number of libraries, museums, art-galleries, reading-rooms, public or private, in all the country, that are open on Sundays as freely as on other days, can be counted, I suppose, on one's fingers. It is only a few years, and after a long contest with ecclesiastical Sabbatarianism, that the Boston Public Library has been opened on Sunday; and it is not yet fully open. Excepting that and the library at Worcester, are there any other public libraries in New England yet open on Sunday? Perhaps there are; but it certainly is not yet the general practice, nor one that is to be effected without considerable struggle with the old Sabbatarianism.

The Sunday laws, too, are not so dead as it is the fashion to allege them to be. They are very living and very potent, whenever bigotry, or malice, or regard for self-interest chooses to move for their enforcement. And this is not so infrequent as we are apt to think. The newspapers in one part of the country or another are pretty constantly reporting prosecutions for violations of Sunday laws, but they slip from the memory, and, because we do not see them in the aggregate, do not make the impression they should. It is only a few weeks ago that the Boston newspapers reported the case of a man who had been severely injured by an accident to a Sunday train in which he was travelling, on (I think) the

Boston and Maine Railroad. The responsibility of the corporation for the accident was fully proved. But because the man could not show that he was travelling from "necessity or charity"—the only reasons for which our Massachusetts laws allow travelling on Sunday—he lost his case and did not get the sum for damages which by justice he should have received, and which for the same accident on the road on any other day he would have received. Mr. Pratt, at the Convention, mentioned a similar case, where a poor woman had met with a disabling injury on account of a defective highway. It was on Sunday; and though she was going to procure medicine for her sick child, the court held that this was not a work of "necessity or charity" in the meaning of the law, and that therefore she was not entitled to damages. This case went by appeal to the Massachusetts Supreme Court, which sent it back to the lower court, with the opinion that it was a case which might go to a jury with instructions to consider whether the errand on which the woman was going might not be regarded as a "work of charity." And so, after the anxiety and expense of three trials, this needy working-woman may possibly get remuneration. But, surely, it is not a useless object, nor one unworthy of earnest and philanthropic men, to try to do something to make such hardships and injustices as these impossible in an enlightened Commonwealth.

Or, again, even if it could be admitted that Sabbatarianism is dead, and that Sunday is practically a day of liberty, it is certainly a very important question, What is the best use that can be made of the day? Here is a seventh portion of our lifetime, rescued, it is claimed, from the power of superstition, and free by custom from the ordinary wearing toil of the other days. Now, how shall we use it for the best welfare of society? No one will venture to say that all the good the day is capable of is now got out of it in Christendom. And if the day has really become a free day, then all the more pressing is the question, By what methods and measures can it be made most helpful, especially among the classes that most need its opportunities, towards lifting men and women to a higher plane of living? And this was the question in which the discussions of the recent Boston Convention culminated. In my view, the Episcopal Congress, in session at the same time and three days more, discussed no question of greater practical moment, nor has any more important question been discussed by any religious body during the last year. How any earnest and humane man can dismiss it with indifference or with a sneer, passes my comprehension.

W. J. P.

SATURDAY MORNING SESSIONS IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

At the Free Religious Association Convention on November 15, Rabbi Lasker made some remarks in regard to a feature of the public school system which were very earnest and very sincere, but which seemed to me to show a misapprehension of the relation of our secular school system to religious faiths and practices. As this question was not really appropriate to the discussion of the convention, it was well to pass it over in silence; but it seems to me a good text for a few remarks here.

Rabbi Lasker thought it a grievous wrong to have the public schools in session on Saturday morning. He based his objections on two grounds: first, that five days in the week of school attendance are better than six for the physical and intellectual welfare of the scholars; and, secondly, that a considerable number of Jewish children (about two thousand, he estimated) in Boston are thus hindered from keeping the Sabbath according to the rules of their Church.

These grounds are so entirely different, that we must consider them separately. The first offers a sufficient reason for giving up the Saturday morning session, if the school committees are convinced of its reasonableness; and in fact a very large proportion of the schools of the Commonwealth, both public and private, are now conducted upon this plan. Even some of the higher grades of the public schools in Boston have no session on Saturday morning. Without going into a full discussion of the merits of this question, I would say that my own conclusion is that, for the advanced schools of older children and for the welfare of teachers, the five days school plan is a good one; but that, for young children, the six days session, with two half holidays on Wednesday and Saturday, is better.

The other reason given is very different, and this question must be asked: Is the State, as represented by School Boards, bound to ask what are the religious

practices of the pupils, and how must the school hours be arranged to suit them? It seems to me this is a thing wrong in theory and impossible in practice. The State has nothing whatever to do with the religious tenets of the pupils. It should know neither Greek nor Jew, Christian nor Mohammedan, Catholic nor Protestant. It would be involved in an endless discussion, if its rules must be conformed to the conscientious belief of its pupils. The Catholic and Episcopalian would demand exemption from school duties in Lent; the Congregationalist during revivals; the Mohammedans every Friday; and perhaps the Unitarians and Radicals on Anniversary week,—with the same reason that the Jews do on Saturday. If the School Board decides that two days of the week shall be without school sessions, it would be an excellent reason for selecting a day to be thus exempt that it suited the convenience of a majority or any large part of the pupils, whether for the purpose of going to the synagogue, the prayer-meeting or the dancing-school, the gymnasium or the theatre.

But another point was made by Rabbi Lasker: namely, that the parent had a right to keep his child from school in order to fulfil what he conceived to be a religious duty. Here he and the Catholic are right. This right of the parent is paramount to the claims of the school, not only when religious duty, but when considerations of health or the child's welfare demand its exercise. But the child must take the consequences. The pupil who is absent from school by reason of ill-health loses rank in consequence; it is inevitable, and is not a punishment for staying away, but a consequence of the fact. So the child who stays away at the command of his parent loses so much study and instruction, and must lose rank.

On Rabbi Lasker's plan, supposing the Saturday morning school to be an advantage, all the other thousands of children in Boston must lose that advantage for the accommodation of the two thousand Jews; and this is certainly as unjust to those who prize education as he claims the present arrangement to be to those who prize the Jewish Sabbath. If the child is arbitrarily deprived of rank as a punishment because he attends church or synagogue, that is persecution; but if he falls behind in his class because the other pupils study one-sixth more than he does, or if, the school authorities having decided that a certain number of absences per year are incompatible with good discipline, he is absent that number of times and so loses rank, he must simply choose between what he conceives to be the relative value of church and school privileges. It is very rarely that adherence to conscience does not cost something.

I wish to say that I have felt interested to answer these criticisms of Rabbi Lasker, because I think they were made in misunderstanding of the position of the schools on this point, and not in ill-will; and because I can bear most cordial testimony to the forbearance of the Jews in stirring up such questions, which the attitude of certain Christian sects gives them fair occasion to do, to the injury of the school system; and because I believe that there is no portion of our community more liberal, progressive, and philanthropic, and more sincerely interested in general education, than the cultivated and intelligent Jews whom it has been my good fortune to know.

I think we may confidently count upon them as valuable allies in the great movements of Free Religion and Secular education.

E. D. C.

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY B. C.

Political affairs in South Carolina which excited so much attention and controversy prior to the election, have suddenly changed into a peculiar spectacular performance which, although containing many comic elements, may yet end as a very disagreeable tragedy. There being some question with regard to the powers of the Returning Board, the matter was referred for decision to the Supreme Court, which directed the Board to return the names of all persons who appeared to be elected according to the reports of the County Canvassers. While certain points with reference to the Board were in debate before the Supreme Court, the Board held a meeting, threw out the votes of two Democratic counties (on the ground, we believe, of irregular proceedings or intimidation at the polls), issued certificates of election to the Hayes electors, to the various State Representatives, and to all the Republican candidates for State offices (with the exception of the Governorship the vote for which is to be counted by the Legislature), and then adjourned *sine die*. This action of the Board was not only in direct violation of the orders of the Court, but, inasmuch as four of its members are Republican candidates for election to State office, assumes a very suspicious appearance of sharp practice. The failure, moreover, to issue certificates of election of the

Representatives of the excluded counties alters the political character of the Legislature, so that instead of a Democratic it would have a Republican majority. The Supreme Court immediately ordered the arrest of all members of the Board, and, as we write, they are now in jail, subject to the order of the Court which has fined them \$1500 each for contempt. The Court has also directed its clerk to issue certificates of election to the Representatives of the rejected counties. The Board justifies its action on the ground that the ten days to which its proceedings are limited by law were about to expire, and it was obliged therefore to finish its labors without waiting for the action of the Supreme Court, the authority of which, moreover, it denies. The Legislature meets this week, but whether it will be Republican or Democratic, whether it will declare Chamberlain or Hampton to be elected Governor, or whether it will split in two and the adherents of each endeavor to establish an independent Legislature, are matters with regard to which we hope to know more next week than this. Party papers of course are very decided in upholding the action of the Board upon one hand or the Court upon the other. We do not know which is legally right, but are sure that if Chamberlain can afford to be elected in this manner, Hampton certainly can well afford to be defeated.

The condition of the canvass in Louisiana is more deplorable, if possible, than in South Carolina, and upon this point we shall speak a few plain words at the risk of exciting the ire of party zealots. The Louisiana Returning Board is a thoroughly rotten concern. Two or three years ago some of its doings were thoroughly inquired into and reported upon by such prominent Republicans as Mr. Wheeler, Mr. W. W. Phelps, Mr. G. F. Hoar, and others. They were unanimous in condemnation of its proceedings, and unhesitatingly declared it guilty of fraud. This Board has no Supreme Court to wage war against it. With regard to the result of all elections, it is admitted to be the highest authority in the State. Its proceedings are judicial as well as clerical, and from its decisions there is no appeal. It is at present composed of three members—heaving steadily refused to fill vacancies,—one member being white and two members black, and is now counting the votes of the various parishes; taking up, first, those parishes in which there is no dispute with regard to the number of votes cast or the fairness of method with which the balloting was conducted. Last Friday morning it had finished the count of thirteen parishes, situated in various portions of the State. The Springfield Republican, which advocated the election of Hayes and Wheeler, has carefully compared the votes of these parishes with the votes of the same parishes in 1874, and finds that the ratio of Democratic gain therein, applied to the remaining parishes of the State, would show the vote of the State to be cast for Tilden by about eight thousand majority. Professor Sumner, of Yale College, who recently returned from a visit to New Orleans, states that he conversed with members of both parties while there, and found that nearly all agreed that the State had voted for Tilden by at least seven thousand majority; but nearly all agreed also that the Returning Board would manage in some way to give the State to Hayes. Mr. Ottendorfer, editor of the New York Staats Zeitung, a Democratic paper, fully agrees with the statement of Professor Sumner. Assuming that the State has voted for Tilden, it would be a comparatively easy matter, nevertheless, to give it to Hayes by throwing out the votes of four or five parishes in which it is claimed Republicans were prevented from voting, by violence or by some other means. These claims are stoutly denied by the Democrats, and both parties support their statements with any required number of affidavits. The counting of votes by the Board is witnessed by a committee composed of five Democrats and five Republicans; and admitting the possibility that the ultimate decision of the Board may meet the approbation of the entire committee, we do not suppose that any one believes this will be the case, but on the contrary that the finding of the Board, whether for Hayes or Tilden, will be received by indignant protests and charges of a dishonest count by a large part of the people of the country.

With the possibility before us, therefore, that our next President may be one whom many people will believe to have been dishonestly elected, we desire to state that, nevertheless, in our opinion, his election should be acquiesced in, if not with cheerfulness, at least with good faith; and by good faith in this connection we mean with a sincere intention to support him in all measures precisely as we should if we believed him to have been elected solely by righteous methods. General Grant has already said that no President can afford to be elected by fraud, an opinion to which all will heartily assent; but the nation, as a nation, can afford to have a President elected by fraud far better than it can afford to indulge in a period of anarchy, or even one of prolonged contention which might impair its credit abroad and be productive of increased intensity of party strife at home. Four years is not a long time in which to endure the presidency of any man or the fraudulent usurpations of any party, especially when we know well that the man who should step into the presidency by evident fraud would inevitably, with his party, be consigned to well-merited ignominy. The suggestions of many party papers that forcible resistance may be made to the inauguration of the next President, we look upon, therefore, as mischievous vagaries, to be frowned upon by all who sincerely desire the good of their country and not the temporary triumph of any one man or any one party; and only a little less mischievous, in our opinion, are the many schemes now publishing which point out the admitted constitutional defects by aid of which

either House of Congress may contest the counting of the presidential vote and prevent a peaceful proclamation of the result. Although we should bitterly regret the choice of a President by an election, the fairness of which could not be universally conceded, we trust no one will forget that our country's welfare is infinitely more worthy of consideration than any regard for either Tilden or Hayes, and should not be endangered because of the temporary success of Returning Boards or scalawag politicians. These can exist, at most, but for a day; the nation is to exist, we hope, for unnumbered generations.

A more fearful catastrophe than any heretofore recorded in modern history recently occurred (Oct. 31st) along the eastern shore of Bengal, in Hindoetan. A violent hurricane or cyclone created an immense wave in the north-western part of the Indian Ocean, known as the Bay of Bengal, and this wave rolling in upon the land entirely submerged three large and numerous smaller islands lying in the estuary of the Megna River, which is, we believe, one of the numerous mouths of the famous Ganges River. The islands, one of which contained eight hundred square miles, are low and densely populated, and as the wave rolled in at midnight, surprising many in their beds and allowing but little opportunity for escape, the loss of life was unparalleled. The wave also submerged the main-land for a distance of some five or six miles inland. The number drowned is variously estimated at from one hundred and twenty-five thousand to over two hundred and fifty thousand persons.

An amusing squabble is taking place between the Protestant and Catholic chaplains of the Massachusetts State Prison. Until within a few years a single Protestant chaplain has had undisputed charge of the spiritual welfare of this large and attentive congregation of over seven hundred members. As about three hundred of these were Catholics, or, at least, of Catholic parentage and traditions, a Catholic priest has been allowed to try his skill upon the damaged souls who might be willing to accept his ministrations. Of course Catholic prayer-books were introduced, the Protestant Sunday-school lost some of its regular attendants, the confessional was established, and in short, the usual machinery of Catholic ministrations was duly set up,—and all, according to the unanimous opinion of wardens, inspectors, and prison officials, with much benefit apparently to the Catholic inmates. But the poor Protestant chaplain was greatly troubled by this Catholic success, and now comes out with a report which cannot be read without a smile by any one possessed of the slightest sense of humor, and which might have been written by J. D. Fulton or the immortal Talmage. He "pitches in" to the Catholics with a vim which is refreshing in these days of easy creeds, denounces their preaching and their practices, and evidently regards their success with the prisoners as secured by the wiles of the devil and as just cause for pious lamentation. The priest replies in a temperately written letter which, however, is not at all calculated to appease the anxious mind of his associate. We do not know what will be done with the two chaplains, but we pity the prisoners whose souls are to be cured by such antagonistic doses of theological gruel.

The excitement in Europe with regard to the probable outbreak of war between Russia and Turkey does not abate, and attention is now turned toward the coming Constantinople conference, which however may entirely fail to insure peace. Russia is undoubtedly preparing for war, and the Czar is determined to occupy Bulgaria for a time at least, in order to protect the Christians from Moslem violence during the initiation of the promised reforms. Turkey is perfectly willing to introduce reform in her system of administration, but positively refuses, thus far at least, to allow Russian soldiers to occupy Bulgaria; and points to an article in the Treaty of Paris which declares that the powers shall not interfere with the internal affairs of Turkey. Bismarck is not unwilling to permit Russia to march troops into Turkey, and although England opposes this demand of Russia she may finally assent to it under certain conditions. War or peace would then depend upon the stiffness of Turkish pride.

ENGLISH SKETCHES.

BY MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

LONDON, Nov. 11.

I shall go over to America. Not content with mobbing me at Hoyalnd, and brick-batting me at Gogleton, they have cayenne-peppered me at Armley! Do you ever try that curious trick in your half of the world? The *modus operandi* is as follows: you take some cotton waste, or tow, damp it well, and dip it thoroughly in cayenne pepper; then take it to the hall you want to operate upon, lay it outside the door, light it and run away. Presently a pungent odor diffuses itself through the room; people begin to cough, then choke, until naught can be heard but cough, cough, tchu, tchu, ugh, ugh, ugh! The lecturer struggles to go on—cough; gamely perseveres—gasp; still finish—emits a few melancholy gurgles, and subsides. Thus happened it at Armley. It was near the end of the lecture; my audience was gasping around me; "perorating" was impossible. I closed as quietly and quickly as I could, and choked demurely as I sat down. Discussion was not possible, and we promptly returned whither we came. There was a good deal of indignation, but it was choked down. On the whole, brickbats have one point in their favor; you can argue with a mob, but you can't argue against pepper.

per, and it is so hard to look dignified when you are choking. The only comfort is that when people resort to pepper, they must clearly be at the end of their arguments. Seriously speaking, it is sad to see that we are not yet beyond this kind of annoyance; it shows so much ignorance, so much narrowness, so much brutality. A man I met the day following this business told me that he had been ill all night from the effects of it; and many of the women there would probably suffer from it for a day or two. It often makes one sad at least to know how much there is yet to be done before we can pretend to civil and religious liberty, much as we boast ourselves thereupon in England.

There is an amusing little article in a French newspaper on the omission of prayers in the opening of the National Assembly. M. Edouard Lockroy remarks:—

"La session qui vient de s'ouvrir a quelque chose de particulier et d'effrayant: elle est privée de prières publiques. C'est la première fois depuis 1871 que les Assemblées délibèrent sans avoir appelé la bénédiction du ciel sur leurs travaux. On se demande avec terreur ce que cette omission va produire de cataclysmes."

M. Lockroy fears terrible things; M. de Gavardie will no longer leave at half-past four; and M. de Belcastel may forget all about reestablishing the inquisition. Everything is possible; heaven has not been warned that the Chamber is again at work, and will not have inspired the representatives of the nation. The novelty of this situation may even give some good sense to the right, and patriotism to the Bonapartists. But there is one benefit to be looked for; for here is a chance of estimating the efficacy of prayers for parliament:—

"Il est évident que, si des scènes de désordre se produisent; si, par exemple, les sénateurs se mettent à danser le cancan; si les bratards montent à la tribune en caleçon de bain; si, au milieu d'une discussion de finance, les députés entonnent en chœur l'*Amant d'Amanda*, il faudra bien reconnaître que l'omission des prières publiques aura eu un résultat fâcheux. Il faudra même proposer de les rétablir dans l'intérêt des Chambres, de la République et de la nation."

Further, M. Lockroy complains that the prayers are addressed only to the God of the Catholics, so that if they are of any use, the Catholics "se trouvent donc seuls inspirés, et cela condamne les autres à une infériorité véritablement regrettable. Mais comme, d'autre part, grand les Catholiques inspirés paient, ils paient comme M. Duteuple ou comme M. Lorgier, leur style fait douter de l'inspiration divine et de l'efficacité des prières." Clearly, the National Assembly prayers do not redound to the glory of God.

You know how very doubtful our courts of law are about the personal existence of his royal highness the prince of the power of the air. Some four hundred of his imps have just been giving clear proof of their activity and continued life. The Barcelona correspondent of the Times, relates a wonderful story, worth preserving as a curiosity of the nineteenth century. He writes:—

"About the 14th or 15th of this present month of October it was privately announced, chiefly to the faithful women of the congregation which regularly throngs the Church of the Holy Spirit, in the street of San Francisco, that a young woman of seventeen or eighteen years of age, of the lower class, having long been afflicted with 'a hatred of holy things'—the poor girl probably was subject to epileptic fits, and cried out and became convulsed when she heard the notes of the organ in church,—the senior priest of the church above mentioned would cure her of her disease; or, to use that gentleman's own language, 'Avaunt, physicians and mountebanks; see how the Church will cure this poor girl, who is at present possessed with four hundred devils.'"

A large number of the faithful assembled to see the power of God revealed by the casting out of the devils, and all preparations had been duly made for the spectacle:—

"Within the little enclosure or sanctuary, separated from the crowd by a light railing, lay on a common bench, with a little pillow for her head to recline upon, a poorly-clad girl, probably of the peasant or artisan class; her brother or husband stood at her feet to restrain her (at times) frantic kicking by holding her legs. The door of the vestry opened; the exhibitor—I mean the priest—came in. The poor girl, not without just reason, 'had an aversion to holy things,' or, at least, the four hundred devils within her distorted body had such an aversion; and in the confusion of the moment, thinking that the father was 'a holy thing,' she doubled up her legs, screamed out with twitching mouth, her breast heaving, her whole body writhing, and threw herself nearly off the bench. The male attendant seized her legs, the women supported her head and swept out her dishevelled hair."

The priest then delivered an oration, announcing his intention, and, this over, "turning to the prostrate, shuddering, most unhappy object of his attack, the priest commenced, 'In the name of God, of the saints, of the blessed Host, of every holy sacrament of our Church, I adjure thee, Rusbel, come out of her.' (N. B.—'Rusbel' is the name of a devil, the devil having two hundred and fifty-seven names in Catalonia.) Thus addressed, the girl threw herself in an agony of convulsion, till her distorted face, foam-bespattered lips, and writhing limbs grew well-nigh stiff, at full length upon the floor, and, in language semi-obscene, semi-violent, screamed out, 'I don't choose to come out, you thieves, scamps, robbers.' 'Fulfill your promise, Rusbel,' said the priest. 'You said yesterday you would cast one hundred more of your cursed spirits out of this most hapless girl's body. Can't you speak?' 'Yes, I can,' came, from

the poor girl's foaming lips, 'I can.' 'Yes,' said the cura, 'you are a devil of honor; you are a man of your word.'

This extraordinary scene went on for some time, and at last the devil consented to come out by the mouth of the girl. The priest refused to allow this, because one hundred devils coming out of her mouth would suffocate her. Then he demanded that she should be undressed, that they might pass through her body. This also the priest would not permit. Then the devils said they would go out through her right foot; the sandal was untied, the foot gave a kick, and the devils were expelled. Some more of the four hundred were to be exorcised on the following day, but the civil authorities interfered and put a prompt end to the scandal. The conclusion reminds one of the famous decree—when miracles were creating a public disturbance—"Défense à Dieu de faire miracles ou se lieu." One wonders when people will outgrow the manifold follies of superstition. After all, is this more silly, although more repulsive, than "Dr." Slade or "Dr." Monck, who employ spirits to rap, pinch, and scribble for their profit?

Communications.

VIEWS OF A SOUTHERN WOMAN.

MR. ABBOT:

Dear Sir,—In looking over the column of "Current Events," in THE INDEX of October 12, and the letter of Harold Frederic in same issue, I was struck by your appearance, as the first intimation given in your just paper that there are "two sides," to this "outrage question."

"W. J. P.'s" article, "Justice, not Partisanship," and "Current Events," in the following INDEX, all grouped together, call forth this statement from one Southerner broad-minded enough to see the thing in its true light. Your publication of "Slade's Defence," the "Current Events," and the letter from the "Servant of Christ," speak handsomely of your true journalistic and non-partisan spirit. Your sympathies are with none of these, but you give them fair hearing.

In the outset I shall state I am a Southern woman by birth, brought up by a slave-holding Virginian, and owned slaves all my life until the war. My father despised slavery in every form, and winked at my teaching his own slaves to read, despite the law. He was beloved by all of them. In advance of his time he was an advocate of "woman's rights," and taught me to hate her wrongs as well as to comprehend them; and I am certain my children have blessed the fact that I was rocked in a heterodox cradle by the hand of a man.

My father was a Union man, until the outrages of Union soldiers caused him to forsake his desolated home in Arkansas, and take arms in the Confederate cause. You of the North can know nothing of what it was to be a Union man in the Southern States at that time. Arrested and incarcerated as a prisoner in the Irving Block in Memphis, he died there, holding no bitterness in his heart, and accepted every misfortune as a result of war. His last words to me commended a faithful slave; and that woman to-day shares my heart and purse, dear as those tied by blood and love. I have passed many years in the North, and sympathize with any true-hearted abolitionist there; but my position gives me an advantage here, and my life has borne witness to my truth. I spent the past summer in a town near Buffalo. My nurse, a negro-girl, attended a colored people's picnic there. On her return home she said to me: "Mrs. Saxon, two men, one white and one colored, made speeches, and said that the colored people were not allowed any freedom in the South, and they could not have picnics, and were butchered without mercy in both Louisiana and other Southern States." I asked: "Well, Emma, is it true?" "Why," she cried in astonishment, "no; seven hundred of them chartered the *Prytania* Cass the day we left there to go to a picnic; they do nothing else but frolic; that is one reason half of them are so poor now."

After the Coshatta murder of two years ago, planters for ninety miles up and down Red River were arrested, only a short time before the election, and held in durance until after it was over, on suspicion alone. Their *employés* voted the Republican ticket to a man, swearing that they did so from the simple fact of fear. The same parties who told the farmers they were prisoners told their servants they would be served likewise if they dared vote otherwise. Ignorant, credulous, timid from long servitude, who wonders at their course! My cook, a negro woman, had a son who voted the Democratic ticket two years ago, and was mobbed and beaten by his own race. I saw cards containing threats of similar treatment that negroes had received. My sympathy is with the negro. No other race suddenly freed could have acted better; few so well. Their Union Aid Societies have been a bond of union for them, a protection from want, and a great help to the impoverished cities by keeping them off charity lists.

So much for the present, as I now see it. When the war closed, I was living, and had been for two years, in the subjugated city of Memphis, Tenn. I saw that the greed of gain had outstripped patriotism in the hearts of officers and men, and to make money in any way was the prevailing desire of all, Northern and Southern alike. Men filled with a fanatical idea of the negroes' wrongs, their hearts all on fire with good-will to them, taught them that as a race they owed revenge, and painted wrongs in glowing colors that they had never endured save in isolated cases. I am not whitewashing a system that I hated. I am too earnest an advocate of freedom for woman to do this. But cases of personal cruelty in great degree

were the exception, and not the rule, just as in marriage. Mad and furious at their defeat, our people threw off their faithful adherents,—in many instances with wanton cruelty, in many it was enforced. It was hard to make a woman comprehend that the simple fact of freedom made her a homeless wanderer, or to convince her the change was enforced by a law she could not in any way comprehend. A slave woman and her children were property; they had a money value, and money could be raised on them at any time, as on any other salable thing. By her freedom she was valueless, and her work could not feed, clothe, and house these helpless swarms of little ones; and so with tears of anguish, many homes were cleared of long attached slaves.

Coming to Mobile I urged upon the people there to anticipate this influx of a Northern body of teachers, hostile to us from long prejudice and religious teachings,—that it was the duty of our people to educate our former slaves, making them our tried friends, as they were from climate, nature, and training our natural allies and *employés*. Our people met all such proposals with scorn, and fancied the negro would instantly burst all bonds, and demand and enforce equality.

Some of our men were wise enough to affiliate with the incoming power, and save something of our former prestige by so doing. Many of our people met this move with hostility, and ostracized both the Republicans (as they termed them) and the Southerners who tried to save even this "half loaf" in their desperate need. Mad as such policy was, it was persevered in until many good Northern men, too tender to keep their families here, sent them or carried them back. The Southerner shrank from a condition so painfully humiliating for his family. I have ever firmly believed that Gen. Longstreet, in the beginning of his career after the war, felt that no man familiar with his record could doubt his patriotism, or impugn his motives, and that his example would give those of less renowned valor the courage to step forward in so needed a reform, and that good men who had accepted the condition in good faith would sustain his course. No! our fools among women cried out: "I will despise you if you vote with the negro." Naturally you of the North must look for officers to fill places of trust among your own adherents and the colored race. I urged and pleaded with my friends to look ten years ahead, and reckon up what such mad policy was to bring about; but truly—"whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad."

This system of ostracizing good men, if they identified themselves with our conquerors and made effort to share in civil government, brought about its natural result. Many among our most useful and honest men had by rebellion lost the right of suffrage, and could only look on with tied hands.

Naturally a floating, thriftless population, with nothing to lose either in means or character, came forward, ready to share the spoils. Good men from the North retired in disgust from the field, leaving the scum of both sides to partition between them the spoils of our dismembered States. Many, in a few years, seeing the great mistake, strove again to enter the arena, and save something of power and honor from the wreck. It was too late; the corrupt leaders had seized upon the negro, and used him, until they had wielded a sword that cut both ways. Suddenly set free from toil, idleness was their glory, and from among this generation will come the food to glut the prisons. You rarely find the former slave therein; it is the children born in bondage, and grown up since the war. I questioned over forty women in the Parish prison, and found not one among them thirty years of age.

Suddenly set free, like too many, they thought freedom was license, used obscene language, were violent in their demonstrations, often resenting fancied insults with open violence. Naturally the long dominant race felt no sympathy, never paused to assume "his place," and so hated with a will. Yet to-day, after this turbid water of race-strife has slowly settled, the law-abiding negro finds his truest sympathizer and warmest friend among the former masters.

I live on a street where the principal owners are wealthy, and nearly all of Northern birth. Two-thirds of them, or more, employ white labor; myself and one other, Southerners, employ negroes entirely, and pay the best of wages. My husband, a South Carolinian, had (and still has) during the League power, nine negro men employed; he refused to discharge them. On the memorable 14th of September not one drop of negro blood was shed, yet the dominant race of the South held complete control for twenty-six hours. Weary of all I have represented, in brief our people are in despair. Our most useful men are having their hopes destroyed and lives ruined by the mad policy that prevails. The negro sees that the incoming Northerner, unused to his thriftless ways, hires Pat and Bridget. The Southerner is impoverished, and can lend no aid. So between the two our poor unfortunate sits down to meditate in gloomy despondency. Some among them, astute, clear-headed, however unlearned in books, counsel together and conclude to have "a new order of things," to vote with the Democrats, and try a change, assured that, if the threat of enslavement be true, Uncle Sam will send bayonets down to their first cry for help. Naturally, the Republicans regard the negro as their lawful adherent; was not his freedom won by their valor? Is he not the spoil of their "bow and spear"? He cannot see how the negroes dare change their allegiance, and becomes mad with rage at the assumed insult to friendship.

Those fortunate enough to hold office desire still to retain it, by the vote of his weak, ill-used, but earnest-hearted brother. The Republican party here is not the Republican party of the North; Mr. Abbot,

although there are some few good, true men among the motley crew. Personally, I am in sympathy with the Republican government; it has made vast progress under the mighty shadow of the war-cloud. Free from this and the corruption engendered by war results, it can be a glorious party, and it will. They freed the negro; they will free woman; though they hold out to her no hand of hope, they have ceased to sneer at her claim, or mock her protest. The Democratic party is anchored in a Jeffersonian Eden of the past, non-progressive, and have a staked-out circle they denominate "woman's sphere," in which she bears the babies, mends their clothes, feeds their lust and stomachs,—"chronicles Church small-beer, and suckles fools" to grow up more bigoted than their sires. I fear the change, and yet the same corrupt ring that environed Grant will surround Hayes.

A more terrible danger lies in the fact that the consolidation of Protestant sects means mischief. The love of the Christian is a death-dealing instrument, and the element lies largely within Republican ranks. Our greatest safety lies in the intense hatred that has long animated the sects; they are united in only one thing—hatred to the Catholic. In the near future it will be a mighty cement indeed, and array two mad, unreasoning elements in a hand-to-hand struggle.

If the Governor of Louisiana can be a Democrat, it would be better for her that Hayes occupied the Chair of Chief Magistrate, for as a Western man he would scarcely fight against the interest of his own section. Their interest as a grain-producing people is identical with ours, holding as we do the outlet to the mighty stream on whose banks they live. Too poor to do without Federal appropriation, to render these waters available, we do well to weigh the matter now. In any event our people are in a deplorable condition, misruled and misjudged by one-half the nation's best adherents. Oppressive rule is awful. Witness the attesting facts of our neglected and empty houses, our unoccupied merchants, the languishing trade. My dwelling two years ago cost me sixteen thousand dollars; to-day it would not bring seven thousand, if a purchaser could be found at all. Nor is this alone the case here. Witness the mighty grain elevators, lying idle, that were once busily employed in Buffalo; the numberless unoccupied business houses for rent in other Northern business centres. All this is the result of the mighty cancer that is eating the life from one-third of the Union—"In it, but not of it." We fought to get out of the Union; how can we get back? We are down, and yet you say, accept. Why, you can't conceive what you are saying, unless you were in our midst, a resident for years as I have been. I offer you no partisan views, and frankly say: "Here is a Gordian knot, and I fear it is so tied about our body politic that it will be cut as the one was by Alexander, and in the end a war of religion as well as races be upon us."

I have my ideas of reform that I suppose men would sneer at. Nevertheless one thinks, despite the sneer of Cæsar. Ingersoll truly says: "Never can men be true nor great, so long as babies lie in women's laps, and they kneel before the twin-born devils, fear and faith." To me the emancipation of women from priestly rule is a nobler mission than all beside; for the elevation of the female sex is the glorious exaltation of the male.

Yours fraternally,
E. L. SAXON.

NEW ORLEANS, November 3, 1876.

HEATHEN HONESTY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I cut from the *Celestial Empire* of the 23d September last, the leading paper owned by Englishmen in Shanghai, China, and conducted in the interest of foreigners, the following editorial notice of a trifling incident which, like straws, show which way the wind blows. Remember as you read it that these people (the Chinese) are they to whom the Christian world send missionaries to instruct them in the right theology, and to teach them what is right and what is wrong. Surely these heathen, if they could read about our safe burglaries, our whiskey rings, Belknap, Babcock, Schenck & Co., might turn upon the missionaries and say: "Physician! Heal thyself."

Nov. 15, 1876.

"It was curious to notice on the Bund the other morning, a string of wheelbarrows laden with large bricks of solid bar silver, being placidly trundled along by coolies. Nobody was near to see that the treasure, which was loosely enough secured, arrived at its destination safely. Of course there is no doubt that it did so arrive; but there are few countries where one could see a familiar sight,—sons, almost, of precious metal piled on ordinary conveyances of the most primitive description, and treated with about as much caution as if it were a cartload of bricks. And yet it was safe enough. Fancy such a thing being attempted in the streets of London!"

THEN, AGAIN, baths may almost affect a religious character. Free Church clergymen affect Strathpeffer, the Dissenters are in their element at Llandrindod, while the Irish priest is in his full glory at Lisdoonvarna. We even find a hill-station in the Tyrol, Obiadis, recommended as particularly suited for Ultramontanes, where Northern Germans need not show themselves, although the society is represented as one happy family quite tolerant of differences. Somewhat different are baths in the south of Germany, or at the miracle-working well of Lourdes. It is also noteworthy that there is a strong religious element in many English hydropathic establishments.—*Curative effects of Baths and Waters, by Braun.*

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Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America—that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country,—is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large. And later still 'I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest.'"

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ARTICLE V.—All charter-members and life-members of the National Liberal League, and all duly accredited delegates from local auxiliary Liberal Leagues organized in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution shall be entitled to seats and vote in the Annual Congress. Annual members of the National Liberal League shall be entitled to seats, but not to vote, in the Annual Congress.

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EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

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SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrine of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

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THERE ARE SAID TO BE OVER A THOUSAND Young Men's Christian Associations in North America, with an average membership of one hundred and ten, and an aggregate property of \$2,125,418.

THE HEBREW ORDER OF B'nai B'rith unveiled their statue of Religious Liberty on the Centennial Grounds at Philadelphia, on November 30. The artist is Mr. M. Ezekiel, of Cincinnati, whose work has been highly praised.

FROM A long article in the *Detroit Post* of November 19, it appears that the "Radical Democracy," which has expressed entire sympathy with the Liberal League movement, voted an independent ticket at the late election in several places.

THIS DROLL SUGGESTION of a correspondent is referred to the United States Chief of Engineers: "Now that Hell Gate has been blown up on Sunday, I wish that General Newton would excavate the American Alliance, and blow it up on Saturday."

ONE OF Mr. Moody's converts at Chicago, being a fugitive from justice, started back to deliver himself up to the authorities, expecting a sentence of ten years in the State prison. What a blessed thing it would be for the country just now if the revivalist would do as much for the politicians of both parties!

IT IS proposed by the Italian Ministry to appropriate the Vatican to the State, and break up the semblance of temporal sovereignty kept up by the Pope within its walls. Such a measure might induce the old gentleman to emigrate; and Father Becker's device of setting up his throne at Jerusalem may come to pass after all.

THE BAPTIST *Watchman* is disturbed at what it calls "Scientific Vaticanism," and thinks that Huxley is no more infallible than the "very small wood-bird." True enough; but the question is one of competency, not infallibility, and it is no proof of competency for a tyro to dispute with an eminent specialist in his own department.

THE NEW YORK *Tribune* says that in that city "the annual rental of some pews is equal to the house-rent of a family of moderate means. . . . In many churches the custom of sub-letting is in vogue, and in some cases it is made the source of profit to the pew-holder." What a precious justification of the exemption of churches from taxation!

"In a general conversation a few days ago," wrote a subscriber in a recent letter, "I made the remark that the disciples, no doubt, failed to understand Jesus in many of his teachings. One of my shop-mates, who is much like Pat's owl ('says little, but thinks much') said: 'Yes—then the disciples did not understand Jesus; now Jesus does not understand the disciples.' Hawley!!"

NO CITIZEN who values free institutions can fail to be moved by a profound anxiety as to the outcome of the present political embarrassment. The temptations to fraud in manipulating the election returns are so evident, and the public dangers of any such course are so enormous, that partisanship ought to be wholly swallowed up in patriotism. "Counting in" anybody as President in such a way as to leave the people convinced that he is really a usurper would do more to destroy republican government in this country than open, armed rebellion. Let us all be fixed in one purpose—to throw whatever influence we possess, be it little or great, on the side of an honest, dispassionate, non-partisan settlement of this grave Presidential question.

THERE is no little force in these statements of the *Examiner*: "It is often said, and with a good deal of justice, that the scepticism of our time is more thoughtful and more fair to Christianity than that of the last century. Its teachers and exemplars include men of high aims and estimable characters. They give no ground for the old charge of alliance between infidelity and immorality. Their discussions of the subject are in the tone of men who love truth, and who reject Christianity because they do not see it to be truth. But the more malignant form of unbelief is not obsolete, and the mild and respectable type tends constantly to degenerate into it. The calm and lofty denial of the gospel is usually connected with a sanguine persuasion that the superstition is dying out, and, indeed, almost ready for burial. Because it is discredited in their coterie, the sceptics assume that all men of sense have renounced, or will very soon renounce their faith in it. But the facts do not conform to their expectation. The Bible is still preached and believed, churches continue strong and draw in multitudes from the world, and the illumination of freethinking is making progress very slowly, if at all. Impatience is very likely to move something like anger at the impotence of what seemed so mighty to overthrow 'the old faith.'"

THE *Nation* suggests that any one of the Hayes electors, by casting his vote for Bristow in the Electoral College, could turn the disputed election into a mere failure to elect, and thereby perhaps save the country from civil war by securing the undisputed election of Tilden. It reminds the country that the original plan of the founders of the government was that the electors should exercise their independent judgment, and calls upon them now to resume this independence of which they have been deprived. It says, truly enough: "If, indeed, any member of one of those colleges were under such circumstances [as now exist] to exercise the right of private judgment, though actuated by the loftiest and purest motives, he would probably be roundly denounced as a traitor, and compared with Arnold and Judas." Very likely, and not without abundant justification. The purpose of "exercising the right of private judgment" would have been announced *before election* by any man not a "traitor." After he has been nominated and elected to vote for certain candidates, he has in honor concluded a contract with his constituents to cast that vote; and he would deserve all the reprobation intimated, if he were to follow the *Nation's* astounding suggestion. Does the way to reform in politics lie through the brazen violation of contracts? Or is a possible fraud only to be escaped by an actual one?

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE,
 AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 2, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

[For THE INDEX.]

Sunday Observance.

REPORT OF THE CONVENTION

OF

THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

HELD AT BETHOVEN HALL, BOSTON, NOVEMBER 15, 1876.

(CONTINUED FROM LAST WEEK.)

The President then said:—
 LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: At the great festival held in Philadelphia to celebrate the adoption of the United States Constitution, it must not be forgotten that the Jewish and the Christian clergymen walked together in the procession, as a distinct recognition from the founders of our then new-born government, that it was based on principles of perfect religious equality,—not toleration, but equality, which is better. And we must all have felt, I am sure, during Dr. Lasker's address, that he spoke to us, not merely as the representative of the ancient religion to which he belongs, arguing for the special views of that, but that he rose to the broader attitude of an American citizen, claiming that this nation shall be now, what it assumed to be in the beginning, based upon secular, not upon religious, grounds. Is there anyone in the audience who would like to make any remarks upon the subject suggested by the written essay, or by the remarks of Dr. Lasker? If so, opportunity is given and the platform is offered to him. We should be very glad to hear from any of the audience. If no one is quite prepared to do so, we will afford additional material, and some further texts for consideration, by calling upon the Rev. Mr. Savage, of this city, who will address you in regard to "The History of Sunday Observance."

Mr. Savage then spoke as follows:—
 THE HISTORY OF SUNDAY OBSERVANCE.

BY REV. M. J. SAVAGE.

Fortunately, or unfortunately, I am obliged to talk my essay this morning instead of reading it. I have been so busy since I knew that I was to take some of your time this morning, that I have been unable to find time to write it; so that the manuscript I have in my hand is simply copies of quotations which I wish to read, and wish to be correct about. Before beginning the essay proper, and perhaps as an introduction to it, I wish to say that, if I were discussing the best use of Sunday, I might put myself on the ground where I should find a large part of the Orthodox clergy of Boston in substantial agreement with me. I certainly am not in favor of the abolition of Sunday. Just as we need some time to devote to our material welfare, so we need some time to devote to our religious welfare. If you should find a man in Boston who professed to be about his business seven days in the week, and yet you should be unable to catch him at it on any particular one of the seven days, you would have a suspicion that it was not looked after very closely. So I believe that people who look after their religious affairs always, and never do it at any particular time, leave them somewhat neglected, to say the least.

I have come here, then, simply in the interest of what seemed to me true. I came across a little passage from the Rev. H. R. Haweis, of London, an English churchman, which seemed to me capitally qualified to be my text. It is simply this: "It is better to be true than to seem good." Whether I be taken to be good this morning or not, by those who have certain ideas concerning Sunday, I am very anxious, at any rate, that I should be true; and I shall be careful scrupulously to state that which is true and nothing else.

My topic, as I understand it, is to give some account of what Sunday has actually been since the closing of the New Testament record; that is, Sunday in the Church. If we go back to the founding of the Church, we find that the most marked feature of that age, so far as the Church itself is concerned, is the grand division between the "Jewish faction," as it was called, and the followers of Paul. This division was so deep, so marked, so characteristic, that it has left its trace all through the New Testament itself. It was one of the grand aspects of the time, and the point on which they were divided was simply this: the followers of Peter, those who adhered to the teachings of the Central Church in Jerusalem, held that all Christians, both converted Jews and Gentiles, were under obligation to keep the Mosaic law, ordinances, and traditions. That is, a Christian, according to their definition, was first a Jew; Christianity was something added to that, not something taking the place of it. We find this controversy raging violently, all through the early churches, and splitting them into factions, so that they were the occasion of prayer and counsel. Paul took the ground distinctly that Christianity, while it might be spiritually the lineal successor of Judaism, was not Judaism; and that he who became a Christian, whether a converted Jew or Gentile, was under no obligation whatever to keep the Jewish law, so far as it was separate from practical matters of life and character. We find this intimated in the writings of Paul, two or three passages of which I have here, but which have been quoted already in Mr. Whipple's essay; for we have to go to the New Testament to find the origin of that which, we find, existed immediately after the New Testament book was written. Paul says: "One man esteemeth one day above another; another man esteemeth every day alike." He leaves it an open question; they can do as they please. [Romans xiv., 5-6.] Then: "Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years. I am afraid of you, lest I have

bestowed upon you labor in vain." [Gal. iv., 10, 11.] And if you will note this Epistle of Paul to the Galatians, you will find that the whole purpose of his writing it was to protest against what he believed to be the viciousness of the Judaizing influences. That is, he says: "I have come to preach to you the perfect truth, that Christ hath made us free; and you are going back and taking upon yourselves this yoke of bondage. My labor is being thrown away; my efforts have been in vain." Then he says, in this celebrated Epistle to the Colossians, that has never yet been explained away or met: "Let no man therefore judge you any more in meat, or in drink, or in respect of an holy day, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath days" [Col. ii., 16, 17],—distinctly abrogating the binding authority of the Sabbath on the Christian Church. So that, if Paul's word anywhere means anything, if his authority is to be taken as of binding force on any point whatever, then Paul is to be regarded as authoritatively and distinctly abrogating the Sabbath, and declaring that it is no longer binding on the Christian Church.

I hinted, a moment ago, at a council. We find that this breach in the early Church, this controversy, resulted at last in Paul's going up to Jerusalem to meet James and the representatives of the Jerusalem Church, to see if they could find any common platform of agreement,—if they could come together so that they could work with mutual respect and without any further bickering. What is the platform that they met upon? It was distinctly understood that those who wished to keep up the observance of Judaism should do so, and the Church at Jerusalem gave Paul this grand freedom, substantially saying to him: "Go back to your missionary work, found churches, and teach them that they are perfectly free in regard to all Mosaic and Jewish observances, save only these four: 'Abstain from pollutions of idols, from fornication, from things strangled, and from blood.'" [Acts xv., 20.] The point I wish to ask your attention to is that the question of Sabbath-keeping is one of those that is left out. The point that Paul had been fighting for was conceded by the central church at Jerusalem, and he was to go out thenceforth free, so far as that was concerned, in his teaching of the churches that he should found.

You have already heard that there is no mention of the Sabbath, or the Lord's day, as binding in the New Testament. What, then, was the actual condition of affairs? What did the churches do in the first three hundred years of their existence? Why, they did just what Paul and the Jerusalem church had agreed upon. Those who wished to keep the Jewish Sabbath did so; and the Judaizing faction, and the converts from the Gentiles, both, were accustomed to meet together some time, morning or evening, on the first day of the week, and to hold their public religious services to celebrate the resurrection of Jesus, and to eat together the Lord's Supper. But there appears nowhere any least, slightest, smallest hint, that on this day they were to abstain from labor, or that they were to be hindered in doing anything they pleased, or going anywhere they pleased,—that is, there is no trace of their confounding this first day of the week with the Jewish Sabbath. The Judaizing faction kept both; they kept the Jewish Sabbath, and they also met the other Christian brethren on the Lord's day. The Gentiles simply met on the Lord's day, and usually left the Jewish Sabbath entirely on one side. This, I say, is the fact of history.

There are one or two things I wish to speak of in connection with this, before passing to the next point,—two or three omissions, well-known, which are very significant. The writers of the New Testament, in several places, catalogue at length all kinds of sins and offences against Christian character. They are so long, so exhaustive, that it is apparent, on the part of the writer, that he wishes substantially to cover the whole ground. Now it is very remarkable that nowhere is there any mention of Sabbath-keeping, of Sunday-keeping, of Lord's day-keeping, as binding; and that nowhere any fault is found with anybody for neglecting to keep any of these days. Now if you remember that a large part of the Christian Church were converted heathen, people who had been swept in under the influence of the preaching of the apostles, who were not at all accustomed to keep any such day, who had no idea of it, you would suppose that that would be one of the first points in which they would most likely step over Christian observance, providing that that was a Christian observance. Yet there is no trace of it anywhere.

One other thing, which is more conclusive than this. During the persecutions under the Emperors of the Roman Empire, during the first centuries of Christianity, we know that this was true: that there were sons and daughters of heathen tyrants who were Christians,—there were officers in the Roman army,—there were common soldiers in the Roman army,—those representing all its ranks from the lowest to the highest,—who were Christians. There were members of Caesar's household in Rome, even, who were Christians,—Christians at a time when to be known as a Christian was certain death; and yet they were able for weeks, and months, and years to keep perfectly secret the fact of their Christianity. Consider for a moment how utterly impossible any such concealment would have been, if they had felt themselves bound to keep every seventh day after some certain public fashion, as an observance of Christian rules and laws. Particularly if this was a distinguishing mark of Christianity, and they were under obligation to keep it publicly as the Christians' Lord's day, not a single one of these men or women or children would have been able to conceal their Christianity for more than six days at a time. Yet they did conceal it for weeks, and months, and years; and a striking thing is that there is no apology from

anybody for being under obligation to conceal it to save his life. There is no dispensation on the part of the Church permitting it to be done; there is no explanation of it; there is no mention of it at all. This seems to be a pretty conclusive argument that the thing never was thought of as binding, during the times of this persecution on the part of the Roman emperors.

The first legislation we come to on this subject very naturally is under Constantine, because Christians, not having gained recognition until this time, they had no power, if they wished, to make or enforce any legislation. But when we come to the year 321, we find this edict of Constantine. I have not found a translation of it, except one that I have made myself. It is a very free translation. If any of you should accuse me, after I have read it, of not knowing much about Latin, I shall do as a certain class of politicians do, when they have been caught stealing; I shall fall back on the fact that my "heart is sound on the main question" [laughter], and offer no other excuse. The edict is dated in the year 321, and is substantially as follows:—

"Let all judges and inhabitants of cities, and all craftsmen, rest on the venerable day of the sun. But countrymen may freely and lawfully attend to the cultivation of the fields, lest by delay the opportunity granted by the favor of heaven should be lost; seeing that it frequently happens that the grain and the vine cannot be so fitly planted on any other day."

The manumission of slaves, however, was excepted from this sweeping edict, that the judges should be free from all labor and occupation on that day. One or two points about this I would like to have you notice. In the first place, Constantine does not say anything about the Lord's day, or Sunday. Everybody admits that he means that day which we call Sunday to-day; but when you remember that Constantine, at the best, after all his white-washing, was rather a poor kind of Christian, and when we remember that he was a worshipper of the sun, an adherent of the old Pagan religion, before he found it for his interest to adopt and patronize Christianity,—it is a question how much love for the Lord's day is to be found in this edict. And then it is very strange, if there was any general public opinion on the part of the Church that it was wicked to do any work on Sunday,—it is very strange that he should have made this grand exception, leaving all countrymen free to go about their daily avocations. And it is very strange, if he believed the Almighty God has absolutely forbidden all labor on this day,—it is very strange, I say, that he should make such a curious reference as he does, when he says that countrymen are permitted to go about their daily avocations, "lest by delay the opportunity granted by the favor of heaven should be lost"; as if the very heaven, that had forbidden such a use of the day, was liable to give them special opportunities and chances to do their work, in direct contravention of its own orders and law!

Additions were made to this edict under various emperors. In the year 425, under Theodosius II., games and theatrical exhibitions were first forbidden; in 528, the third council of Orleans forbid all labor on Sunday. We find this, then, is a fact, that up to the time of Constantine even courts were held, and all the usual work of the city, as well as of the country, went on; after his time, half a century or more, agricultural labor still went on as usual; only in 425 were theatres forbidden; and in 528, for the first time, all labor. This, then, for the legislation.

I come now (and this is some of the most important testimony I have to offer you), I come to consider the opinion of certain great fathers on this subject. Of course, they being accounted in their time, Orthodox, standard authorities, and being so accounted still, cannot be accused of having any bias or prejudice in the matter. They must have known what were the actual practices, and they must have been aware as to what was the ideal practice which the Church demanded and desired. I give you only a few specimens. In the year 345, after Constantine's edict I wish you to notice, St. Cyril Bishop of Jerusalem, says this; and you will notice that it is implied that his Christian followers were inclined to turn out of the really true way of Christianity and go after their old ideas, just as Paul found his inclined. He says: "Turn thou not out of the way to Samaritanism or Judaism, for Jesus Christ hath redeemed thee. Henceforth reject all observance of Sabbaths, and call not meats which are really matters of indifference, common or unclean."

This is St. Cyril, twenty or thirty years after Constantine's edict. In the year 392, still later, St. Jerome (pretty good ancient authority) says: "On the Lord's day, they went to church; and, returning from church, they would apply themselves to their allotted works, and make garments for themselves and others." And again: "The day is not a day of fasting, but the day is a day of joy; the Church has always considered it a day of joy, and none but heretics have thought otherwise."

I skip from that time till we come to Luther. What does Luther say about it? Luther says: "If anywhere the day [Sunday] is made holy for the mere day's sake,—if anywhere, any one sets up its observance on a Jewish foundation, then I order you to work on it, to ride on it, to feast on it, to do anything to remove this encroachment on Christian liberty." And Calvin (he certainly was no looser on the Sunday question or any other than his flock) even went so far as to propose to change the day from Sunday to Thursday as a distinct assertion of the Christian principle that one day was just as good as another; and one day, when John Knox visited Calvin on Sunday afternoon, he found him playing at a game of bowls. Now John Calvin is almost worshipped in our modern Orthodox churches; and yet, if he were consistently living to-day after the pattern that he fol-

lowed when he did live, there is not a church in Boston that would not discipline him.

Beza, another great reformer, advocated work on Sunday. Bucer insisted that abstinence from labor could not possibly be pleasing to God.

We come now, then, to the Puritan reaction, and to notice its causes. I must be very brief in all this, lest I overstep the limits of my time. The first cause seems to me, apart from that which Mr. Whipple has stated, was this: Here the Catholic Church had had almost an innumerable number of festival days or church days—holy days—one of them so far as the ordinary Catholic was concerned being just as holy as the other. These had based themselves on their traditions. The authority of the Church was sufficient for keeping Sunday or any other day; but the Protestants protested against the authority and the power of the Church, and distinctly placed themselves on the foundation of the word of God. What they could not find there, they didn't claim to find anywhere. They wished, and it was a necessary part of their system, that they should continue the observance of the Lord's day. It was a day when they met together to preach,—a day, it is fair to say, without which the existence of the Church itself would almost be an impossibility. Since they had thrown away the Pope and the authority of the Church, they must find greater authority for the day, or else they must give it up; and so of course they took the best sacred authority they could find, whether it was very good or not. They didn't attempt to find much in the New Testament. They went back distinctly and directly to the fourth commandment, and said: "Here is Divine authority for keeping the Sabbath day; and no matter if it is now the first day of the week, instead of the last, we don't know but that the apostles of Jesus, in some unrecorded saying, or institution, or conversation, made the change." So that the Church simply switched off one track to the other, and has since that time come down the centuries on the first-day track instead of on the seventh. They read this fourth commandment in their service every Sunday, and based here the keeping of the Lord's day.

But another important influence was the Puritan revolt from the rude sports of the time. The young men were accustomed to practise all sorts of rude, half-barbarous sports on Sunday. Of course they interfered not only with the purity necessary to the highest civilization, and it was well they were abolished, but they shocked the religious spirit of the time. As an illustration of what they were, Thackeray says: "An Englishman is not necessarily a brute; but an English brute is the worst sort of brute." You can judge from a passage like that as to what the nature of these sports might have been, and how they shocked the really high sentiment of Puritan theology and purity of principle; while on the other hand the Puritans carried their opposition to worldliness, to worldly pleasure, to worldly joys so far, that to their minds it was wicked to be frivolous on Sunday and perhaps on all the other six days beside,—but at any rate on Sunday, whether they could stop it at any other time or not. So Macaulay, hitting at the extreme repugnance of the Puritans against popular sports, says a thing on the other side that perhaps is something of an exaggeration, and no more just than Thackeray's statement on the first. He says: "The Puritans oppose bear-bating on Sunday, not because it gave pain to the bears, but because it gave pleasure to the people."

But the Puritan Sunday (and here I come to another important division of my talk) has been called "Sabbatizing," or a going back to the Jewish Sabbath. This is popularly supposed to be true, and the day has come to be called the Sabbath; but let us see whether it is true or not. I have said, and I have admitted, and I wish to refer to it, so that you can't accuse me of being guilty of contradiction, for I am not,—they did go back to the fourth commandment as the fundamental law on which they built their divine demand that the Sabbath, or the Lord's day, should be kept; and it is popularly supposed, and no doubt they supposed, that the kind of Sabbath which they instituted, the Puritan Sabbath as it has come to be called, was really the resurrection of the old Jewish Sabbath,—that they had gone back and picked up again the genuine thing. Now let us see if that were true. What was the Jewish Sabbath? What kind of a day was it? Was it anything like the Puritan Sabbath? I quote the late Emanuel Deutsch, a librarian of the British Museum, and one of the most learned Orientalists of his day, author of remarkable articles on Islam, the Talmud, etc. He was one of the best authors on this subject probably the world contained at that time. He says: "We cannot refrain from entering an emphatic protest against the vulgar notion of the Jewish Sabbath being a thing of grim austerity. It was precisely the contrary, a day of joy and delight, a feast day, honored by fine garments, by the best cheer, by wine, lights, spice, and other joys of preeminently bodily import." That is his authority as to what the Jewish Sabbath really was. You will notice, he does not say they labored on that day; that one thing is left out.

Take a more ancient authority still. Nehemiah, in the eighth chapter, tenth verse (and remember that he was building the city again, that he was restoring the ancient religion of the Jews to what he supposed to be its pure and original condition), says to the people who were sobbing and weeping when they found what laws of God they had broken, and how they had fallen under his wrath: "Go your way. Eat the fat, drink the sweet, and send portions to them for whom nothing is prepared; for this day is holy unto our Lord. Neither be ye sorry, for the joy of the Lord is your strength." And the 12th verse adds: "And all the people went their way to eat, and to drink, and to send portions, and to make

great mirth." That was not the Puritan way, certainly, of keeping Sunday. [Laughter.]

Now only ignorance can possibly talk of the Puritans as Judaizing, or of going back to the original Bible idea when they were making their Sunday. There is no day in modern times that people are familiar with, that can so fitly and properly be spoken of, in comparison with the old Jewish Sabbath, as our Thanksgiving day. Simply leave out the element of labor, and then, in this gathering of children and friends about their festal boards, the joy and lights, and the good time, the happiness and mirth of all this, you might look upon as almost a perfect literal resurrection of the old Jewish Sabbath. The Puritan Sabbath, then, was not the resurrection of anything. It was an outright creation of something that never existed in the world before.

Now as to whether this is the fourth commandment, and as to the Church's attitude to-day in going back to the fourth commandment as authority for Sunday-keeping, I wish to say one word, and this is my last. I wonder if it ever occurs to ministers, before preaching on the Sunday question, and to their people while they are listening to them, or afterwards,—I wonder if it ever occurs to them to read the fourth commandment, with the distinct purpose of seeing just what it says. "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy"; and "holy" there, as everybody knows, means simply, according to its ancient significance, something sacred, set apart, to a particular and special use, which particular and special use was, the command goes on to define, simply this: Thou shalt do no labor. The whole of the fourth commandment, without any evidence of any reservation whatever,—the totality of the fourth commandment is simply *abstinence from labor*. Now I dare assert, without fear of contradiction, that except in some few special cases there is not an Orthodox minister or church-member in Boston, unless he is sick so that he cannot move easily, who ever thinks of obeying the fourth commandment, or ever does it. [Laughter and applause.] What is it they do? Why, they have invented a whole round of duties—church-going, Sunday-school, everything,—against which, mark me, I have no word to say; but I say they have invented a whole round of duties, a whole curriculum of obligations lasting from sunrise to sunset, in many cases, that neither the fourth commandment nor the Bible anywhere has ever said one single word concerning. And then, on the basis of the fourth commandment, they demand that you shall religiously be bound to keep all their observances. That is (and this is the logic of the whole thing), because the fourth commandment commands people to do a certain thing, therefore you shall be under obligation forever—excuse me, let me go back and put another element in: because the fourth commandment commands certain people on a certain day to abstain from labor and to do a certain thing, therefore all people, in all ages, on some other day, shall be under divine obligation to do something else. [Applause and laughter.] That is the whole of it.

Now for this Christian nation to assume the position which it did concerning the Centennial Exhibition being open on Sunday, and to claim that they did it because of the divine authority of Christianity or of the Old Testament, one or the other, I say, they are guilty before the enlightened intelligence of this country and of the world of one of two things: either of such gross ignorance as unfits them to be teachers of the intelligence of the nineteenth century, or else they are guilty of the grossest hypocrisy—hypocrisy that claims goodness and character on the score of doing something that God has never asked anybody to do. [Applause.] The very minister who preaches the gospel to-day in Boston, by as much as he is faithful to the needs and wants of his parish, is breaking the Sabbath, according to the fourth commandment, every single Sunday,—that is, admitting the transfer from Saturday to the first day of the week. It simply says: "Thou shalt not labor,"—and there is not a man who felicitates himself on the faithfulness with which he discharges his Christian obligations who is not going right square in the face of the fourth commandment every hour of the Lord's day, from sunrise to sunset; and yet they come to us, and charge us with infidelity, with lack of reverence for God and his word and truth, because we can't possibly see how an obligation of the Jews to do one thing is obligation on us to do another thing. [Applause.]

On the conclusion of Mr. Savage's essay, Mr. Higginson said:—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: We had hope held out to us that the Rev. E. E. Hale would be present this morning. If he is here in the hall—though he is not easily concealed, he may elude my vision,—if he is here in the hall, I wish he would show himself, and make himself both seen and heard. If he is not here, I assume, that, being a gentleman who always has, in the discharge of his multifarious duties, to be in half a dozen places at once, he is in several of the other places. Or it is possible that he may have looked in here, and would say, as Dennis, the hero of that charming sketch of his, "My Double and how he Undid me," used to on public occasions: "There has been so much said, and on the whole so well said, that I may be excused from saying anything." But yet, at the same time, we don't like to excuse him, and hope we shall hear from him at some other time. In his place, is there not some one of the audience who wishes to say something? Because I am firm in the conviction that this is to be a free discussion.

MOSES HULL.—There is no institution I think more of, probably, than the Liberal League.

MR. HIGGINSON.—This is not a meeting of the Liberal League, but of the Free Religious Association.

MR. HULL.—If there is any one thing I feel sorry

for, it is to have a good cause spoiled by a poor argument. I am certain, if the Rev. E. E. Hale or somebody else was here who was going to take the opposite side of this question, that many of the arguments we have listened to this morning would be picked to pieces very quickly. It would take only thirty minutes at the outside to show that there was a great deal mixed that ought not to be mixed, and put together that belongs apart. One or two instances: It was said in one of the lectures that the phrase, "first day of the week," occurs but twice in the New Testament. It occurs eight times in the New Testament. One thing more: I will prove by the New Testament itself, that Paul labored on seventy-eight successive "first days of the week," and that he kept seventy-eight Sabbaths during the time he labored on these first days of the week. Paul said: "Ye observe days and times and months and years; I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labor in vain." That was supposed to militate against Paul's fashion of keeping the seventh day of the week. Take the whole book of Galatians, written by Paul,—it opposes the law; take the book of Romans, and it everywhere advocates the law. How are these things to be brought together? Simply thus: there were two laws, one of them the ten commandments, generally called the moral law,—another a law that was added "because of transgressions." In the book of Galatians Paul is commenting on that added law. A violation of the ten commandments brought death, and the added law looked to a victim to step in between the transgressor and the law. This added law is the one he is stating to you in Galatians was everywhere abolished. In Romans, as does the New Testament everywhere, he urges obedience to the ten commandments, and everywhere opposes the added law. "Let no man judge you, therefore, in meat or in drink, or in respect of an holy day, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath days, which are a shadow of things to come." Now if our brother had read the remainder of that, it would have been perfectly clear; but he stopped at "Sabbath days." Paul does not stop there, "which are a shadow of things to come." Now turn to the Jewish Bible, and I will show you a great many annual Sabbaths, the sixteenth day of the first month, the tenth day of the seventh month, and others that were Sabbaths which were "shadows of things to come"; but the fourth commandment had no shadow in it. The seventh day Sabbath pointed back to creation, and not forward to anything in the future; every other Sabbath pointed forward. Paul makes a distinction now. He tells you not to observe these Sabbaths "which were the shadow of things to come." These, he tells you, have gone, but the other he does not claim is done away.

I think there are one or two more points. As to the catalogues of sins, they are quoted from the added law and not from the ten commandments. Our brother said: "There is no record in the New Testament of keeping the Sabbath." Just let me give one instance: "And they returned, and prepared spices and ointments, and rested on the Sabbath day, according to the commandment." That does look as though there was a record of keeping the Sabbath and keeping it according to the commandment; and as there was no commandment in the New Testament for them to keep the Sabbath according to the law, they must keep it according to the "commandment" in the Old Testament.

Now I come to the change of Sabbath. It is Neander, I think, who says: "They know little about religion who do not know that the first day of the week did remain, and was observed as the Sabbath for three hundred years this side of our Savior's passion. The day was adopted first by the Christian Church,—then was taken by Catholic authority and by the Catholic Church. I will ask for no other authority than Catholics themselves. They always tell you, in all their books and their catechisms, that it is by their authority, and no other, that the day was changed; and they say that the Protestant churches acknowledge their authority by keeping the first day of the week, always by the tradition of the Catholic Church alone. If we went no further than the fourth commandment, in supposing that every minister violates the fourth commandment in laboring on Sunday (that is, in teaching and in talking to them, in doing his duties as a minister),—there might be a sense in which that is true; but there was divine sanction and protection in the Old Testament for the "holy convocation" of the Sabbath day. If they violated their own law then, there would be no more harm in violating that law now; if they would move a "holy convocation," and the priest could read the law to the people and teach the people, without violating the commandment then, it might not be a violation of the Sabbath now. But if we stand upon the Bible on this Sabbath question, let us do just what the Bible shows: that the Sabbath never has been changed from the first day of the week to the seventh, that it never has been abolished, that the seventh day of the week, according to the Old and New Testament, is still the Sabbath; and if we must urge any Sabbath upon the people, let us urge that. [Applause.]

Mr. POTTER.—I think the gentleman must have misunderstood one point. In the opening of his remarks, he said that in the essay (I suppose referring to the one that was read by myself, written by Mr. Whipple), it was stated that the phrase, "the first day of the week," only occurs twice in the New Testament. That remark was not made by Mr. Whipple. He says: "The first day of the week is a phrase several times met with in the New Testament." Then afterwards he goes on to say: "The cases in the New Testament where the first day of the week is mentioned in connection with the assembling of the people, the gathering together of numbers, etc., are two, and no more." That, I believe, will be

found to be correct. Mr. Whipple also expressly says that the Sabbath day is frequently mentioned in the New Testament, but always referring to the old Jewish Sabbath.

At this point the convention adjourned to three o'clock.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The convention was again called to order at three o'clock by Mr. Higginson, who spoke as follows:—

I was a little amused at a colloquy I took part in at the door just now. Some one drifted in with that inquiring expression which some people have in a strange city, when they are trying to get to their own quarters and don't know where they are; and the drifting individual said: "Is this the Church Congress?" I said: "If you mean the Episcopal Church Congress, I think not." "Well," said he, "it is a kind of branch of that, isn't it?" "No, sir," said I; "that is a kind of branch of this." [Laughter.] And that suggests a word on that subject. The Episcopal Church Congress is an organization of which, I think, no liberal-minded man can speak otherwise than with respect, for this reason: here is a Church a large part of whose strength lies in tradition, organization, form, ritual, hierarchy. And I say it is an admirable and a manly thing, when such an organization, waiving all that, comes together in a simple Congress, upon the simple Congregational ground and simpler American ground,—when clergymen and bishops and "lord-bishops" even, as they call them in England and Canada, and even in the *Daily Advertiser*, and are willing to lay aside all the advantage of their spiritual superiority, and simply meet as man to man. (I wish I could add also as woman to woman; but I think, unlike us, they are confined by that limit of sex, as yet, in that organization.) I repeat that I feel a hearty respect for that Episcopal Church Congress, in the law and in the basis of its organization. But yet, when I look over the list of questions to be discussed there, I say to myself: Why was it left for us here to ask the question, momentous in all Christian organizations: "What is the best use of Sunday?" In the Episcopal churches, I understand, there is no essential difference as to the question of the value of art, applied to religion. Every churchman believes in that as a matter of course. They meet and they discuss that,—a question on which all are agreed. But here is a question which, in Philadelphia the other day, ran its ploughshare through the middle of ecclesiastical organizations,—the Episcopal Church included. I have been told by Philadelphia friends that, in taking sides on the question whether the great Exhibition should be open on Sunday, it was amazing to see how people went by their sect or their denomination, except in two cases. The Jews were for opening the Exhibition on Sunday, of course. The Catholics were for opening it, and the Unitarians were for opening it, as far as they went. On the other hand, all the Evangelical denominations, including, I suppose, the Universalists, though I don't know, thought the other way. But in the Episcopal Church and in the Quaker societies, the ploughshare went through the middle. All the Orthodox Quakers were opposed to opening it, and all the Hicksite Quakers in favor of it. As a rule, I was told the High Church Episcopalians said, "Let it be opened;" the Low Church Episcopalians said, "Let it be closed." Now I say, if that is the case, and here is a question which has divided that strong and intellectual and energetic body of Christian men, why is it that they meet and discuss a dozen other questions, and leave us to discuss this? For this reason, if for no other, we supplement their work; but in another point of view they eminently supplement ours. For it was here, and not there,—it was this platform and not that, that welcomed among its speakers this morning a man who stood outside of the Christian Church altogether, and recognized a Jewish rabbi as equally an American citizen with a Christian bishop. [Applause.] We will meet again upon this larger basis, as I call your attention to the proceedings of the convention. We shall begin by an address, as announced, by Mr. Pratt, of this city, on the subject of "The Lord's day Legislation of Massachusetts."

Mr. Pratt said:—

ADDRESS OF CHARLES E. PRATT, ESQ.

When I received one of Mr. Potter's very winning letters inviting me, a few days ago, to furnish an essay for this afternoon, I expressed grave doubt whether the exactions of my profession would admit of my taking time for it. The result has proved that my fears were correct; and therefore instead of giving an essay, as I find it announced, I shall only be able to give you some crude, desultory, extemporaneous remarks helped out by some memoranda of statutes and laws passed heretofore in this Commonwealth, and in the province and colony of the Massachusetts Bay.

I regret all the more that I was unable to prepare a written essay, because upon this question it is necessary to observe great carefulness of expression. If one expresses liberal sentiments in regard to Sunday observance, or if he suggests that the law as it stands might be advantageously changed, on the one hand he is said to be attacking the institution of Sunday. On the other hand, if he is conservative and a little careful that innovations shall not come too fast, is willing to observe the good and the blessings in the institution, as it is, then he is likely to be called a bigot, or an unenlightened conservative, behind the time. I believe in a secular Sunday. In this secular government of ours, and under its sway, laws should be secular, institutions should be secular, and so far as the statutes have anything to do with the observance of Sunday, or any other holiday—for you recollect Sunday is but one of the holidays

—these laws should be strictly secular in their purport. And having said this, I would also add that I believe in the observance of a secular Sunday, in the careful, social, moral, and religious observance of Sunday, and I believe that some laws are necessary for the preservation of an institution fraught with so much good and so much of blessing to the community and of happiness both by the fireside and in the social public.

The Jewish Sabbath of the fourth commandment I understand to have been a special institution for the Hebrew race. The ceremonial observance of the Jewish Sabbath was discountenanced by Jesus and his disciples, and no other day was by them substituted in its place. The Jewish Sabbath occurred on the seventh day of the week, and the Lord's day, as we call it, or Sunday, occurs on the first day of the week; and therefore, both historically and Biblically speaking, I think it is to be agreed that we have no Scriptural foundation for the observance of the Lord's day, as it has been historically observed in this Commonwealth. It was not, as I understand the history of it, till about the year 321, under the rule of Constantine, that any civil law was passed recognizing the observance of Sunday. And it was not till the reign of Queen Elizabeth in England, that any English statute was ever passed that I have been able to find respecting Sunday observance. Nor was the religious observance of the day a part of the common law. Sunday, therefore, is a human institution, and not a Divine. It is a subject, not of moral law, but of statute law. Non-observance of it is violation, not profanation; *malum prohibitum*, not *malum in se*. I cannot go into these questions, however, which I have merely hinted at in these preliminary remarks. I must be limited to the historical aspects of Sunday and its observance in this Commonwealth; but I thought it necessary to sketch first this understanding which I have of the institution, this previous legal history of the day, before the English statutes, under which our forefathers were when they came to this country, that you might see what foundation there was behind our forefathers, upon which they could plant their Sunday laws. It will be evident that they did not hold this view of the Lord's day.

Two hundred and fifty years ago, they used indiscriminately in the statutes, for a short period, the term "Sabbath" and the term "Lord's day." I don't find that "Sunday" was ever used in the statutes, and as the name of the day is significant, in passing I will call attention to it. The more careful of the colonists called it the "first day of the week," as the Quakers do; the more Biblical of them called it the "Sabbath," but always in the laws you will find it called the "Lord's day." I have no doubt that a legislature of Free Religionists, under a secular government, would give the day its secular name.

Our forefathers brought the Lord's day with them, when they came to this country; and as a creation of statute law it was then very recent. At the common law no such thing as the "Lord's day" is known. It has sometimes been stated erroneously in this country, that Sunday is a part of the common law. As a matter of fact, the only recognition of Sunday at the common law, was that it was, in law phrase, not a judicial day. The Lord's day is not a judicial day. "*Dies dominicus non est juridicus*." Parliament sat on Sunday, festivals were held on Sunday, everything could be done on Sunday, but courts of law could not sit, and judicial processes could neither be issued nor served. The first English statute, which I find, imposing any restraint or duty upon the observance of the day, was passed in 1558, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and that statute required all persons who had not reasonable excuse to resort every Sunday and other holiday to church for divine service and worship. [2 Eliz. c. 2.]

But there came a time in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, when the affluence of religious expression and the poverty of religious action were truly surprising. And from the year 1625 the day was referred to in English statutes as the Lord's day. In that year a somewhat more stringent Sunday law was passed. [1 Car. I. c. 1. 3 Car. I. c. 1.] And subsequently under Charles II. and William III., statutes were passed, which I believe are still in force in England, and which were quite as rigid as any of our early statutes, though not carried to so extreme detail. [20 Car. 2. c. 7. 7 Will. 3. c. 17.] Under the latter, about 1693, all persons were required to apply themselves to the observance of the Lord's day, by exercising themselves thereon in the duties of true religion, publicly and privately. No work save of necessity or charity; no sport, game, or pastime; no travel, etc., was to be allowed. And all these English statutes were put upon a religious basis. They were passed for the honor of God and for the preservation of true religion.

From some attentive perusal of the early statutes, enactments, and orders in this land, I have come to the conclusion that the same affluence of religious expression and poverty of religious doing, prevailed with our forefathers when they came here and brought the Sunday laws with them. The colony charter was granted in 1628, as you will remember. The first colonists were then under the English statutes, which I have read extracts from; but these seem not to have been sufficiently strict; for as early as the 17th of April, 1629, we find the first Sunday law of the Colony to read thus [in the Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England]: "And to the end the Sabbath may be celebrated in a religious manner, we appoint, that all that inhabit the plantacon, both for the gen'l and ppculer employmts, may surcease their labor every Saturday throughout the years at three of the clock in the afternoon, and that they spend the rest of that day in catechising and pparacon for the Saboth, as the ministers shall direct." [20 App.

395.] That is the first Sunday law. In 1684 they passed a second one which reads as follows: "Whereas complaints hath bene made to this Court that dyvers psons within this jurisdiction doe usually absent themselves from church meetings vpon the Lord's day, power is therefore given to any two Assistants to heare and sensure, either by fyne or imprisonment (att their discrecon), all misdemeanors of that kind comitted by any inhabitant within this jurisdiction, provided they exceed not the fyne of vs for one offence." [20. March 4, 1684. 20, p. 140.]

In 1644, the law-makers put certain questions to the elders, for the purpose of being guided thereby in passing laws, very much as our general court sometimes propounds questions to the supreme judicial court, for its opinion to guide in passing laws,—and among these questions was this: "Whether a judge be bound to pronounce such sentence as a positive law prescribes, in case it be apparently above or beneath the merit of the offence?" And the elder answered, among other things, and this is particularly notable: "2. In case variable circumstances of an offence do so much vary the degrees of guilt, that the offence is raised to an higher nature, then the penalty must be varied to an higher answerable proportion. The striking of a neighbor may be punished with some pecuniary mulct, when the striking of a father may be punished with death. So any sin committed with an high hand, as the gathering of sticks on the Sabbath day, may be punished with death, when a lesser punishment might serve for gathering sticks privily, and in some sore need." It is to the credit of the law-makers, however, that they did not pass any law in conformity with the judgment of the elders.

On the fourth of November, 1646, I find that this law was put on the statute book: "It is therefore ordered and decreed by ye Corte, yt if any Christian within this jurisdiction shall go about to subvert and destroy the Christian faith and religion [by other things, and] by devising ye morality of ye 4th commandment [i.e.], evry such pson continuing obstinate therein, after due meanes of conviction, shall pay to ye comon treasury during ye first six months 20s. a month, & for ye next six months 40s. p mo, and so to continue dureing his obstinacy; & if any such pson shall endeavr to reduce others to ye like heresy & apostasy from ye faith & religion of er Lord Jesus Christ, he shall forfeit to ye comon treasury, for evry severall offence therein, five pounds." [Id. p. 177.] And in that year there was a fyne of 5 shs decreed for each absence from "hearing ye publike ministry of ye word, on the Lord's days & fast & thanksgiving days." [Id. id.]

A little later than that—I don't know but I ought to bespeak your patience while I read so many of these extracts; but I thought in no other way could I get the exact historical state of the law in Massachusetts before you so directly, as to read you the statutes themselves; and with your permission I will go on and read a few more: "Att a Generall Court of Election, held att Boston, the 30th of the 6th month 1658, [80 Aug.] Vpon information of sundry abuses & misdemeanors committed by severall psons on the Lords day, not only by children playinge in the streetes & other places, but by youtnes, maydes, & other psons, both strangers & others, vncivilly walkinge the streetes and fields, travilling from towne to towne, goeing on shipboard, frequentinge common houses and other places to drinke, sport, & otherwise to mispend that p'cious time, whiche things tend much to the dishonr of God, the reproach of religion, & the pphanation of his holy Saboath, the sanctification whereof is sometime put for all duties immediatly respectinge the service of God contained in the first table, it is therefore ordered by this Court and the authorities, that no children, youtnes, maydes, or other psons, shall transgress in the like kind, on penalty of beinge reputed great provokers of the high displeasure off Almighty God, and further incurringe the penalties hereafter expressed; namely, that the parents and governors of all children above seven years old (not that we approve of younger children in evill), for the first offence in that kind, vpon due profe before any magistrate, towne commissioner, or select man of the towne where such offence shalbe committed, shalbe admonished; for a second offence, vpon due profe as aforesd, shal pay as a fyne five shillings; & for a third offence, vpon due profe as aforesd, 10s; and if they shall agayne offend in this kind, they shalbe p'sented to the County Court, who shall augment punishment according to the merit of the fact; & for all youtnes and maydes above fourteen yeares of age, & all elder psons whatsoever that shall offend and be convict as aforesd, either for playing, uncivilly walking, drinkeinge, travilling from towne to towne, goeing on shipboard, sportinge, or any way mispendinge that p'cious time, shall for the first offence be admonished, vpon due profe as aforesd; for a second offence shal pay as a fyne five shillings; & for a third offence, ten shillings; & if any shall farther offend that way, they shalbe p'sented to the next county court, who shall augment punishment according to the nature of the offence; & if any be vnable or vnwillinge to pay the aforesd fyne, they shalbe whipped by the constable not exceeding five stripes for 10s fyne; & this to be understood of such offences as shalbe committed dureing the daylight of the Lord's day." [2 Id. 316.]

In 1658, finding this statute not sufficient to answer the purpose, we have the following: "Whereas by too sad experience it is observed, the sunn being sett, both evry Saturday & on the Lords day, young people & others take liberty to walke and sporte themselves in the streets or fields in the severall townes of this jurisdiction, to the dishonor of God," etc., decreed a fyne or corporal punishment for the like on Saturday evening or Sunday evening after sunset.

Still later, 14 Oct. 1668. "For the better preven-

tion of the breach of the Saboath, it is enacted by this court & ye authority thereof, that no servile worke shall be don on that day; namely, such as are not workes of piety, of charity, or of necessity; & when other workes are done on that day, the person so doing, upon complaint or presentment, being legally convicted thereof before any magistrate or county court, shall pay for the first offence ten shillings fyne, & for evry offence after to be doubled; & in case the offence herein be circumstanced with prophanes or high handed presumption, the penalty is to be augmented att the discretion of the judges. As an addition to the law for preventing prophaning of the Saboath day by doing servile worke, this Court doth order, that whatsoever person in this jurisdiction shall travell vpon the Lords day, either on horseback or on foote, or by boats from or out of their owne towne to any vnlawful assembly or meeting not allowed by lawe, are hereby declared to be prophanes of the Sabath, & shall be proceeded against as the persons that prophane the Lords day by doing servile worke." [4 Id Pt. II. p. 395.]

In 1677 a cage was ordered to be erected in Boston in which to confine "Saboath breakers."

In May, 1677, tythingmen were appointed to inspect houses, and discover Sabbath-breakers.

In 1679, a ward was ordered to be set, from sunset to nine o'clock on Saturday night, both at the town's end and at the fortifications to prevent passing out of town, with authority to stop every person passing. [5 Id. 239.]

Such were most of the colony laws respecting the Lord's day. They show that its observance was based upon purely religious and superstitious grounds. They were for a people who feared to profane the day lest the dreadful judgments of God should fall on the colony for their disobedience. In some official editions, the laws were annotated with references to Old Testament texts. To show further the bigotry and intolerance of the people, from their own solemn enactments, let me cite a passage or two. In 1653 it is enacted broadly: "And evry person that shall publish and maintain any heterodox or erroneous doctrine, shall be liable to be questioned and censured by the County Court where he liveth, according to the merit of his offence." [Charters & General Laws, &c., p. 123.] And in 1664, it is enacted that they who are to be admitted as freemen (i. e., entitled to vote, hold office, &c.) must present a "certificate from the ministers or minister of the place where they dwell, that they are Orthodox in religion," etc. [Id. 117.] And we have already had a more striking specimen of their promptness in the pursuit of heresy and apostasy. The measure of the prevalent ideas of liberty of conscience in 1691 when the Province Charter was granted, and the colony became a province, is indicated pretty clearly by a clause in that charter itself, which establishes and ordains "that forever hereafter there shall be liberty of conscience allowed in the worship of God to all Christians except papists" in said province or territory. [Id. 31.]

In 1692, the old colonial laws were substantially reenacted; and in that statute occur these words: "That all and evry person and persons whatsoever, shall, on that [the Lord's] day, carefully apply themselves to duties of religion and piety, publicly and privately." In 1727, "the solemnizing of funerals on the Lord's day" or evening following, is prohibited.

From this examination of the statutes, I think we can get a pretty fair view of what the Massachusetts Sabbath was, up to the time Massachusetts became a Commonwealth. Others have supplied, or will supply the details which show how it was practically observed; but so far as we can discern from these statute books, that is what it was. I think it is related of a chaplain of the Count de Rochambeau, who was here in Boston about 1780, writing letters home to France, that the strictness of the day's observance astonished him. It looked very strange to him to see everything so still, the streets deserted, no entertainment, nothing for diversion, except to go to church. The most innocent recreations and pleasures prohibited. If he met a person on the street he scarcely dared to stop and speak with him. Attempting to take a little walk for health and fresh air, he and his friend were met at the door by their landlord who warned them that he would be liable to a heavy fine if he allowed them, while stopping with him, to disport themselves on that day in public. Somewhat disappointed they returned to their rooms, and his friend, thinking to beguile part of the time in that way, took up his flute and commenced to play some pious air. He had played but a few bars before the enraged populace collected round the house and would have given him other bars to play had not his excited landlord put his head in at the unlatched door to say, "My gear sir, nothing of that kind is allowed in this city on the Lord's day. You will be liable to punishment, and I shall be liable to a fine for allowing it in my house." A great many instances of that sort could be produced to show the extreme rigidity of the Sunday laws and Sunday observance at that time. I suppose, too, that at that time they were in great part sustained by the prevailing public opinion, because you generally find that the laws of a community are not very far behind the prevailing popular ideas. They are a little behind; once fixed it takes some time to change them, and public opinion is always a little in advance of the statute book; but when you find, as we have found here, that for a period of time from 1628 to 1780 such statutes as these existed upon the statute books, in Massachusetts and you have only to look into the records further to find that there were convictions under these laws, that they were actually put in force,—it is pretty safe to infer that the public opinion of Massachusetts up to that time sustained such laws.

[TO BE CONTINUED NEXT WEEK.]

PROFESSOR HUXLEY ON NIAGARA.

In a recent lecture at Nashville, Tenn., Professor Huxley said, "I know it is thought very often that men of science are in the habit of drawing largely from their imagination, but it is really not so. The most sober, careful consideration of facts forces upon you more and more determinedly the conviction that the theory respecting which we have this archeological evidence of a period of the past history of the world is of a duration which, in comparison with our human standard, may be regarded as almost absolutely infinite. Take, for example, the case of the cataract of Niagara, where I have been recently spending some time, so that I might fill myself with the grandeur and beauty of that extraordinary natural phenomenon; it is quite easy to see that the Niagara River has formed its own valley, has cut its way back through the plateau of rock from which it falls for some six miles. There is not the slightest difficulty in seeing that. The great cliff from which it tumbles is formed of two kinds of rock, hard rock at the top and soft rock underneath. The water undermines the soft rock below, when the solid stratum above falls over. You can trace the gradual excavation of that valley for six miles from that marvellous bluff which from Proctor's monument overlooks the plain of Ontario. Now the rate at which that work is going on has not yet been positively ascertained; but we may be perfectly certain (I am now speaking largely within limits) that the work of cutting back does not go on at the rate of a yard in a year. We have six miles of such cutting, which will bring you to a period of ten thousand years for the cutting back of Niagara alone. It is an immaterial matter to me how many years it takes, but it would be nearer probability, much nearer the truth, if I had said three or four times that amount."

"What relations does a period of that kind bear to the vast duration expressed by these vast ledges of strata which form the globe? We are a people curious enough to form a very distinct calculation of this. The sides of the ravine through which Niagara is cutting its way are formed by masses of alluvial matter, which must be older than the river which has cut through it. While in that alluvial matter you find the remains of shell-fish, undistinguishable from those which now inhabit the lake, and along with them you find—as has been found—the teeth of the mastodon, which we know from abundant evidence was an inhabitant of the continent of North America at a comparatively recent period, the very last step of that long series of changes, of which the limestone, upon which you are now standing, indicates one of the older ones."

"Thus it follows that the whole work of Niagara occupies one period of this vast duration. In relation to our duration of time, that ten thousand years, or whatever else it may have been, is but an infinitesimal fragment of time, so far as the great phenomena of the globe are concerned. During that vast time the population of the globe has undergone a slow, constant, and gradual change, one species giving way to another. We have passed by slow and gradual methods, without vast and sudden changes, into that state of things which obtain at present. I need not say that this view of the past history of the globe is a very different one from that which is commonly taken. It is so widely different that it is absolutely impossible to affect any kind of community, any kind of parallel, far less any sort of reconciliation between these two. One of these must be true. The other is not."

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

THE POPE AND SULTAN.

Anachronisms wand! Ambiguous sway
Of sacerdotal kings the world no more
Endures! Looms near the final, destined clay,
When Superstition's rule on earth is o'er,
And you, like phantoms pale, shall fade away
Into the mists which did engulf of yore
The Persian Magi and Nile's hierarchs hoar.
Your causes both are lost, and whose draws
A sword to champion you will surely fall,
And dim with foulest stains his warlike mail,
Striving Truth's chariot-wheels to block and stay;
Striving to keep the breaking fetter whole,
Which bindeth, not the limbs alone, but soul,
When light in torrents streams from pole to pole.

SEMERON.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 2.

W. F. Johnson, \$3.20; H. Sears, \$2.50; F. A. Nichols, \$9.40; J. M. Holmes, 25 cents; N. B. Guernsey, \$3.20; J. G. Holworth, \$3.20; Jos. Singer, \$2; M. E. Martin, 7 cents; P. Zimmesman, \$6.40; R. Park, 75 cents; A. D. O'Neal, \$6.40; Mrs. L. E. Brockway, \$2.95; F. V. Smith, \$3.20; S. H. Roper, \$3.20; B. R. Tucker, \$10; H. N. Winslow, \$3.20; Thomas Evans, \$3.20; H. G. Gratian, 25 cents; New England News Company, \$21.07; Miss I. Thomson, \$10; Mrs. Dr. R. Thomson, \$3.20; R. Moore, \$10; C. Folson, \$13.20; Sarah Emerson, \$13.20; Warren Emerson, \$13.20; Lizzie E. Dorr, \$10; J. H. Emerson, \$3.20; Mrs. Charles Emerson, \$3.20; Mrs. Horace Stone, \$3.20; W. J. Potter, \$70; J. C. Delano, \$43.20; J. G. Richardson, \$10; E. C. Westlake, \$1.80; W. E. Eaton, \$3.20; J. H. Jones, \$6.40; A. Wilson, 25 cents; A. Bennett, \$1.60; J. R. Hawley, \$3; F. M. Cooper, \$3.20; Hon. E. Pettit, \$1; G. Allen, \$2; W. E. Cole, \$1.80; G. H. Parkhurst, \$1; Emily J. Leonard, \$3.20; W. C. Clark, \$3.20; D. Roggenbaum, \$6.40; S. Nixon, \$1.90; Mrs. E. J. St. John, 60 cents; F. M. Sanford, \$3.20; J. M. Douglass, \$11; S. C. Eastman, \$6.40; E. A. Brown, \$3.75; B. A. Cleveland, \$5; W. E. Lukens, 35 cents; S. D. Richardson, \$3.20; A. Hanauer, 25 cents; J. S. Hous, 75 cents; G. G. Briggs, \$3; G. Wolcott, \$3.20; M. P. Rhoades, \$2.14; John Keppler, \$3.20.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, DECEMBER 7, 1876.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 251 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, GEORGE JACOB
HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH
CARY STANTON, Editorial Contributors.

NOTICE.

On receipt of \$3.20, THE INDEX will be sent to any name not already on its mail-list, from the present time until January 1, 1878. This is an excellent opportunity for friends of the paper to increase its circulation among their acquaintances; and it is hoped that they will not neglect to render in this way some greatly-needed assistance to the important cause it represents.

TICKETS for the "Course of Ten Lectures by Distinguished Women," at the Paine Building, on Sunday evenings, can be had at this office, as announced on our last page. The first lecture of the course was by Miss Anthony.

COMMENTING on a contributor's disapproval of the order of the Boston School Committee discontinuing the practice of prayer at the opening of the school sessions, the *New Century for Woman* made not long since these very liberal editorial remarks: "Although it does seem that differing sects and creeds might all unite in the simple aspiration of the Lord's Prayer, we cannot regret, with our correspondent, the arrangements that place the public schools on a secular basis. Home is the place for religious instruction, and the child who is well taught there will suffer no loss in either its devotional or moral sense, when the school exercises begin with the simple calling of the roll. For those who have no such teaching, other agencies are always at work; and while it is easy to see that those who work the hardest will gain the most, it is well to have the conflict of such earnest and differing agencies removed from the broad platform of our public schools." If all women would second these wise words of their truly statesmanlike representative, one of the most insidious political dangers of the future would be averted forever.

FROM AN American gentleman in Paris come these pleasant and encouraging words: "I wish to renew my subscription to THE INDEX for another year. I open no paper with so much pleasure, and certainly read none with so much interest and profit. I cannot do without it. . . . Is it not delightfully encouraging and animating to find Huxley and our own Emerson so perfectly in accord? I see, in your issue of September 21, you quote the eloquent and very thoughtful conclusion of Prof. Huxley's address at the opening of the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. Compare what the distinguished English scientist then said with Mr. Emerson's Phi Beta Kappa address at Cambridge, July 18, 1867: 'The foundation of culture, as of character, is at last the moral sentiment. This is the fountain of power, preserves its eternal newness, draws its own rent out of every novelty in science. Science corrects the old creeds, sweeps away with every new perception our infantile catechisms, and necessitates a faith commensurate with the grander orbits and universal laws which it discloses. Yet it does not surprise the moral sentiment. That was older, and awaited expectant these larger insights.' Pardon this long quotation, but one cannot well read that address too often. Most people are simply ferrymen, crossing from shore to shore, with land always in sight; but you launch out into the deep, and 'sail with God the seas,' and there I am heartily with you."

REV. A. B. KENDIG is a Methodist clergyman of this vicinity whose light cannot be hid under a bushel. He presides over Monument Square Church, and is, in fact, himself a monument of marvellous altitude. A recent "sermon to young men," he declared that he would "undertake to point out unmistakable proofs of God's existence." He then proceeded to instance "the pillar of fire which guided the children of Israel in their forty years' journey"—the "case

when Joshua commanded the sun to stand still, and it obeyed him"—the "case of Elisha, when he prayed to God to turn the sun backward in its course, and it was done." To reinforce this array of "unmistakable proofs," and strike dumb the audacious sceptic, Mr. Kendig brought down Thor's hammer on his luckless head as follows: "Take the case of Jonah, and explain how it happened that such a combination of circumstances was brought about that a storm came up—he was thrown from the ship and swallowed by the whale. Perhaps some of the young men present have got so far advanced in science that they do not believe the story of Jonah and the whale: but I tell them, whether they do or not, the Son of God did!" Lastly, as if to scalp the demolished doubter with the knife of resistless logic, "the circumstances connected with the burning of the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah were considered by the speaker, and the conclusion drawn that there was, and is, a good God who superintended the affairs of men"—his goodness being particularly evinced, we presume, by the rain of fire and brimstone. In short, Mr. Kendig may be conceived as advising the dismayed atheist to emigrate forthwith from Boston, with the sacred and solemn adjuration of Horace Greeley: "Go West, young man, go West!"

MR. R. W. JESS, of Riverton, Illinois, inquires the reasons for our conclusion that the Republican party are practically committed to amend the Constitution in the interest of Protestant Orthodoxy. These reasons have been stated at great length in THE INDEX during the past few months, particularly in the issues of August 24 and 31, and September 7 and 14. An incomplete recognition of the fact that the Republican party has been drifting into a semi-ecclesiastical position is contained in the *Nation* of November 30, under the heading, "The Inconveniences of a Sacerdotal Party": "It is the intense party spirit which exists that makes the situation perilous, and this party spirit has been intensified by what we may call the sacerdotal pretensions of the Republican party. There is no more obnoxious person, when he gets roused and finds himself armed with great powers and responsibilities, than a man profoundly impressed by the depth of his own righteousness; and it may be said also that a political organization which conceives itself to have a sacred or semi-sacred mission, and which wields the power of the State, is an almost alarming phenomenon in times of difficulty. Constitutional government can only be successfully carried on by two purely secular parties, a fact of which the French and Italians have had bitter experience, and which accounts for their intense hostility to what they call 'clericalism' in politics—that is, to any claim of politicians to be guided by superhuman or extra-mundane lights, and on that account to be above the ordinary political criticism and exempt from the operation of arguments drawn from simple expediency. No one can have watched the Republican party very closely during the last five or six years without perceiving the growth of this sacerdotal tendency—that is, a tendency to consider its sacro-sanct character and celestial or semi-celestial origin a substitute for active work in laying claim to continuance in power. The demand which it made about six years ago, when discontent with the Group first began to show itself, that, if it needed reform, it should not on that account be expelled from office, but should be allowed to reform at its own time and in its own way, was really a claim to ecclesiastical origin and functions, because it is only a church which is allowed to reform itself and which can be degraded by abuses without losing its right to popular respect and confidence. We believe no such demand was ever put forward before on behalf of a political organization." There is nothing surprising in this view of the situation, though there is something surprising in the fact that a writer keen-eyed enough to see so far should not also see a little further. The Republicans have claimed to be (and for many years really were) the "party of great moral ideas"; and this moral championship has been for some time degenerating into a religious pretension of dangerous but unnoticed growth. The almost universally conceded assumption (false though it is) that Christianity is the sole source of morality has tended and is tending to convert the "party of great moral ideas" into a "Christian party in politics." Hence the "sacro-sanct character" which the *Nation*, widely as it differs from THE INDEX, is shrewd enough to discern and point out in its own way; and we quote the above passage as an unintended, but indirect and strikingly apposite confirmation of our own presentment of the case.

FROM RELIGION AND THE REPUBLIC.

Republicanism is well defined as government of the people, by the people, for the people. Its principle is that power shall be entrusted to no one order or class, but to all orders and all classes, not in turn, but simultaneously; that all opinions are equally entitled to expression, all wishes and purposes alike justified in speech. It is not the government of the poor by the rich, of the ill-born by the well-born, of the lowly by the powerful, of the simple by the wise, of the ignorant by the instructed, or even of the bad by the good. It is not the government of any body by any body else, but the administration of the affairs that concern all the people according to the united wishes of all the people concerned. No person having an interest in the commonweal can be disfranchised or treated as a subject without being properly consulted and allowed a fair chance of expressing either approval or disapproval. The wish of the majority at the critical moments of election must be controlling. The quality of the wish is aside from the question. It may be ignorant, passionate, blind, pernicious, mischievous, on all accounts deplorable in the judgment of wise, experienced, and excellent men. No matter; as the wish of the majority it must be respected, and acquiesced in till it can be modified, corrected, or peacefully overborne. Every order of mind is entitled to its voice, and every voice is entitled to a hearing. This, in general, is republicanism.

Now, it cannot be said that one religion, as such, simply and purely as religion, is more congenial with this system than another. The genius of one faith comports with it as well as another's. There is a common impression that Romanism favors monarchical institutions, as being itself monarchical. But this is thoughtlessly alleged. As a dominion, Romanism should naturally prefer the system under which it is most free to make subjects, and is least trammelled in its ambition to acquire power. The history of Romanism in monarchical countries is a history of perpetual struggle with rival dynasties. Its movements were jealously watched; its plans were thwarted; its usurpations met and checked. This is the peculiar danger to which republicanism is exposed from this quarter. There being no dynasty to uphold it, Romanism can, unmolested, lay the foundations for dominion. Hence, perhaps, the hope that leaders in that Church build on America as the land of its adoption and its future home. The association of Romanism with democracy here proves nothing; for the portion of the democracy that it is affiliated with is the most ignorant portion, and the portion most closely allied to the despotic elements,—the slave-owners at the South and their Northern supporters. Were Romanism in sympathy with the educated, responsible, and self-respecting class of the people, its claim to having a preference for republicanism would be better sustained. Its unfortunate alliance with the lowest class of our metropolitan population may, however, be an accident of its history. As a religion, it is difficult to see why Romanism should be unacceptable to Republicans. It is no derogation from one's claim to be a good republican that one reveres the Pope as the vicar of Christ, worships the Virgin, makes intercession through the saints, confesses his sins to a priest, or seeks absolution from the Church. The concerns of his personal spiritual life he may, without cavil, choose to place in the keeping of an ecclesiastical institution rather than hold them in his own hands. That is a matter for the individual alone to judge of. This title to be valued and trusted as a citizen is not vitiated by any such preference. There are, no doubt, excellent republicans who are likewise conscientious Romanists; though, for obvious reasons, the number of them is not so great. The tendency of republican institutions is to encourage freedom of speculation and independence of judgment, both of which lead in the direction of doubt rather than in the direction of faith.

The association of Calvinism with democracy has been remarked upon by Buckle, who explains it on the ground that Calvinism was the religion of the poor, who, as a rule, were the disfranchised and persecuted class. It should be added that Calvinism, although based on the doctrine of human depravity, and, therefore, unsympathetic with democracy, sympathetic rather with theocracy, or monarchy based on the divine right of the king, nevertheless confined the privilege of regeneration to no social or political class, allowed no exclusive rights in the heavenly grace to dynasty or hierarchy, conceded no monopoly of divine favor to culture or dignity, but threw the doors open to all comers, recognized the equal dignity of every human soul, saw the spirit working on all con-

ditions of men, on its own terms, and knew that the chosen of God were as likely to come from the poor and weak as from the opulent and mighty. Calvinism, on principle therefore, is democratic, in spite of its cardinal doctrine. Unregenerate human nature is, of course, incompetent to conduct human affairs according to the rules or towards the ends of justice. But the great are as likely to be unregenerate as the small, the high as the low, the respectable as those of no repute. God alone knew who the regenerate were, and he could be trusted to care for his own.

The only advantage that Free Religion has over Romanism and Protestantism, is that it avoids, in fact makes quite impossible, the perils into which they both run,—Romanism, by pursuing its claim to be the one authoritative Church; Protestantism, by pushing its pretension to have the only inspired book and creed. Christianity, being based on the assumed revelation of Christ, cannot without extreme carefulness, escape the danger of ecclesiasticism on the one hand, and of dogmatism on the other. It is on the brink of this peril all the time. Its most liberal schools do not wholly emancipate themselves from it. The claim to infallibility is subtly insinuated and unconsciously put forth. Free Religion challenges every such claim, by whomsoever made. It will have no infallibilities of priesthood or of creed, of philosophy or of science. It would, once for all, make despotism absurd and impracticable, by removing the special temptation to dictate and domineer. It is our persuasion that republican institutions will not do themselves full justice till this principle shall be recognized.

O. B. F.

EVASIVENESS OF CHRISTIAN RESPONSIBILITY.

In spite of the argument I am going to maintain, I am afraid it must appear to you that a heretic has not a natural sense of responsibility, or otherwise that sense is dormant in your correspondent. So tardy am I with my letters, so protracted is the interval between one and another, that I pray for pardon. I own my fault. I make no excuses. The experience of those who observe confirm the wisdom of the remark of the First Napoleon—the only one of his race who had brains,—that he who is good at excuses is seldom good for anything else.

For some weeks past I have been on the war-path again, through the north of England, and out as far as Glasgow, delivering in one case ten lectures in eight days. One thing which struck me much was the utter feebleness, when ecclesiastical controversialists arose, in their assertions of the efficiency of the Christian scheme of responsibility. A quarter of a century ago they were rampant and accusing, and mere freethought advocacy was overwhelmed by the violence and virulence of the charges they wrought against us, which won for them great applause. Since, however, the ascendancy of secular science has set in, and the material conditions of morality have been made evident, theologians have become reticent or apologetic where once they were eloquent and arrogant. The arguments which I found them no longer impatient to answer were these:—

Christian responsibility is remote, vague, capricious, and inoperative,—else man would be deterred from offence, and crime would not exist. The Christian sins. He is told that hereafter it will be very bad for him. This might deter him if no evasion was open to him. But he is told he may repent, and thus the scoundrel at the eleventh hour is enabled to "dodge" his condemnation. Repentance is but the first prayer for pardon. Enduring contrition, not of the whimpering sort, but marked by solicitous restitution in every way in which it can be done, should be the sole ground of forgiveness. The bad examples of Christ in promising Paradise to the rascal on the cross ruined Christianity as respects responsibility. It is that which has made scoundrelism of so long life. It is that which made Methodists mad in the last century—which has turned the heads of unmelodious ranters in this,—set up convicts as peripatetic saints, and inflicted Moody-and-Sankeyism upon society. Secular responsibility is direct, inevitable, inescapable. No thief on the cross can hope to carry his burglarious soul into any secular Paradise. Secularism teaches that punishment occurs here, and does what it can to take care that it shall follow on unatoned offence. It teaches that life must be changed, that character must alter, that new conduct must be continual and permanent. Prayer and grace may do what they can, but material and social conditions must be created, in which truth shall be possible and honesty pay, and in which, so far as human thought, care, and control can go, it shall be well

with the just and well with no one else. Who has forgotten the murder of the poor girl in Great Coram Street, London, for which the Rev. Mr. Hennett, a Dutch minister, was arrested? Who has forgotten the narrative of Dr. Hessel, who, though a clergyman and literally fallen among thieves, under most unmerited indignity and misfortune offered his hand to the delicate-palmed chaplain of the jail, and he refused to take it? There was a Christian clergyman who, refusing a brother clergyman ordinary civilized courtesy in this life, yet who, in case he turned out a real criminal and was convicted of murder and hanged, was quite ready to commend to the personal acceptance of God a man with whom he would not shake hands himself. The poor prostitute, sent to her last account with her throat cut and all her sins on her head, goes below; while the ruffianly murderer, redhanded, is introduced by the chaplain to the white pavement of Heaven. Surely this is an instance of brutal and indecent irresponsibility.

What is the conduct of clergymen in general? Do they not discourse every Sunday to people whose lives they may misdirect, and whose understanding they may impose upon, and offer them no chance of question or reply? The clergyman is not infallible. He is ignorant and erring, like other men; yet he professes to speak in the name of God, and affirms the sanction of heaven to his possible error, and permits no debate on his words. Truth is arrested, lives perverted, false faith inculcated by erroneous words. Those thus injured have no protection in the Church, and they may die before they find out their error. If a minister had any proper sense of responsibility, he would shrink (as from a criminal act) from irresponsible speech; for error solemnly inculcated is the murder of the soul, as every missionary proclaims in countries he goes out to convert; but he never thinks of this at home, because Christians are never taught the responsibility of speech as secularists are.

Let any one regard for a moment the Christian theory of this life. It tells us that all human beings born are immortal, and that God has to provide for them above or below. Yet, in every portion of the land, scoundrelly or vicious parents may bring into existence a squalid brood of dirty, sickly, depraved, ignorant, ragged children. Christianity fails utterly to prevent their existence, and hurls quick words of opprobrium upon any who advocate the prevention of this progeny of crime. Yet the Christian teaches that, by mere act of Orthodox belief, these ignorant and unclean creatures can be sent from the gutter to God. A secularist cannot help shuddering at this doctrine and this practice, so fatal to society, so contemptuous to Heaven. A secularist feels himself responsible for the world; and that, if happily, heaven is the destiny of mankind, he is solicitous that a clean and intelligent population shall go there; his anxiety is that the earth shall be converted into a sensible and moral world. Like Morrell, he labors to bring about that state of things "in which it shall be impossible for men to be depraved or poor"; and he charges himself with a thousand secular duties which the Christian escapes. The Christian can excuse himself with the plea that moral evil is the will of Providence. If he prays against evil he counts himself exonerated, and that he is better and holier than other men. The secularist transfers no responsibility to Providence. He teaches that society is responsible for its own condition. He labors in political movements; he invokes the aid of science; he gives his Sabbath to the service of humanity; and he incurs the ready, the wanton, and the mischievous contempt of many who should have a respectful, if not a generous, word for him.

GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.

MR. MILLS' NEW BOOK.

The Indian Saint; or Buddha and Buddhism. A Sketch Historical and Critical. By Charles D. B. Mills. Northampton, Mass.: Journal and Free Press Co. 1876.

This small volume treats a great subject greatly. Rarely has one ever portrayed the inner life of a faith alien to that in which he was reared so sympathetically and so justly. We almost feel in reading it as if we had been carried back to the days of Gautama, and had heard him expound his own doctrine in all the freshness of its first conception and in all the vital strength of his earnest belief. And yet the sketch is also critical, and gives the limitations and defects of Buddhism as well as its great merits.

Buddhism, as thus expounded, represents a living, active faith, which, like Christianity, has been very much warped from its early simplicity and purity, but which preserves the essential features of the absolute religion, and is specially adapted to peculiar needs and phases of humanity. We wish we could

quote or even condense the admirable statements of the Buddhist doctrine of supreme power, which, in its extreme care to avoid the narrowing conceptions of personality and representation of outward form has been often confounded with materialistic atheism. To deny God, or supreme good, and to deny a God, or a specialized representation of that good, are quite different things. Mr. Mills has made this point so interesting and so clear, and his book is so short and so readable, that we cannot do better than advise all interested in the subject to read it for themselves.

The same may be said of his explanation of the much-discussed doctrine of Nirvana. He shows, I think conclusively, that Nirvana is a grand affirmation expressed by negations, and that it is the effort to free the sense of existence alike from all possibility of suffering and from all low forms of enjoyment, which has taken this form; and I confess that I often find delight, after reading the inanities of spiritualist communications and the sentimentalities of sensational rhapsodists, in the cool, calm shades of Nirvana as it images itself in the Buddhist's thought.

Mr. Mills has done a great service to the "sympathy of religions" by this admirable discourse upon one of the three great forms of faith which now divide the progressive world.

E. D. C.

AFTER-ELECTION THOUGHTS.

There is no event in our American political life that arouses so universal and intense personal feeling as a popular election,—that tends so effectually to make the individual conscious of the relation which he sustains to the general government and the country, and of the dignity of citizenship. If he has hitherto regarded himself as a mere dweller upon the soil of the Republic, he now comes to a new perception, and feels a keener sense not only of indebtedness for its surpassing advantages and privileges, but also of correspondent obligation. The principle of equality upon which the country professedly is founded, and which, with all the inconsistency of the profession, here prevails more than anywhere, is brought home to his mind with clearer distinctness. He feels that he is invested with a power which constitutes him, whatever else he may be, of importance in the body politic. The distinctions which separate him under other circumstances from those around him disappear at the polls; and, with the ballot in his hand, he stands the peer of the proudest and most powerful in the land.

It is thus that the ballot becomes the educator of the people. The appreciation of the worth of citizenship which it awakens tends to stimulate an effort for a more intelligent discharge of its responsibilities and duties. Herein consists the special superiority of republicanism. It accounts for those brilliant epochs in the march of the human mind that are associated with this form of government, as in Greece, Rome, Italy, Switzerland, and in later times. We are speaking, of course, of the general influence or tendency of such participation,—of what, it must be confessed, may seem an ideal theory rather than manifest in practical effects. It must be acknowledged that there is an immense amount of voting without any intelligent appreciation of its significance and importance or regard for the moral obligation which it imposes. The minds of men are but slowly enlightened or their consciences affected, when partisan or self-interested feelings are suffered to powerfully exercise their sway. We are all familiar with the moral obliquity and the mental incompetency which our popular elections so lamentably reveal. We know how easily, at each recurrence, the votes of vast numbers are bought and sold,—how blindly and servilely the masses follow their party leaders. But, with all due allowance for obvious things like these, we believe that republicanism will be found to favor not only the most general individual freedom, but also the highest type of manhood and character.

Of course a republic has its peculiar difficulties to contend with. It affords the demagogue an opportunity which he does not possess under any other system. It engenders easily sharp party competitions, and through the uncertainty associated with its tenures of trust and power presents peculiar temptations to malfeasance to those who are their temporary incumbents. But these evils are more than counterbalanced by the advantages derived. If a republic affords special facilities and incentives for the exercise of the arts of the demagogue and political trickster, it also supplies conditions not less conducive to the virtues of the patriot, the genuine public leader and statesman. If it stimulates and enlarges the sphere of party competition, it arouses a

correspondent intellectual activity and influence upon character. If the uncertainty and brevity of its terms of official station tempt the unprincipled occupant to the conversion of the opportunity to self-advantage, it is also calculated to induce him to aspire to an exemplification of uprightness and fidelity in respect to the trusts committed to him, that shall present unequivocal testimony of his claim to continued confidence and favor.

But whatever may be the issue of republicanism in any particular instance—the result of the difficulties and evils incident to its system which have been indicated,—they do not demonstrate any inherent or necessary invalidity of the system itself. They simply show, in the event of failure, that success, like that of everything else, depends on certain conditions, and that those conditions in this instance, have been wanting. They do not prove that the success of such a system is impossible. If a republic goes to pieces because of its corruption or want of sufficient virtue to hold it together, as has so often been the case, it does not prove that this (unless we believe in the incapacity of human nature for moral and intellectual progress) must always be the inevitable result. There is more reason to believe that republicanism—republicanism even as it exists here in America, with all its short-comings and deficiencies—is the most perfect form of government which the world has ever known, and that towards it more or less visibly sets the whole drift of the present. This was the view of De Tocqueville more than thirty years ago. It was shared by Napoleon,—as is evidenced by his famous prediction that Europe was destined to become Republican or Cossack.

It seems to be inevitable in a country like ours that there should be two great political parties. They are like the centripetal and centrifugal forces in Nature, the one necessary to regulate and balance the other; and the closer their competition the better. There is, nevertheless, always need and room for independent conviction. It is out of such independent conviction that new parties are gradually formed to take the place of the old when they have fallen into desuetude, and can no longer be trusted,—such as that which is forming to-day in this country, growing out of dissatisfaction with those which exist, and sure eventually to succeed them. The great misfortune of our system is that this minority sentiment has no representation in the legislative bodies of the country to make itself more distinctly known and controlling in its influence. Should such a provision ever be effected in our political machinery, the independent voter would be less than now at the mercy of the nominating conventions of the two great parties.

Another improvement, it seems to us, would be the adaptation of something like that which we are informed exists in England,—the practice of printing upon the ticket used at the polls the names, under the respective offices voted for, of all the opposing candidates for each office; so that instead of different tickets a simple one is used for all parties upon which the voter distributes the marks of his preference. This simplifies the process, to say the least; invests the vote with greater privacy, and relieves the polls of much that is objectionable in our practice.

Another defect which the present election imbroglio has brought to light in a striking manner in the operation of our political system, is the obstructive and needless nature of what is known as the Electoral College, in determining the vote for President. So apparent has this become that the time cannot be far distant of its elimination or important modification.

The charges of fraud at the South, humiliating and discreditable as they are, there is reason to believe, will not be without some good results. It is a law of human life that even evil subserves, at times, the cause of good. The first condition for getting rid of evil is for it to come clearly out to view. It has long been a notorious fact in connection with our elections that they involved, now here and now there, now by one party and now by the other, to a less or greater extent, the perpetration of fraud. It is needless to say upon which party these suspicions have most rested. There is abundant evidence that they have been countenanced and practised, even here at the North, by both. The present juncture of affairs will concentrate attention upon this great and disastrous evil as never before. It will impart an increased sense of the importance of the purity of the ballot and lead to new safeguards for its protection. And there is nothing in respect to which there is greater need of education. We need with this a more exalted standard of statesmanship, a

profounder acquaintance among our public men with the true principles of government, a better-trained ability to deal with the complications and great concerns of national affairs, the substitution of character for political charlatanism and cunning. We need a higher standard of honor and truthfulness among our newspapers and those at the head of them, so that they may be something more than organs of misrepresentation, partisanship, and vilification, and serve to aid the public mind to clearer views and correcter opinions rather than to mystify and bewilder. But we need above all, and first of all, as the one great essential to the perpetuity of a republic, a more thorough and wider diffused intellectual enlightenment and moral education among our people,—the only genuine panacea for the ills under which we suffer.

Let there be but one voice in the land to-day, a true and honest count of the votes in the disputed States. Let justice be done, though the heavens fall,—whoever shall be President. Then shall the nation emerge from out this ordeal in more radiant virtue, and stand forth "unashamed, with spotless robe and clean white hands."

D. H. C.

CURRENT EVENTS.

BY R. C.

The peculiar political performance in South Carolina, of which we wrote last week, rapidly degenerated and became a miserable farce which, it is to be hoped, may come to some kind of a conclusion before the close of the present week. The recalcitrant canvassers were got out of jail upon a writ of *habeas corpus* from the United States Court, and it is quite possible that, as canvassers, nothing more will be heard of them. The Legislature attempted to assemble, but the Democratic Representatives, who marched to their hall with the rejected delegates from Laurens and Edgefield counties at their head, were met at the door by United States troops who refused them admission. This unconstitutional interference with a State legislature caused considerable excitement throughout the country, and Democratic papers began to talk about the impeachment of President Grant. The President, however, disavowed any connection with this action of the soldiers, and General Ruger, who commanded the troops, subsequently stated that his men exceeded their orders. In the mean time, the Republican members organized in the State House, and the Democratic members, who had withdrawn in a body, did the same thing somewhere else. Next day found the two rival factions gathered at the State House, and as the one would not recognize the validity of the organization of the other, both proceeded to business, the two Speakers entertaining motions and listening to speeches at the same time. As night approached this parody upon legislation was enlivened by the yells of drunken negroes and the sputtering of tallow candles stuck in glass bottles; but every one present, we are assured, remained good-humored, and, we trust, has managed to retain the same blissful attitude ever since, for, as we write, the pitiable performance has been kept up for several days, each faction being afraid to adjourn and no compromise having yet been effected. It is reported, however, that several Republican members have gone over to the Democratic side. If this report be correct, the Republicans are left without a quorum, and if they should now be sustained, as report declares that Chandler and Cameron desire, by United States troops, some of the beauties of a constitutional and republican government will receive a new illustration.

Some of the stories of diabolical outrages perpetrated upon negroes for purposes of political intimidation, which have come to us from Louisiana during the past week, have been enough to make a reader's blood run cold; but by the time his teeth began to chatter he would discover that abundant evidence had been produced to prove that the stories were wholly mythical, or that the deeds of lawlessness described had no connection whatever with politics, and then his blood would warm up again with righteous indignation against the liars who had deceived him. That there has been a certain amount of political intimidation in Louisiana and other Southern States, we suppose no one doubts; but that it has been carried on to the extent declared, or had the effect ascribed to it by political leaders, we suppose no one believes. Kellogg and his associates have been in possession of the government of Louisiana, with all the State and United States forces at their command, for several years, and, were not their political necks in jeopardy, would be among the first to deny the possibility of the occurrence of such wholesale lawlessness in their State. Aside from the testimony of affidavits (which can be furnished in unlimited quantity upon both sides of every matter at issue in Louisiana), the change which has taken place in the vote of that State is by no means remarkable and needs no "bulldozing" in order to account for it. New York State exhibits more remarkable changes at almost every election, and this year's vote of staid Massachusetts—which has nowhere been "bulldozed," unless we except Butler's district, the count of which, however, no one proposes to reject—compared with that of last year or with that of four years ago, shows changes as great as any in fickle Louisiana.

The Committee of Visiting Democrats which has

been present during the counting of votes by the Returning Board at New Orleans has issued an address "to the people of the United States" declaring that the result of the vote for Presidential electors in Louisiana—as shown by "a certified copy of the duplicate statements of votes made by the Commissioners of Election at each place of voting in the State," and also "as disclosed on the face of the returns opened by the Returning Board in our presence"—proves that the Tilden electors have majorities ranging from five thousand to eight thousand (the exact figures are given in the address). "Irregularities," the address states, "have been committed in some instances by the officers conducting the elections and in making returns, but they are about as much on one side as the other; and as to intimidation and violence or other illegal act preventing a free and fair election, there is evidence on both sides, but not of such character as to affect the general result."

The session of Congress which begins this week, with Mr. Randall as Speaker in place of Mr. Kerr, should be given properly to the consideration of matters of grave importance belonging to general legislation. The tariff; the reorganization of the Federal Judiciary; the further distribution of the Geneva award; the non-sectarian amendment to the Constitution; the abolition of compulsory pilotage; reciprocity with Canada; the resumption of specie payments,—these are some of the questions which require immediate consideration, as well as the usual appropriation bills; but it seems quite probable at present that the time which should be given to these will be consumed by a deplorable wrangle over the result of the election.

There is one way, however, in which a contested election may be avoided, even if the "doubtful" States should throw their votes for Hayes. This is—as stated at length in a well-argued article by the *Nation*—to have one, at least, of the electors cast his vote, not for Tilden and Hendricks, or Hayes and Wheeler, but for a third combination of names, say, for instance, for Bristow and Jewell. This, of course, would leave all the regular candidates without a majority, and as, according to the Constitution, the election would then be referred to Congress, the House would elect Tilden for President and the Senate would elect Wheeler for Vice-President,—a compromise which many of the leaders of both parties would gladly accept as the only salvation from the unknown and dreaded evils of a contested election. Of course the elector who should so vote might expect to be denounced by party papers as a political traitor, but he might nevertheless, according to the *Nation*, "safely count on the support of a vast number of the most thinking and influential members of either party." The argument would not hold good for a moment, of course, if it were possible for the electors to give us either Tilden or Hayes without dispute; but this in all probability they will not be able to do. The question is, therefore, would not an elector be justified and even more than justified in regarding the issue to-day as wholly changed, and his former duty to his party as entirely subservient to a higher duty to his country? On the other hand Mr. William Lloyd Garrison declares that an elector who should act in accordance with the above suggestion would be "weak in understanding," "corrupt in heart," and "trucking in spirit." As the Electoral College will have met and voted before this is read, it may not be necessary to decide the above question, and we shall only promise, therefore, that if the issue be really presented we shall not fail to express a decided opinion.

In connection with the discussion of pending political affairs we desire to commend most heartily a sermon by Mr. James Freeman Clarke, delivered in Boston on Thanksgiving day, and since fully reported in several newspapers. As a practical politician Mr. Clarke seldom fails to utter with great vigor and plainness the right word at the right moment. It was he who, upon a memorable occasion, at a Massachusetts State Convention, proclaimed the duty of bolting a possible party nomination, at a time when leading politicians like the Hoar brothers sat silent, apparently cowed by the demagogue, Butler; and upon other occasions he has displayed an equally courageous independence as well as clearness of perception. We commend Mr. Clarke's political utterances with all the more pleasure, inasmuch as we seldom find ourselves in agreement with him upon matters of theology.

Mr. C. C. Carpenter, a Boston clergyman, delivered recently a sermon upon almsgiving, in which he took the only position possible to a student of social matters, and plainly set forth the mischievous results of that form of charity which is annually illustrated on a large scale by many city governments in voting free-soups to the poor,—well described by a newspaper as "an advertisement for tramps." Mr. Carpenter illustrated his sermon by practical instances from his own experience, instances paralleled doubtless in the experience of almost every person of any prominence in our large cities, and stated, among other good things, the following rule: "If the applicant for charity at your door is unknown to you and brings no satisfactory credentials, his appeal for money, food, clothing, or anything which he can carry away, even to a crust of bread, should be denied him."

Mr. Carpenter has been severely criticised by "Archibald Scate," who writes some very silly sentences, and who misconceives and misrepresents some of Mr. Carpenter's statements and arguments. But he succeeds, nevertheless, in proving very clearly, in our opinion, that Mr. Carpenter's main position is

entirely inconsistent with that of Jesus, as stated especially in the Sermon on the Mount. Mr. Scate quotes the well-known sentence, "Give to him that asketh, and from him that would borrow turn not away"; also the passages upon which are pronounced the famous judgment in the twenty-fifth chapter of Matthew, and some others of like intent, and shows how directly their teachings are opposed to the teachings of Mr. Carpenter. We have no doubt whatever that the essential principles of Mr. Carpenter's sermon would be assented to by every well-informed student of social science on the face of the earth, and just as little do we doubt that Mr. Scate has shown them to be inconsistent with positive precepts of the New Testament. The authority of the astronomical, geological, and some historical portions of the Bible was long since rejected by eminent Orthodox clergymen, and we should like to ask some of the most candid among them if any good reason now exists for the retention of the authority of certain moral precepts which, however well they may have been adapted to the semi-barbarous society which first received them, can not be applied either literally or in spirit to the civilization of to-day.

Mr. Charles Dudley Warner has published, in the *Christian Union*, an article on church-taxation, in which he admits the existence of three strong reasons which favor the exemption of church property from taxation. These are (1) that churches help to preserve order and morality; (2) that church buildings are often ornamental and increase the value of surrounding property; and (3) that church property is unproductive. In our opinion the above reasons are exceedingly weak, and we do not wonder that Mr. Warner regards them as inferior to many reasons which can be given in favor of church-taxation. The strongest of these, in his opinion, are (1) that exemption of churches adds to the taxes of those who do not attend church, and is therefore unjust; (2) that people content to worship in unpretentious buildings are indirectly taxed to support the more costly edifices of their neighbors; (3) that churches would be vigorous and useful in proportion to their independence; (4) that exemption needlessly multiplies church buildings; and (5) that there is great danger (which he illustrates in many ways) in the accumulation of property in ecclesiastical hands,—a danger very much increased by exemption from taxation.

Communications.

A PROPHETIC COOK.

The Rev. Joseph Cook is in the habit of favoring his audiences with a series of comments upon the events of the week, as a kind of preface to his regular weekly lectures. What connection these rambling remarks have with the advertised subject for the day it would be difficult to determine. However, it is in this farce which precedes the tragedy that the egotism of Mr. Cook frequently appears most conspicuously. On Monday, Nov. 20, Mr. Cook noticed in somewhat contemptuous terms the conference lately held in this city under the auspices of the Free Religious Association. As he had been respectfully invited to appear at this conference and to state his views upon the Sunday question, in a spirit of candid inquiry after truth, it was, to say the least, in very poor taste for Mr. Cook to speak thus of a convention which had offered to him its platform. His want of manners may, however, be irremediable at his time of life, and we can only sigh that so great a genius should be at the same time so ill-bred. But it is to the prophetic soul of Mr. Cook that we desire to call especial attention.

Inflamed with the spirit of Ezekiel or Nahum, the reverend lecturer recently exclaimed, "Give America, from sea to sea, the Parisian Sunday, and in two hundred years all our greatest cities will be politically under the heels of the featherheads, the rascals, the sneaks and the money-grapes! Abolish Sunday and the social sanity it fosters, and in less than a century the conflict between labor and capital would issue in petroleum fire-bottles!" It would be interesting to many persons to know from what source this reverend seer obtained his insight into the future.

Mr. Cook declares that he "reverses the scientific method." Of course, then, he would not utter such extraordinary statements as those just cited without strong proofs of their correctness. But we are puzzled to know by what scientific method the reverend prophet has been able thus to pierce "the dim vista of the future," and that, too, to a distance of two hundred years! Say, modest seer (who assumest in respect to Hermann Lotze the position of Gratz Brown's tag in Nast's pictures of Greeley), dost thou speak thus as from the Lord, or hath Gabriel communicated it to thy prophetic soul? If thou hast had in truth a revelation vouchsafed to thee, oh, stop not here! Pray tell us more! Declare to us the concessions which the evolutionists of those days will make!

We should be much gratified if the supernatural Powers, which seem thus to have spoken through the mouth of Mr. Cook, would shorten the time of this experiment to a period of twenty or thirty years, so that the present generation might judge of the truth of this statement in case the Parisian Sunday should be introduced. Not that we have the slightest doubt of the veracity of the supernatural Powers, but because, to confess the truth, we do not put much confidence in the judgment of Mr. Cook. If, however, the reverend seer should tell us that the period of two hundred years cannot be shortened, because an irrevocable law has been established to this effect by the Powers above mentioned which requires just that amount of time, we would still be

glad to have those Divine agents in some way testify that what Mr. Cook says is given under their dictation. The reason of our asking this is obvious. It is for the benefit of mankind. We all know how the Government of France dreads the recurrence of the horrors of the Commune, and how eagerly it would embrace any sure preventive of such deeds of violence. If, then, it can be shown that the Parisian Sunday is the cause of all the trouble, and that according to an inevitable law two centuries of such Sundays are sufficient to produce this horrible result, it will only remain to remove the cause of so much evil, which of course the French Government will be glad to do. All other nations will at once take warning and follow its example. Even the great empire of Germany, the land of Hermann Lotze, will doubtless alter its long-established custom of making Sunday largely a day of amusement, and the great name of COOK will be revered from Lisbon to St. Petersburg, and from Berlin to Naples! Unfortunately this name may be confounded with that of the other distinguished Cook who has made himself so famous in Europe as a Tourist Manager, and people may begin to suspect some American hoax in the new reform.

But if the illustrious Hermann Lotze will but rise to explain that the great Sunday Reformer, the American Seer, the Demolisher of Spencer and Huxley, is not the tourist but the Boston lecturer, who is praying at the street-corners for a professorship at Andover Seminary, all will be well, and public confidence will be restored.

The people of Boston are invited week after week to hear a man who is not a scientist attempt to decide between the defenders of two conflicting, and as yet unsettled, scientific hypotheses. He, as well as the rest of us who have not spent years of scientific study upon the subject, should calmly await the issue of the controversy, knowing that truth will prevail. Instead of that, we have weekly the sad spectacle of this man haranguing an assembly of frightened Orthodox people upon subjects which he has not scientifically investigated. But that is not all. We see this self-satisfied lecturer, who tells us at every breath where he has been and at what great man's elbow he has danced attendance, uttering such sophomoric rant as his "two hundred years" prophecies, and coining such words as "money-grapes" and "petroleum fire-bottles," to startle his amazed admirers into "great applause"! And still worse, we see him, while pretending to discuss a scientific subject, bring forward as an argument the words imputed to poor old Carlyle in reference to the ancestors of Darwin being "atheists," and actually close his lecture by adjuring the colleges and ministers of New England to give ear to these words uttered on the brink of the grave! For shame! What have the religious beliefs or disbeliefs of a man's family to do with the truth or error of a scientific question? For shame! Why did not this clerical Boston lecturer inform his audience bravely and honorably, that Mr. Darwin himself is no atheist, but that, on the contrary, he inclines to the belief that the primordial forms were created by a personal God? Mr. Cook knew this, but he knew also that by thus dealing with his subject and by closing with a bombastic flourish he would win the applause of his popular audience. Yet this is the man who is lecturing on the deepest of all scientific questions, and who "reverses the scientific method!"

"GREAT APPLAUSE."

REV. J. COOK ON THE SABBATH.

Safe popular freedom consists of four things, and cannot be safely compounded out of any three of the four,—the diffusion of liberty, the diffusion of intelligence, the diffusion of property, and the diffusion of conscientiousness. In the latter work the Church is the chief agent, and her most important instrumentality we call the Sabbath. Goldwin Smith very subtly says that it is free religion and hallowed Sundays which explain the average moral prosperity of America. We have had in the last week in Boston a somewhat obscure and erratic convention, advising America to do better than she has thus far done in following the New England ideas concerning Sunday. Give America, from sea to sea, the Parisian Sunday, and in two hundred years all our greatest cities will be politically under the heels of the featherheads, the rascals, the sneaks, and the money-grapes. [Applause.] Abolish Sunday and the social sanity it fosters, and in less than a century, the conflict between labor and capital would issue here in petroleum fire-bottles. Capital in our great municipalities is fleeced now to the skin. Does it wish such social insanity to spring up as shall cut it through the cellular integument to the quick? If it does, let capital abolish Sunday. Working-men desire to build co-operation up into a palace for themselves and their little ones,—and God speed their effort to protect their own! But how can co-operation succeed without the large confidence of man in man; and how can that come without the moral culture given by the right use of Sundays? Co-operation fails because men are not honest. How are men to be made honest without a time set apart for religious culture? That population which habitually neglects the pulpit or its equivalent one day in seven, can ultimately be led by charlatans, and will be. [Much applause.]

I am no fanatic, I hope, as to Sunday; but I look abroad over the map of popular freedom in the world, and it does not seem to me accidental that Switzerland, Scotland, England, and the United States, the countries which best observe Sunday, constitute almost the entire map of safe popular government.

Sabbath is a day of religious culture and cheerful rest. Its Biblical warrant is found in the reaffirmation by the Sermon on the Mount of the whole moral spirit of the Decalogue. I affirm, without fear of successful contradiction by any cultured thought, that the Sermon on the Mount reaffirms the moral spirit of the Decalogue, and in that reaffirmation perpetuates the direction to hallow one-seventh portion of our time,—it matters very little which seventh. "Forasmuch as ye assemble yourselves together" is apostolic precept, as it was apostolic example. No doubt small critics may show that the apostles and our Lord did works of necessity and mercy on the Sabbath; and so do we, and so will we to the end of time. But the Sermon on the Mount reaffirms your first, your second, your third, your fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth commandments. How are you to show that it does not reaffirm the fourth in spirit? "Not one jot or tittle shall ever pass from the law till all be fulfilled."

It is fifteen hundred years now since Constantine put into execution the law bringing one day in seven an unwonted hush on all industry in the Roman dominion. Here

we are ten centuries off from the time when Christianity closed her chief political struggles. Here is a republic built chiefly by Christianity, and perfectly free, and governing more square miles than ever Caesar ruled over. This nation calls peace to her industries one day in seven. She sends nine million of her population, one in five, to a world's fair, and shuts the door every Sunday. I know what report says about the evasions and hypocrisy of the Centennial Commission in admitting persons surreptitiously into the buildings on the Sabbath, against the vote to close the grounds on that day. If these reports are correct, the Centennial Commission ought to have public rebuke unless it can make adequate explanation.

I am glad to see that even this erratic convention, dazzled out of sight by the sound ideas and majestic words of the Episcopal Congress [applause], was wise enough to say that it did not wish to introduce into America the European Sunday.

Hallam says that European despotic rulers have cultivated, as Charles II. did in the day of the *Book of Sports*, a love of pastime on Sabbaths in order that their people might be more quiet under political distresses. "A holiday Sabbath is the ally of despotism." Wherever the Romish or Parisian Sunday has prevailed for generations, it has made the whole lives of peasant populations a prolonged childhood.

America, I venture to say, is satisfied with the record of the Sabbaths in her World's Exhibition. This convention seemed to think, however, that the burden of a great reform was laid upon its shoulders. It apparently thought its thin meetings the representation of a large constituency. Men are strangely full of company sometimes, when before the mirrors of high self-appreciation. Sydney Smith, calling on a nobleman, passed through a room full of mirrors, which showed him several images of his own form approaching from many directions. He was wholly alone, but he was overheard to say: "A meeting of the clergy, I see!" [Great laughter and applause.]—*Boston Advertiser*, Nov. 21.

THE BIBLE AGAINST WOMAN'S RIGHTS.

EDITOR INDEX:—

In your *Glimpses*, in THE INDEX of Nov. 9, you publish an extract from a letter of Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, in which she says: "Woman is held in bondage to-day by the complete perversion of the religious element of her being. I have long seen this, and tried to do the best I could by liberal interpretations of the Bible; but that, I find, amounts to very little so long as the priest, with holy unction, teaches the opposite." Now I want to protest against this "liberal interpretation of the Bible," and I want to submit my opinion that no interpretation of the Bible, however liberal it may be, which leaves it still the word of God, will ever accomplish the object for which she (Mrs. Stanton) is working. While we accept the Bible as of divine authority, every one will interpret it for himself, or accept the interpretation of the priest (which from the Bible standpoint is the most logical, and has the most unequivocal scriptural texts to back it up) instead of Mrs. Stanton's. The Bible certainly teaches woman's subjection to man in clearer terms than any liberal interpretation can teach the opposite. In fact, even with the most liberal interpretation of the Bible, I am at a loss to understand how the reverse of the above proposition can be maintained.

The only way, in my opinion, to free woman from this bondage, is to convince her that the Bible is not the inspired word of God, and thereby liberate her from this thralldom and from her slavish submission to priestly authority. This acceptance of the Bible as the word of God (for it does not amount to an intelligent belief, with the vast majority of Christians) is the key to the position; and, as long as it cannot be successfully assailed, the enemy will hold the fort. The position cannot be flanked successfully by any mere interpretation, let it be ever so liberal. It is true that some of the outposts may be carried, and a few individuals, comparatively speaking, from an innate sense of justice, may come out and advocate the cause of woman's rights and try to reconcile it with the teachings of the Bible. But the masses will solidly follow the dictum of the priest. While admiring Mrs. Stanton's heroism and ability in advocating the cause of woman's rights, I cannot see how she can do so consistently with Bible teachings.

As a specimen of what the Bible teaches on this subject, let me cite you to I. Timothy, 2d chapter, from the 9th to the 15th verse, inclusive. If Paul be inspired to write this, I do not see how Mrs. Stanton can advocate woman's rights. She should "learn in silence with all subjection." But to show how inconsistent this passage is with our idea of justice, and that therefore God could not have inspired the writer of it, let me submit my views on the following passage (verse 14) of the above chapter:—

"And Adam was not deceived, but the woman, being deceived, was in the transgression." Eve was pure and innocent. She had no conception of a falsehood, no idea of death, the penalty for her disobedience, and was without a knowledge of good and evil. Is it any wonder that, being exposed to be tempted by the serpent skilled in all the arts of deception, she should be deceived; and, being deceived, should disobey God's command and eat of the forbidden fruit? How could a just God condemn and punish her for it? How would we treat an innocent child in like circumstances; would not the very fact that the child was innocent and guileless, and had been deceived thereby, be an abundant justification (or at least an excuse) for its having disobeyed our command? But we find that, although Eve was deceived and Adam was not, Eve was condemned to live in subjection to Adam (who was the most deserving of punishment, because he had wilfully disobeyed God's command), and cursed with the pains of child-bearing. By the way, the pains of childbirth are not confined to women, but are common to all animals. Query: Did they also eat of the forbidden fruit? Since the Biblical history of Adam's fall is utterly inconsistent with our ideas of justice, it logically follows that God could not have inspired any one to write it. Mrs. Stanton may look at this question from a different standpoint; but, if I were a believer in the inspiration of the Bible, I certainly would be opposed to woman's rights. MORS.

ENON VALLEY, Pa., Nov. 18, 1876.

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ARTICLE V.—... All charter-members and life-members of the National Liberal League, and all duly accredited delegates from local auxiliary Liberal Leagues organized in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution, shall be entitled to seats and votes in the Annual Congress. Annual members of the National Liberal League shall be entitled to seats, but not to votes, in the Annual Congress.

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ARTICLE XV.—Local auxiliary Liberal Leagues organized under charters issued by the Board of Directors shall be absolutely independent in the administration of their own local affairs. The effect of their charters shall be simply to unite them in cordial fellowship and efficient cooperation of the freest kind with the National Liberal League and with other local Leagues. All votes of the Annual Congress, and all communications of the Board of Directors, shall possess no more authority or influence over them than lies in the intrinsic wisdom of the words themselves.

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THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

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EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

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SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

PROFESSOR C. A. YOUNG, in a lecture at New York on December 1, stated the distance of the sun from the earth, as determined by the latest and best measurement, to be 92,500,000 miles.

MR. EVARTS dryly suggests that the best way to stop the political fuss is to "put the Presidency into the hands of a receiver, with power to run the concern and collect the debts." Might there not be a worse fuss over the receivership?

SAID CARLYLE to Professor Huxley not long since: "You Darwinians are spending your lives in trying to prove that men are descended from apes; and it needs more than our civilization to prevent them from being ogres." We wonder whether Professor Huxley good-humoredly retorted: "You have been spending your life trying to prove that the people of England are 'thirty millions, mostly fools'; and it will take Darwinism to prevent your lugubrious gospel from being true."

A WASHINGTON dispatch in the *Tribune* of December 6 shows how dear to the Congressional soul is the vicarious piety of its chaplain: "It is a curious fact that, while special prayer-meetings for the benefit of Congress were held in New York and Philadelphia yesterday, one branch of Congress forgot to pray for itself. In the House the chaplain was on hand to open the session with the customary invocation, but he was forgotten in the eagerness of the Democrats to exclude Colorado from representation."

PRESIDENT GRANT's eighth and last Annual Message, by its manly and almost pathetic opening words, must surely satisfy all but malignant partisans of the honesty and conscientiousness of his purposes in administering his great office. Now that the frantic talk of "Caesarism" and the "third term" is all over, there will be a very different permanent judgment of his character from that based on the passions of an hour. That President Grant has been mainly actuated by patriotism and a sense of public duty in his eight years of power, we are less than ever inclined to doubt; and, despite his honestly confessed mistakes, the American people will not be ungrateful in the end to one whose services to them cannot be measured by words.

THE *LONDON Daily News* of November 16 editorially draws attention to the fact that Cardinal Simeoni, the successor of Cardinal Antonelli, who was elevated to the dignity of a Prince of the Church on the occasion of his appointment as Papal Nuncio

to the King of Spain, signalled his arrival in that country by issuing a protest against the law of religious liberty, which the revolution had established in Spain, and demanded the restoration of the Concordat of 1851, whose fundamental principle required "the exclusion of every other creed." He was especially apprehensive of the results of a system of education which was not absolutely under priestly control. Simeoni's circular was so violent that the liberal journals at the time advised that his passport should be given him at once, and a mob burned the obnoxious Concordat of 1851 before his residence in Madrid.

THE SECRETARY of the Interior, in his report to Congress, holds it to be the true Indian policy to teach the Indian to support himself, instead of being supported by the nation. "But the logic of self-support," says the *Tribune*, "points unerringly to the rights of citizenship. If we can train an Indian to feed and clothe himself, we can educate him to be a useful citizen. The Secretary recognizes this, for he declares, without reservation, that the tribal system must be abolished." It is this tribal system which makes the Indians political aliens in the country they inhabit, deprives them of the protection of the laws accorded to citizens, and seems to stand most in the way of their civilization. In Canada, as we are informed, the Indian "has not been regarded as a member of an independent tribe, but as one of her Majesty's Indian subjects"; and "the success which the Canadians have achieved in dealing with the Indians and converting them into peaceable citizens, throws light upon our own failures and blunders"—and crimes. Instead of trying, under the guidance of the sects, to "Christianize" the Indians, the government ought to aim exclusively at civilizing them; and, be it remembered, to civilize is neither more nor less than to citizenize.

AS IF to demonstrate the timeliness of the Sunday Observance Convention, the disgraceful state of existing Sunday laws, and the practical necessity of the Liberal League movement right here in Boston, a case has just been brought before the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, on appeal from the Superior Court, which shows how tyrannically this professedly enlightened community still tramples on the rights of conscience. Mr. Gehring Has, of Roxbury, was convicted last September of keeping his shop open on Sunday for the sale of candy, ice-cream, etc., although (being apparently a Jew) he pleaded that he "conscientiously believed that the seventh day of the week ought to be observed as the Sabbath, that he so observed it, and that he disturbed no one." What his sentence was, we are not informed; but he appealed to the Supreme Court, and the case is at present writing still undecided. We affirm with energy that it is a disgrace to Boston, to Massachusetts, to the United States, and above all to the non-Orthodox part of the population, that the Liberal League is not supplied with abundant funds, and backed by overwhelming public support, for the repeal of the laws which thus enact oppression and yet arouse no indignant, swift, and effective protest. We have no wish to wound any one's feelings, or to be unreasonable, capricious, or querulous; but, when the radicals of this State and city, where they are stronger than perhaps in any other part of the country, content themselves with mere Sunday services, club discussions, and parlor entertainments, turn a cold shoulder to the one earnest public movement which would right these wrongs, and leave the Liberal League powerless for lack of means and friends, they go far to justify the contemptuous sneers of the Orthodox at the moral feebleness of radicalism, and fill at least one soul with shame and mortification at their spiritlessness, apathy, and seeming selfishness. And, much as we should like to please, we cannot be careful whom we may offend in this cause.